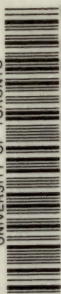


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SELECT WORKS

OF

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EDITED BY HIS SON-IN-LAW,

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CHURCH AND COLLEGE ESTABLISHMENTS,

CHURCH EXTENSION,

AND

THE PAROCHIAL SYSTEM.

BY

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. LL.D.

EDINBURGH: THOMAS CONSTABLE AND CO.

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CHURCH AND COLLEGE ESTABLISHMENTS.



PREFACE.

OUR vindication of a Religious Establishment consists of two branches—the one having respect to the principle, the other to the effect of such an economy. Under the first, we would demonstrate the lawfulness of it—under the second, the usefulness of it. It is a scheme which originates with the civil, and not with the ecclesiastical power. It is overtured by the former; it is consented to by the latter—and it seems indispensable to prove at the very outset of the argument, that by the connexion thus entered upon, the character of the gospel in its simplicity or its sacredness need suffer no violation. Without this we cannot clear our way to the latter part of the argument—for though we should succeed in proving of an Establishment, that it gives tenfold scope to the ministrations of the gospel; yet if it be in a way by which the gospel itself suffers essential desecration, this were doing evil that good may come. Till the cause be disencumbered of this charge, it can proceed no further—after which, however, we hold that it stands upon firm and high vantage-ground. When principle does not stand in the way of expediency, then expediency of itself becomes principle; and, in the matter before us, principle of the highest sort. It is surely a question of no light character, What is the most effectual method of making Christianity so to bear upon a population, as that it shall reach every door and be brought into contact with all the families? Could it first be demonstrated of such a method that it is innocent, as being not unlawful in principle—then if further demonstrated that it is expedient, as being most useful in effect, it would no longer remain in the midway or neutral character of innocence alone. It would instantly become a thing of high and imperative obligation—as

imperative, in fact, as the precepts of "Do good unto all men as ye have opportunity," "Go and preach the gospel to every creature."

We cannot give full establishment to both these positions now; and we shall therefore, at present, dispense with the former and confine ourselves to the latter of them. It is not that we hold the perfect lawfulness of a religious establishment to be incapable of demonstration; for we think that the demonstration has already been given. But it is because we conceive the usefulness of a religious establishment to be a topic of sufficient magnitude for one preface.

To understand the effect or operation of an establishment, we should contrast it with the workings of that other system which is placed in opposition to it. That by which it is essentially distinguished, is a national provision for a clergy, each planted in a separate district of his own—thus spreading, as it were, along with the ministers, the ministrations of Christianity all over the land. Without such an economy, there still would be a gospel ministry and gospel services. There were during the three first centuries of the Christian era. There still are, as in North America, one of the largest tracts of Christendom. The matter there is left to the spontaneous zeal of Churchmen on the one hand, to the spontaneous demand of the people on the other. To fill up the whole length or breadth of a land, under a system like this—such, in the first place, must be the devotedness, and such the number of qualified labourers ready to brave the hazards of destitution, that no vacant place can be left unoccupied, without the offer at least of a Christian teacher to the families: and such, in the second place, must be the demand for his services, as will guarantee that personal and family maintenance, which is indispensable to the upholding of them. This way has attractions for many. It places religious instruction on the same footing with an article of ordinary merchandise. It leaves it to the operation of demand and supply. The science of political economy affords some imposing analogies, which have given a charm and a beauty to the system in the eyes of certain

speculators. It has the authority of great names, as those of Turgot and Dr. Adam Smith, to make it respectable. It besides has the still more urgent recommendation of its cheapness in the eye of some of our practical legislators. There have been adopted of late certain great and undoubted ameliorations, both in our foreign and domestic economy. The system of free trade we hold to be one of these—and the transition does not appear a very wide one, from a free trade in commerce to a free trade in Christianity. And then, in corporate or deliberative bodies, where men move and act in masses, they move and act gregariously—more by impulse than with any nice or laborious or even sound discrimination. They often mistake a semblance for an identity; and are thus in danger of being precipitated along the career of a headlong reformation. The distinction between the established and non-established in religion, till of late, was carried too far—beyond its proper and legitimate boundaries—having been made the foundation of an exclusion, not from the ecclesiastical business of the Church alone, but from the civil and political business of the country. This excess in the distinction has of late been done away, to the mighty exultation of one great party, to the deep disappointment and dejection of another; and now, it is evident, both that hopes are more sanguine, and fears more tremblingly alive, to the prospect of the distinction being done away altogether. Add to all this, the temptation of the public necessities—the clamorous impatience under burdens, exasperated by the spectacle of what many feel to be obnoxious, and many more hold to be useless establishments—the growing multitude of those in our land, who have found their way to an able and efficient ministry of the gospel, which themselves have provided and themselves pay for—the consequent growth of that sectarian interest, which is at least separate from, though not always, and till of late not generally, hostile to the religion of the state—the sudden elevation into consequence and power of a whole nation of sectaries—the large infusion which is therefore apprehended of an adverse feeling in the upper classes of society—These all, saying the least of it,

look menacing to the cause ; so that never perhaps was there a louder call for the argument of its friends, for the worth and the energy and the moral services of its ministers.

So far as the economic principle has any, and it has a very large share in this argument, we think that the reasoning of our adversaries admits of a triumphant refutation. But we shall satisfy ourselves with the briefest possible statement of it. In the actions of ordinary merchandise, it is found that, without legislative interference at all, but just by the workings of what may be termed a mutual mechanism, there is the most beneficial adjustment between the demand and the supply. And so, it is argued, might it be with the article of Christian instruction. It is found of the former concern, that it prospers most without bounties or monopolies or artificial protections of any sort—why may not the latter concern also? A national establishment of dealers for the provision of the body is quite uncalled for ; it being enough, to bring the two exchanging parties in the best possible way together, that the whole matter should be freely left to the wants of the one and the interests of the other. And so, it is thought, should the thing be ordered, in regard to a provision for the unperishable spirit. That is, it should be confided to the unforced and unfostered operation of the demand and supply. The dealers in this article, too, will furnish society therewith up to the extent in which the article is wanted. In a word, the maxim of ‘let us alone,’ that maxim in which is enveloped the whole principle or philosophy of free trade, they hold to be alike applicable to Christianity and commerce—and just as the prosperity of the one is best consulted by the prohibitions of mercantile jealousy, and the support of corporation privileges, and every artificial contrivance whatever, whether in the shape of bounty or discouragement, being expunged from the statute-book—so, it is conceived that the other would prosper and be enlarged also by the restrictions of intolerance on the one side, by the rights and revenues of an establishment on the other, being wholly done away.

Now there is one material distinction between the two cases,

which, till of late, I believe, has been entirely overlooked in this argument. It is a maxim in political economy, that the supply is regulated by the *effective* demand; but, in reasoning from this against an establishment, the imagination has all along been proceeded on, that the demand for an article is always in proportion to the real want of it—whereas it is only in proportion to the felt want of it. To guarantee a demand for anything, it is not enough that you are destitute thereof—the destitution must be a matter of longing and urgent uneasiness. In proportion to the want of food, is the intensity of your hunger. In proportion to the want of raiment, is the intensity of your cold. In proportion to the want of many of the physical gratifications, is the strength of the physical appetency that seeks impatiently after them. But what is true of the physical, is not true of the moral and intellectual appetites of our nature. It is not in proportion to our want of righteousness, that we hunger and thirst after it. Neither is it in proportion to his ignorance or want of knowledge, that man stirs himself in quest of instruction. The greater the need of these last, the less, in truth, is the value that we entertain for them. In regard to the articles of ordinary merchandise, where the foundation of the demand lies in the sentient economy of our nature, a government might with all safety leave the primary advances to be made by the people themselves. But not so in regard to Christian or even to common education, where the foundation of the demand lies in the mental or spiritual economy of our nature. In this case, the movement does not originate with the families. It originates from without. The dispensers of the higher benefit have to go forth aggressively with it on the lethargic mass of society, and to create an appetite ere they minister a supply. The people will not awaken of themselves from the depths either of depravity or ignorance. They must be awakened by others, whose office it is to make initial assault on the dormancies of the land. Did we wait for the rising of a spontaneous demand after either religion or science, we might wait for ever. These must be carried round, and obtruded on the notice, and pressed on the

acceptance of the people. It was thus they were awakened from their primitive torpor; and it is thus they must be preserved from again falling into it.

It is on this ground, that, with all possible brevity, we would argue at present the cause of a Religious Establishment. It is just because men will not go forth in quest of Christianity, that Christians, or the bearers of Christianity, have to go forth in quest of men. The great central and apostolic College of Jerusalem was not set up as a place whither the nations of the earth might repair for the gospel. It was a place whence the messengers of the gospel did successively go forth, in obedience to the precept of "go unto all nations." To bring Christianity into juxtaposition with human souls, it was never once imagined that they should be attracted to it; but that it should be carried to them. It is thus that the work of Christianization was essentially a missionary work from its very outset; and an establishment is, in fact, the consummation of this principle. It multiplies preaching stations all over the territory—thereby confining the attractive process within the narrow limits of a parish; and, so far from superseding, giving to the aggressive process its likeliest advantage—for though the families have to move on Sabbath towards the minister, the minister through the week might keep up a busy and incessant movement among the families. We might allege a thousand experiences on the side of such an arrangement. It is only within short distances, that people will generally be drawn to the public services of religion. This could easily be made the subject of a numerical investigation. When a parish falls vacant, how few, during the suspension of its ministerial services, take the longer journey to a neighbouring parish! When, by an act of most unchristian policy, there takes place the annexation of two parishes—how many in consequence fall away from the habits of church-going altogether! What an impressive evidence, to the same effect, is afforded by the Sabbath state of those remoter hamlets—where the people may be seen, either straggling about their premises, or, if at the bidding of decency they keep at home, spend-

ing a slothful or a sordid day in deepest spiritual apathy. It is by a constant and a sufficiently extended juxtaposition, and that can only be obtained by means of a thick-set establishment,—it is thus alone, that the habits and observances of a Christian land can be kept up among the families; and just as it is by a school in every parish, that reading has become a general accomplishment—so it is by a church in every parish, that religion must become in any degree a general characteristic throughout the mass of our population.

The view which we have now offered is amply supported by experience; and though much stronger specimens, we believe, can be alleged, of languishing and almost extinct Christianity, in those regions where an establishment is unknown—yet would we confine ourselves to that more satisfying and impressive experience which is within our reach, even to the state of Christianity in those districts of our own land where the Establishment is defective.

The first case is that of large and more especially Highland parishes—often containing several hundred square miles, and with an average population in round numbers of about three thousand. The locomotion requisite, either for the people being often in church, or the minister being often in the houses of his parishioners, is such, that very rarely indeed in the great majority of instances, can they hold any converse with each other—insomuch that many are the hamlet groups of population, and many is the far remote and isolated family, of whom it may be said, that they are absolutely aliens and exiles from aught like a regular gospel ministration. We will not venture to specify the average distance in leagues, between the nearest churches of this region; but sure we are that it lies not within the compass of human strength, to overtake such enormous spaces—or, where the parishes are so many provinces, to fill up the whole length and breadth of so ample a territory. The Establishment has done something. It has provided about two hundred ecclesiastical labourers, to a Gaelic population of almost half a million. But it may well be said to have left greatly more than half the

room unoccupied; and to that extent we put the question, Has this surplus territory been entered upon, or at all cultivated, by those who tell us of the impotency of Establishments, and would confine to their own spontaneous energies the whole task of christianizing a land? Over and above the regular clergy, we behold about thirty missionaries at work,—but these provided on the principle of an establishment; and government churches planted in the more populous of the large intermediate spaces—to the number of forty, but still maintained on the footing of an establishment. We include these recent erections in our estimate of the whole number, of two hundred ministers and missionaries together. Such is our reckoning of the endowed teachers of Christianity, who yet overtake not one-half of the territory. Now, how many are the Christian teachers, whom the partisans of the unendowed system have set forth upon the other half? We positively cannot, with all our searching, find out half-a-dozen. There are a few more congregations than this—perhaps as many as ten; but these stand forth as more impressive witnesses still, to the truth of our principle—for the majority of them are vacant, and kept in a state of vacancy, just from the inability or indisposition of the people to uphold a pastor in the midst of them—that inability which it is the precise office of an establishment to supplement—that indisposition, which, for the close and constant supply of religious instruction, makes an establishment so essential. And it cannot be said that the Establishment has engrossed all the stations, where a congregation is practicable. It had not done so in the forty places where churches have been erected within these few years; and in many of which we have now full and flourishing congregations—though in none of them was any chapel attempted, or at least did any chapel succeed before. And there are many more such places in reserve, where an endowed place of worship would draw a congregation; but where an unendowed never will be raised by the hand of private adventurers. They have not, for example, raised a single meeting-house in the whole county of Sutherland—not for the want most assuredly either of surplus

room or surplus population; but from the inherent impotency of a system, to which nevertheless, after with rash and ruthless hand they had destroyed the Establishment, they would abandon the whole Christianity of the land.

Our first instance is taken from the extreme of magnitude. A second may be taken from the extreme of population—that is from our great towns; but for our views on this part of the subject we refer to the London Lectures in this volume, and to our early chapters in “The Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation.”

PART I.

ON THE USE AND ABUSE

OF

LITERARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL ENDOWMENTS.

PREFACE.

WHEN a teacher, whether of Christianity or of science, derives all his remuneration from the fees of those who attend him ; and when he is further enabled, by these fees, to uphold the fabric in which the work of his vocation is carried on, it may be thought that he stands wholly apart from the aid of endowments. The term most generally suggests the idea of a salary, and sometimes, perhaps, there may be included in it the idea of an erection. A school, for example, may be endowed only to the extent of its architecture ; or, additionally to this, it may be endowed to the further extent either of a partial or total income to the teacher. Each of these is included in our idea of an endowment ; for, in whatever shape the aid be rendered, whether in that of a gratuitous building, or of a gratuitous revenue, if it form no part of the price given for education by those who have a spontaneous demand for it, then, according to the use made of the word in the following pages, it comes under the head or character of an endowment.

But our argument leads us to employ the term in a meaning still more comprehensive. Our endeavour is, to estimate the effect of all that support which is given to education, over and above the recompense afforded to it in fees, by those who have a

spontaneous demand for it. This recompense is found to be enough in the case of all those free, marketable commodities, which form the great subjects of supply on the one hand, and of demand on the other. The demand calls forth the supply. It is so willing a demand, that the price it offers draws out the supply; and the supply finds, in the price thus offered, its adequate and its whole remuneration. It is not so with the supply of education in those cases where the teacher is paid in part or in whole, or where a seminary is provided for him, or a dwelling-house built, or an apparatus purchased and kept in repair, or a library collected and maintained, or any fraction, in short, of the requisite equipment upheld by a fund otherwise constituted than from the fees of the scholars. Each and all of these auxiliary donatives are so many endowments. But there are cases when the scholars' fees, the price paid by them for education, might prove to be sufficient for all the purposes now specified; and yet, from the law and nature of their attendance, the greater part, if not the whole of these fees, may have the very effect on learning, whether beneficial or mischievous, which the gratuities conferred upon it have had; and which may, therefore, well be put down to the account of endowments.

We would, therefore, further regard that as an endowed seminary, attendance upon whose courses of instruction was made a requisite condition for the subsequent holding of any lucrative offices. It is thus that an attendance is obtained for colleges, greatly beyond the spontaneous demand for that education which they furnish. For example, a course of logic at one or other of our Universities, is a pre-requisite to the admission of our students into the Divinity Hall, and therefore to their admission into orders, so as to be qualified for presentation to a church living. There can be no doubt that the classes of logic are indebted to this regulation for many of their students; and the same holds true of all the other classes which enter into the curriculum of the theological profession. This is what Dr. Smith denominates, and indeed stigmatizes, as a "statute of apprenticeship;" and what he argues against, on the same grounds that he does against the corporation laws, and the compulsory terms of preparation for any of the trades or callings in ordinary artisanship. The other learned professions, as law and medicine, have also their statutes of apprenticeship, inasmuch as certain University classes must be attended by those who are admitted as licentiates in either of these professions. Now, every class which derives benefit from

such a regulation, we hold to be, to the extent of that benefit, an endowed class. The augmentation of revenue which accrues therefrom, comes, no doubt, to the professor in the shape of fees; but it is as little due to the spontaneous demand for his instructions, as if it had come to him in the shape of salary. It has all the virtue, or, as Smith would have it, all the vice of an endowment. As such, therefore, we regard it; and it being our single object to contrast that system, under which education is wholly paid for by those who attend spontaneously upon its lessons, with that other system under which the remuneration is helped out from other sources, and by other expedients, we scarcely notice a distinction in our general argument between salaries and statutes of apprenticeship.

It is further obvious that, in this view, bursaries have the same character and effect with other endowments. They draw a greater number of students to the higher seminaries of education than would otherwise attend them. They go to augment the income of the teacher beyond what he would enjoy, were scholarship, like an article of ordinary merchandise, left to the pure operation of demand and supply, unfostered by bounties, and unforced by compulsory enactments. Our main inquiry is, in how far education should be so left, or whether it has not been both sublimed in its character, and increased in amount, by those artificial encouragements which our forefathers have annexed to it.

Certain it is, that somewhat of an adverse feeling to these encouragements has been generated by the reigning taste and philosophy of our times. We are now quite familiarized to the discovery, that in commerce there has been a cumbrous excess of legislation, and from which, when delivered, it regains the healthful play of nature and liberty. And the same principle which has been verified both by experience and reasoning, in the business of ordinary trade, has also been applied to the business of education. The bounties, in particular, which have been demonstrated to be so hurtful to the one, are vaguely imagined to be alike hurtful to the other; and so it is conceived that scholarship will best thrive when placed in the circumstances in which it is now found that merchandise best thrives;—that is, when let alone, or when, relieved both from the fetters and from the encouragements which have been laid upon it by the state, it is entirely upholden by the demand of society, and by the price which society is willing to give for its lessons.

Dr. Smith was the first who proclaimed these principles, and not without effect, we apprehend, on the legislators both of this and of other countries. During the anarchy of the French Revolution, the schools and establishments for medical education were suspended, and their places supplied by a few irregular lectures given by individuals. The inconvenience of this was repaired by the Convention, impelled to the re-endowment of colleges and classes, by the pressing wants of the army for a competent supply of properly educated surgeons. But while government kept up the higher schools, they neglected the schools of general education; and the system of allowing them to increase or diminish according to the abilities or inclination of individuals, was defended on the authority of Smith.*

In our own country, that authority is now more deferred to than it wont to be, on all the proper subjects of political economy. At the interval of half a century, the speculations of this great author have been incorporated in the practices of government. This is the time which truth and wisdom have taken to travel from the philosopher's study to the senate-house; and at length, after having struggled its way through many obstructions, the system of free trade is not only recognised, but is begun to be acted on in the regulation of commercial affairs. It is precisely at such a season, and in the recency of an author's triumphs, that we should expect the ascendancy of his errors, as well as of his sounder and better principles; and accordingly, we think we can perceive, both in and out of Parliament, a certain impression that education should be left to itself, just as trade should be left to itself—so that, as, in the one case, the remuneration should lie wholly in the market-price, unhelpt by a bounty—in the other, the remuneration should lie wholly in the fees, unhelpt by a salary. The compulsory attendance on certain classes of the students who are in the course of preparation for the learned professions, comes under the like condemnation of a liberal philosophy. Altogether, the principle is adverse to our Established Church, and to our established colleges, and, in the "Wealth of Nations," there are passages of great force and celebrity which are adverse to both.†

The object of the following work is to estimate the soundness

* The information of this paragraph is extracted from the valuable work of Dr. Johnston, entitled, "A General View of the Present System of Public Education in France."—See his interesting narrative, which begins at page 103 of his volume.

† See Note A, Appendix.

of this economic principle as applied to education, unexceptionable though it may be in its application to the affairs of merchandise. It is not for the mere sake of rectifying a naked position in economical science that this work has been undertaken—for it will be found that the question, both of religious and literary establishments, is involved in the discussion—and that the argument thence educed in their favour, which at least appears a very strong one to ourselves, has this further claim to attention, that it has not been commonly insisted on.

We shall have succeeded in our aim, if, by this humble contribution, we shall have at all helped to soften the prejudice which obtains against the holders of literary and ecclesiastical benefices, or to reconcile the community to a more generous system of endowments, as being at once accordant with the soundest lessons of philosophy, and subservient to the best and the purest objects of patriotism.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL ARGUMENT IN FAVOUR OF ENDOWMENTS.

1. It has not been found necessary to endow an establishment for supplying a population with any of the articles of ordinary merchandise. We have not, for example, a national establishment of bakers, or tailors, or masons, as we have of schoolmasters, professors, and clergymen. And the reason is quite obvious why the former kind of establishment is uncalled for. The physical wants or appetites of our nature guarantee an effective demand for the various articles of physical indulgence. Rather than want food, or clothes, or lodging, man will exert himself to the uttermost, that, either by his labour or the price of his labour, he may be enabled to purchase these indispensable accommodations. They whose office it is to provide such accommodations, do not need to be remunerated by the State for their services; for, in the price which customers are willing to give rather than want them, they find a sufficient remuneration. It is thus that the providing of a nation with what may be termed the physical necessities of life, may be safely confided to the spontaneous operation of the principle of demand and

supply. It is in fact a self-regulating interest, and should, in as far as government is concerned, be simply let alone.

2. The same is true of what may further be termed the common, or the physical luxuries of life. For these the vanity and the sensuality of man together, will secure a sufficiently energetic demand, on the part of all who can afford to purchase them. There is no danger lest, up to the measure of their wealth, men will not be induced to expend enough for the higher gratifications of appetite; or that, rather than want them, they will not afford a full remunerating price for the various articles of parade and luxury. The tradesmen, or the merchants who provide these articles, do not need to have their recompense helped out by government; for they can find a full recompense in the wealth and good-will of their own customers. And, even should there not be the will along with the wealth, there is no national interest at all hurt or put to hazard, although so many of the affluent of our land should choose to live penuriously, or to abridge the style and splendour of their establishments. At least, it does not seem to be any object of national policy, to stimulate, by public encouragement, and at the public expense, the supply of luxuries beyond what is called for by the native demand and disposition of the people themselves. This, too, therefore, is treated by government as a self-regulating interest; and, as such, is also let alone.

3. It is this principle of letting things alone, which—a truly wise and beneficent principle in its application to all the articles of ordinary merchandise—forms the essence of the philosophy of free trade. In general commerce, the two elements of demand and supply should be left to balance each other, and to find their own proper adjustment. The hand of legislation, when it intermeddles with this mechanism, only deranges it; and, whether it does so by its artificial restrictions, or its artificial bounties, it is sure to lessen and to retard the prosperity of a nation. There is no patriotic interest served by the commodities of ordinary trade being multiplied beyond what the people of the land are both willing to use, and able to pay for. It is thus that an endowment in behalf of the wine trade, or the tobacco trade, or the sugar trade, or, which is the same thing, the annexation of a bounty either to the production or the importation of these articles, would, in these days, be deemed an outrage on all the maxims of a sound political economy. It would rank among the senilities of a darker age, which are now exploded, and have

long gone by—alike disowned by the present generation of statesmen, and revolting to the liberal and enlightened spirit of our modern science.

4. Now, this principle, of such undoubted truth and value in its application to the business of trade, has also been applied to the business of education. The same exceptions have been taken against an endowment in behalf of learning, which are now taken, by every sound economist, against a bounty. It is held to be an interference with the free operation of that demand, to which it is imagined that the whole supply of a nation's scholarship may be left. Thus it is that Dr. Adam Smith has, by what we cannot help regarding as an unlucky generalization, transferred his masterly argument for freedom in trade, and transferred it in all its secularity, to the question of literary and religious establishments. It is needless, by any artificial encouragement, to stimulate the supply of mercantile commodities beyond what the nation shall spontaneously require. And by many it has been held alike needless to stimulate, by artificial encouragement, the supply either of literary or Christian instruction beyond what the nation shall spontaneously require. And so, opposition to endowments, whether of a scholastic or an ecclesiastical nature, has assumed, in some degree, a philosophical aspect; or, which is still more imposing, it stands forth with a certain aspect of noble and generous liberty.

5. This hostility to the cause of such endowments meets also with powerful reinforcement from other quarters. In addition to those who have arrayed themselves against them on speculative principles, or as the disciples of a school, there are many who view them with an evil eye, from a secret disaffection towards the existing or established order of things. It would appear that, in this country, where a political opposition is often so powerful, and perhaps at all times so necessary, there is engendered, in regard to them, from this source alone, an adverse feeling, the leaven of a certain distaste or dislike for these endowments. One of the mightiest bulwarks in the hands of an administration, for perpetuating their own security and strength, is their church and university patronage—nor should we wonder, therefore, if it be one of those objects of attack against which the hostility of assailants is directed. Among our more temperate oppositionists, this feeling may amount to little more than coldness towards a system of literary and ecclesiastical benefices. But many are the fiery and resolute spirits of

our age with whom it amounts to a fierce and keen antipathy. This we hold to be a reigning ingredient in the spirit of radicalism, whose champions eye, with like disdain, the pampered sluggards of our church, and the monks of our colleges.

6. Certain it is, that, by a corrupt and careless exercise of patronage, much has been done to call forth, if not to justify, even the warmest invectives that have been uttered upon this subject. When one thinks of the high and the holy ends to which an established priesthood might be made subservient, it is quite grievous to observe the sordid politics which have to do with so many of our ecclesiastical nominations. Endowments cease to be respectable when, in the hands of a calculating statesman, they degenerate into the instruments by which he prosecutes the game of ambition; or when, employed as the bribes of political subserviency, they expose either our church or our universities to be trodden under foot by the unseemly inroads of mere office-mongers. It is thus that a land may at length be provoked to eject from its borders the establishment either of an indolent or immoral clergy, wherewith it is burdened; and to look, without regret, on the spoliation or the decay of revenue in colleges. It is truly not to be wondered at, if the poverty neither of lazy priests, nor of lazy and luxurious professors, should meet with sympathy from the public. The same generous triumph that was felt on the destruction of the old monasteries, still continues to be felt on the destruction of every old and useless framework; so that, when either a church becomes secularized—or universities, instead of being the living fountain-heads, become the dormitories of literature, they will, sooner or later, be swept off from the country by the verdict of popular condemnation.

7. The evils of a corrupt ecclesiastical patronage are more patent to society at large; but the evils of a corrupt literary patronage are not less revolting, or less fitted to scandalize the feelings of those who are exposed, in the place which they happen to occupy, to the painful observation of them. They are evils to which, we should imagine, a provincial college may be more peculiarly liable; and especially, if it have become the freehold of some great courtier, who, awake to no generous impulse of literary enthusiasm himself, can make unfeeling havoc of that learning which is so fitted to grace and dignify a land, at the shrine of his own ignoble politics. It completes the heartless deformity of such a spectacle, when the subordinate agents of

this foul desecration do themselves mingle in the proceedings of the academic body, in virtue of the place or the occupancy which they so unworthily hold within the venerable walls. It is truly a wretched contemplation, when, in the busy management of present or pending vacancies, one can behold the play of no other elements than the basest elements of sordidness. The effect is, that those chairs whence the richest wisdom and philosophy might have emanated on the youth of our nation, are remorselessly filled by individuals who may have nought whatever of the breath, or temperament, or talent of academic men. Their literary corporation may become, in every way, as coarse and unintellectual as any secular corporation in the land. And we are not to wonder if its respectability cannot long withstand this gothic invasion of lordly power, and reckless or unprincipled patronage.

8. In these various ways, then, the cause, whether of literary or religious endowments, has fallen into discredit; and he who undertakes to plead for them has strong prepossessions to strive against. The tendency is, to treat learning as we should any marketable commodity; that is, leave it to the effective demand of those who may incline to purchase it, and which demand is sure to meet, as in every other instance, with a proportionate supply. In this way it is imagined that the public eye will cease to be offended by the spectacle of an obnoxious patronage; and that we shall have the same security for a sound and good and valuable literature, that we have for sound and good articles in ordinary trade—that is, free choice amongst the buyers, meeting with an equal and unfettered competition amongst the sellers or providers of the thing in question. This monopoly of education will cease, it is argued, when the bounty or the exclusive privilege is withdrawn from it; and the impression founded on an obscure analogy is, that, as by the abolition of all other monopolies, the public will be better served. We have no doubt of a preference, in many minds, for the London University over those of Oxford and Cambridge, grounded on the economic consideration which we now specify, and greatly strengthened by the experience of many corrupt appointments, and of much indolence and inefficiency in these privileged seats of learning. Nevertheless, though in opposition both to popular feeling, and to the principles of a certain philosophic school, we venture to plead the cause of literary and ecclesiastical endowments, convinced as we are that Learning on the one hand, and Christianity on the other, would suffer from the extinction of them in the land.

9. For, first, Learning is not like an article of ordinary merchandise, or at least is not like to it in that only respect which would make endowments unnecessary. It is not true that, upon this artificial encouragement being withdrawn, there would remain an adequate encouragement in the native and spontaneous demand of the people for education. There is an utter dissimilarity between the mental appetite for knowledge, and the physical appetite for those necessities, or even those luxuries of life, which constitute the great materials of commerce. It is not with the desire of knowledge, as it is with the desire of food. Generally speaking, the more ignorant a man is, the more satisfied he is to remain so. In the one case, the starvation of the mind is followed up by the apathy of an utter disregard for the food of the mind. In the other case, the starvation of the body is followed up by the agony of an intolerable desire after the food of the body, and to appease which any exertion or sacrifice will be made. There is no such appetite for knowledge as will secure a spontaneous and originating movement towards it on the part of those who need to be instructed. There is such an appetite for food as will secure a spontaneous and originating movement towards it on the part of those who need to be subsisted. In the matter of education, the supply of the article cannot be confided to the operation of demand and supply, for there is not a sufficiently effective demand. There is an abundant guarantee in the laws and constitution of sentient nature for an effective demand in the matter of human subsistence.

10. It is this difference truly in the strength of the desire, or the demand, which forms the real distinction between the two cases ; so that, while an endowment may be necessary in the one, it may, in the other, be wholly uncalled for. Government does not need to erect shops for the sale of the necessities of life ; or to help out, by a salary to the dealers, that price which customers, rather than want the necessities, are willing to give for them. But government may need to erect schools, and to help out, by a salary to teachers, that price which the people are not willing to give for education. It is because of the strength of the physical appetite, and because of the langour of the intellectual or spiritual appetite, that the same political economy which is sound in matters of trade, is not sound in matters either of literary or Christian instruction. This is a subject on which the people need to be met half way. The motion for their education will not be begun, or be made, in the first instance, by

themselves. It must therefore be made for them by others. A people sunk in ignorance will not emerge from it by any voluntary or self-originated act of their own. In proportion to their want of knowledge, is their want of care for it. It is as necessary to create hunger amongst them, as it is to make the provision. They will not go in quest of scholarship. The article must be offered to them; and offered to them with such recommendations of a payment that is moderate, and a place that is patent and easily accessible, as may at least draw their notice and call forth their demand for it.

11. And after the aggressive movement has been made in this way; after, for example, the school-house has been raised, and a moderate school-fee has been proclaimed throughout its vicinity, there is a charm in the very juxtaposition and name of such an edifice, which will at length operate more powerfully on the side of general education, than even the argument of its cheapness. Some families will avail themselves of such an arrangement at the outset; and others by the mere force of imitation will be led to follow them; and the official fabric, known to all the neighbours by its familiar and oft-repeated designation, will at length bind itself to the habits and affections of them all. What was at first an occasional practice will grow in time to a constant and regular one, till at length the scholarship of the young shall become one of those recognised and established decencies which all hold to be incumbent upon them. It will come to be incorporated with the habits of families, and be transmitted from one generation to another with the mechanical certainty of any local or geographical peculiarity in the customs of the people. They never would have made the initial movement themselves, either for building the school, or for making out a full remuneration to the schoolmaster. Yet, when once the school is built for them, and partial payment has been made of the fee, by means of a salary, the fabric thus raised and endowed becomes a signal of invitation, that is at length responded to by all the families of the district. So that while, without this expedient, the country may, in respect of scholarship, be one desolate and unprovided waste, or at least present many large and intervening tracts among the rare occasional spaces reclaimed by a gratuitous philanthropy; with this expedient, the blessings of popular education may come to be fully and equally diffused over the surface of the land.

12. Hence the universality of education in the lowland

parishes of Scotland. The people are not taught gratuitously ; for, by a small quarterly payment, they are made to share in the expense of the education of their families ; but the remaining share is, by the law, devolved upon others. It consists of a salary which enables the schoolmaster to teach upon moderate terms, and of a school and school-house, with a garden, by which education is visibly obtruded upon the notice of every little vicinity. To this extent the offer of education may be said to have been made ; and it is an offer that has been met by the nearly unexcepted consent and co-operation of the Scottish peasantry. Had it not been for this aggression upon them from without, the people would have felt no impulse towards education from within, and so would have stood fast in their primeval ignorance. It is the scholastic establishment of our land that has called its people out of that quiescence and lethargy in which every people are, by nature, so firmly imbedded. It has drawn them forth of this stronghold ; and awoke from their dull imprisonment those higher and greater faculties which lie so profoundly asleep among the people, who, till addressed by some such influence, are wholly engrossed with animal wants and animal enjoyments. In other words, it is to a great national endowment that our national character is beholden. Those generous sensibilities which have been so vehemently wreaked in ire and hostility against the cause, may perhaps be pacified, and even enlisted upon its side, when it comes to be understood that it is to an endowment in fact, to that against which some of the sons of liberty and patriotism have been heard to lift their eloquence, that Scotland stands indebted for her well-taught and well-conditioned peasantry.*

13. But more than this. We now see that the parochial establishment of schools not only provided, in part, the learning ; but what was of greater importance still, created the appetite for it in the minds of the people. Nor is this an appetite that would go suddenly into extinction, even were the establishment swept away. After the habit of scholarship has been formed and matured among a people, it might, though left to its own energy, abide and linger with them for several generations. There was, in the first instance, no native demand for the article to encourage a supply of it ; but, in the course of time, such a taste and such a demand may have been excited, that the people, now led to regard education almost in the light of a necessary, may,

* See Note B, Appendix.

on the aid of endowments being withdrawn, be willing to part with the whole price for it rather than want it altogether. In proof of this, we may refer to those cases where the people are dissatisfied with the established schoolmaster, either from his incapacity or from some other cause. They send their children to a subscription school; and, in the shape of a higher fee than the parochial one, give the whole price for education. The same thing is observed in towns or populous parishes where the number of families outstrips the established means of instruction. The people now do what they would not have done a few generations ago. Independently of the establishment, and without any aid from its provisions, but on the strength of their own payments alone, they defray the whole expense of their children's scholarship. But it is in virtue of a taste which the establishment has created. Its endowments have thus elevated our plebeian classes, and given them this higher mental ambition. But for those endowments, the people of the land would still have been in a state of mental apathy; and, to the parochial establishment of schools, do we owe not merely a provision of knowledge for our peasantry, but the creation among them of an appetite for knowledge beyond what itself can at all times supply.

14. It were a mistake, however, to imagine that, after having achieved this service, it would be safe to dispense with an establishment; or that, after having raised the appetite for education, the future supply of education might be left to the working of this appetite alone. This, at best, were a hazardous experiment; and even though it could be attempted without any decline on the part of the common people from the level of their present scholarship, the upholding of an establishment were still desirable as an instrument for raising, and that infinitely, the standard of popular education.

15. It is thus that the effect which we now advert to may be made palpable. Conceive that, with the aid of the parochial endowment, the average quarterly payment for education is at present two shillings and sixpence; but that the people, rather than forego an advantage which they have now learned to value, would, of their own accord, pay five shillings a quarter. It would, in this case, be all the more safe to pull down the establishment, and leave the interest of education to be sustained by the now effective demand of the people for it. But a far better use to make of their now advanced taste would be, by retaining

the establishment, to advance the quality of that scholarship which it was wont to deal out among the families. If, for two shillings and sixpence a quarter, with the endowment super-added, men can be found to furnish the people with their present homelier education; then, for five shillings a quarter, with the same endowment, men could be found to furnish them with a higher education. This effect might be enhanced by a contemporaneous increase of the salary along with the fees; and those schools where English reading, and writing, and the most elementary arithmetic, are now all that is taught, might come to have a higher and more extended course, including a classical education for some, and a popular mathematics, with its most useful application, for others, and even natural history, in some of its more pleasing and accessible departments, for all. Such seems to be the readiest way of bringing teachers, more accomplished than before, into contact with the general population; while they, on the other hand, may be carried indefinitely upwards, as if, by successive lifts from one generation to another, along the career of an ascending scholarship. The cause of popular education would thus move forward with other things. And these endowed schools, at every step in this advancement of the plebeian taste, might, by a concurrent force, help the people forward to those higher acquisitions after which they had now learned to aspire.”*

16. But this virtue which there is in endowments for giving effect, in future, to the eventual demand of the people for a higher scholarship, carries the attention upward to those higher seminaries which exist at present for the education of the more affluent classes in society. It is a mistaken imagination that their affluence alone forms a sufficient guarantee for such an effectual demand as could itself call forth all the philosophy and all the science that have flourished in time past, and that might

* To every one acquainted with the Parish Schools of Scotland during the last thirty years, the improvement which has taken place in popular education must be quite obvious. It were most desirable however, that the salaries of the masters were augmented, even though to maintain the balance between that part of their income which is fixed, and that part of it which fluctuates with their own exertions, there should along with this be a contemporaneous increase of the fees. In this way the burden of the whole augmentation would be divided between the heritors and the parents of the scholars. There is a very general disposition to underrate the capabilities of the latter, and accordingly it is alleged that they are not able to bear their share of the burden. They notwithstanding do pay larger fees than they did half a century ago—and they are often found, for the sake of a better education to their children, to pay the much larger fees of a subscription school.

be made to flourish still more under a system of endowments. There might be enough of individuals in society who have the means of giving an adequate price for this higher scholarship. But there might not be enough of individuals who have the taste that would incline them to the expensive purchase of such a scholarship. What is true of a people in total ignorance in reference to elementary learning, is also true of the people who have been only schooled thus far in reference to the more arduous and loftier acquisitions of learning. They who occupy the lowest platform, even that of entire destitution in regard to knowledge, will not, if left to themselves, aspire and move upward to the platform which is immediately above them. But neither will they who occupy this second ascent look, with a sufficient force of desirousness, above their existing level, so as to work themselves up to the third or fourth stages of this ascending progression. If, at the outset, there was such an apathy to knowledge in the land, that endowments were called for to originate and continue even the humblest kind of scholarship; still there is such a want of all lofty mental ambition, that endowments are yet called for to originate and sustain the higher kinds of scholarship. When people are at zero in the scale of knowledge, it is not by any native buoyancy of theirs, but by the application of a force from without, that they are elevated one degree in the scale. And, when raised thus far, it is still not by any inherent buoyancy, but by an external power, that they are brought and upheld higher in the scale. Now, they are the universities, the endowed and privileged universities, which act with this external power upon society. They are so many forces whose tendency is to draw the people upward from that state, as to education, to which they would subside, and in which they would settle if left to themselves. Inasmuch that, upon the existence of such endowments, well patronized, turns all the difference between a high and a low state of philosophy in a nation.

17. To make this familiar by instances. A people, though universally accomplished by schools in elementary learning, will not lift up themselves by any inherent buoyancy of their own, to the level of that learning which should be taught in colleges. Over the whole country there is not enough of spontaneous demand for the higher mathematics, to guarantee a sufficient maintenance for even so much as one teacher. There is an effective demand, we are aware, for as much of the science as is

popular and practical, and of which the uses are quite palpable and immediate. A man without the aid of endowments will gain a livelihood, by teaching anything that is of obvious application either to an art or a calling which is gainful. But, for all that is arduous and sublime in mathematics, for the methods of that higher calculus, the uses of which lie far remote, or are wholly invisible to the general understanding, for those lofty devices and inventions of analysis by which we may hope to accomplish solutions hitherto impracticable, or to unravel mysteries in nature which have yet eluded the keenest search of philosophy—for all these, we contend, there is no such public request as might foster the growth and the production of them to the extent that is at all desirable. The science which germinates these in sufficient abundance can only flourish under the shade of endowments. Without this artificial encouragement, the philosophy of our land would wax feeble, and dwindle at length into evanescence; and in all the prouder and nobler walks of discovery, we must consent to be outrun in glory by other nations.

18. Here it occurs to us to say, that what Dr. Smith has stigmatized as a statute of apprenticeship in colleges, is of still greater effect in the encouragement of all loftier sciences than what is properly an endowment. The salary enables a teacher of these sciences to live, and admit scholars on a moderate fee to his course of instruction. In this way the obstacle of expense is lessened. But it is not by the removal of an obstruction alone that a sufficient number of pupils will be drawn to a class of arduous and recondite philosophy. There must, beside this, be the operation of an attractive force; and we fear that, for the purpose of giving sufficient intensity to such a force, something must be superadded to that native charm which is conceived to lie in the scholarship itself. And it is thus that the vulgar incentive of gain has been made to reinforce those higher incentives which operate only a few of the more ethereal spirits of our race. This is done by a statute of apprenticeship. To make use of a Scottish term in an argument, the purpose of which is to expound the system of Scottish universities, it is done by *thirling* to certain of our classes all those students who are under process of education for some one of the learned professions, and making a complete course of attendance upon these classes an indispensable qualification for the holding of its lucrative offices. For example, no one can receive a licence, or of course be admitted to a living in the church, who has not fulfilled a university

course of natural philosophy. And we have no doubt that, to this regulation, the college classes throughout Scotland of this noble science, are indebted for at least a sevenfold greater attendance than they would otherwise enjoy.

19. It is not a pure mental ambition which carries to these classes the majority of their pupils. Yet we have no doubt that during the attendance there, such an ambition is in very many instances awakened. The love of science was not the impellent force at the outset, which urged forward such a number of disciples to its lessons. But after they had been thus brought within the view of science, it recommended its own loveliness to the taste of many an aspiring intellect that would have otherwise been lost to the cause of learning. Philosophy did not attract them by any native charm of her own, till, by the power of a grosser inducement, they were brought within the sphere of attraction. But it is a prodigious service to philosophy thus to bring them within the sphere; and this service is done by our statutes of apprenticeship. There have been thousands in our land, the enamoured votaries of science, who never would have felt the generous inspiration had it not been evoked by the eloquence and the demonstrations of an academic chair, attended by them not of free will, but in conformity to those qualifying statutes which have been so much complained of. The latent spark that was in them would still have remained in its dormancy, had it not been for the kindred touch which developed it. Philosophy at length became the mistress of their affections, but not till they were made to see her engaging mien, and to hear the music of her voice. It was a good thing to have conducted them, even though as if by a hand of violence, along the way of her fascinations. It is well that the youth of our country should thus be brought in yearly hundreds within reach of the academic influence. It will not tell beneficially upon all; but it will elicit a responsive sympathy from those who have the kindred spirit and enthusiasm within them. The flame is not awakened by the property of spontaneous ignition; but it brightens into life and lustre at a shrine of costly maintenance and of hallowed guardianship.

20. There are five college classes of natural philosophy in Scotland; and, by a statute of apprenticeship in our church, every aspirant to the ministry must pass through one or other of these, ere he can be admitted to his theological studies. We feel quite confident in affirming, that, but for this statute, with

salaries to professorships, there would not be enough of attendance from the whole land, for securing a decent livelihood even to one professor of the science. And this scarcity of pupils would be aggravated, just in proportion to the pure, and lofty, and philosophic character of the course. If, for example, it were the transcendental aim of the professor, to accomplish his students for the perusal of La Place's "*Mécanique Céleste*," we doubt if all Scotland together would furnish him with so many as twelve, that would listen to his demonstrations. At this rate, it is obvious that no class could be formed, just because the proceeds of it could afford no adequate maintenance to a teacher. This arduous and recondite philosophy behoved to disappear, simply by ceasing to be transmitted from one generation to another. The record of it, in unknown hieroglyphics, might still be found in our libraries; but it would have no place in the living intellect of our nation.

21. Still there would be a natural philosophy taught, and even, it is possible, numerously attended by those who, in obedience to their own taste, repaired in crowds to the exhibition of its wonders. But to attract these crowds, there behoved to be a woful descent from the dignity of a high academic model. All repulsive mathematics would be exploded; and, instead of being conducted through the mysteries of astronomical science, by that arduous path on which Newton trod with gigantic footstep, it would be held enough by the pigmies of a superficial age, that they learned of orbs and of cycles from the evolutions of an orrery. The profounder studies of nature would be abandoned; and for these we should behold experimental class-rooms, filled, it might be, with hundreds who came to bestow their silly admiration on the puerilities and the paradoxes of a wretched necromancy. To uphold the severe intellectual training of our land, there must be endowments for the teacher, and compulsory statutes of apprenticeship for the taught. Without these, the philosophy of our land would sink down from the colossal strength and stateliness of a former generation, into a mere popular empiricism. It would lose the masculine vigour which it once had in the Augustan age of England's mathematics, and fast drivell into effeminacy, with nought to feed upon but the sillabub lectures of fashionable institutes.*

* It is well, however, that these seminaries of slighter education, whether under the name of Institutes for the wealthier, or of Mechanic Schools for the working classes, should be multiplied to the uttermost. They bring up the pupils who attend them to a higher grade

22. When a distinguished professor of this country hazarded the assertion, that there were not twelve British mathematicians who could read La Place's great work with any tolerable facility, we fear that, alive as the whole nation is to its honour in the field of war, or political rivalry, there are but few indeed of the nation who felt the affront of being left so immeasurably behind in this highest of all intellectual rivalry, both by France and Prussia. It is verily one of the worst symptoms of our degeneracy, that almost nowhere, in the most cultured society, is the expression of regret ever heard, because that glory which a Newton shed over our country has now departed from us. Yet is it refreshing to observe in what quarter of the island it was, where the quickest sensibility was felt for the honour of British mathematics. It was in the academic bowers,—the lettered retreats of Cambridge. *There* the somewhat precipitate charge of our northern collegian met with a resentment in which so few can sympathize; and *there* also, we rejoice to believe that it met its best refutation. And if, in that wealthy seat of learning, even twenty individuals could be found to master the difficulties of the French analysis, this, in the midst of surrounding degradation and poverty, of itself speaks volumes for endowments.

23. There would need to be a similar descent, too, from the altitudes of moral and metaphysical science, ere a professor, who depended wholly on the spontaneous demand of his pupils, could assemble a sufficient number of them to enable him to earn for himself a livelihood. We venture to affirm, that, but for a statute of apprenticeship, Dr. Thomas Brown could not have upheld a class of fifty students, even in the metropolis of Scotland; and that to enlarge its numbers, he behoved to have let himself down from those arduous heights of recondite and original speculation on which he acquired such eminent distinction in the walk of mental philosophy. In other words, the lustre and the glory of his discoveries might have been altogether lost to our land, had it not been for that system of endowments which we advocate, though sometimes stigmatized as an odious and illiberal monopoly. It is just such a monopoly as secures to the nation a better article, than the nation, by any free and popular movement, would have sought for itself. For philosophy, to be

of scholarship—but it remains as desirable as ever, and indeed more so, that the scholarship of Universities should be of the highest possible character, should be at the summit of the scale.

made palatable, must be diluted, and made of easy digestion. Like other wholesome draughts, it cannot be entirely left to the choice of those who are bettered by the administration of it. A certain degree of compulsion is necessary; and it is just such a compulsion as a statute of apprenticeship secures, and by which it commands a numerous attendance on classes that would otherwise revolt by the depth and difficulty of their subjects. There is another way, indeed, by which to overcome this native distaste of the popular understanding for the profound, the solid, and the elaborate. There might be presented to it declamation instead of disquisition; the effusions of a shining but superficial eloquence, instead of the processes or the results of a powerful analysis; an offering of sweets and flowers to the imagination, instead of a call upon the intellect to gird itself for combat with the sophistries of Hume, or for accompanying the sounder argumentations of Bacon, and Locke, and Clarke, and Reid, and Campbell, and Butler. In this way, a class-room might be thronged with auditors, lured by the oratory of him whose lectureship is bespangled all over with the tinsel of a gaudy sentimentalism. But it is evident, that such a wretched compromise as this with the appetite of the multitude, is not the way by which to uphold a firm staple of philosophy in our land. What we gain in popular fascination, we shall lose in weight, and in massiveness; and, with no demand for the products of arduous or severe thought, we shall sink down into a generation of little minds and of little men.

24. It is certainly desirable, that a professor should be placed above the reach of a temptation so humiliating, as that of stepping down from a higher to a lower walk in science, for the purpose of there meeting with a proper number of students. Rather, if necessary, let a greater number of stepping-stones be provided, by which they may be helped upward to his level, than that he should let down his efforts, and waste himself on such lessons as are merely popular and elementary. In other words, let the system of education in schools be extended, and a far higher scholarship exacted from all who propose to enter within the limits of a college. There should be as great a distinction between the work of a university and that of a school, as there is between manhood and boyhood. Even the language professors, relieved in a greater measure than they now are from the drudgery of those lessons, of which the sole object is to increase the practical acquaintance of their pupils with Greek and

Latin, should be able to expatiate more at large on the field of taste, and criticism, and ancient history. In this event, we should not have such juvenile classes as we have at present; for the change of practice would give rise to a later, and, therefore, also to a more limited attendance of students. It would operate against the pecuniary interest of the professor, in deducting from the number of university scholars; but it would operate also in dignifying his employment, by the additional vigour and manhood that might then be imparted to university scholarship.

25. The work of a teacher may be regarded as twofold. It is his business, *first*, to conduct what may be called the gymnastics of education; and, *secondly*, by his own proper and peculiar arrangements, or by his own original views, to illustrate and extend its topics. In the former employment, it is his object to convey to the students' minds the existent lessons of science or scholarship, whether these lessons have been bequeathed to him by others, or have been matured by himself. In the latter employment, he acts the higher, though not the more useful part—of either by his powers of discovery making new lessons, or by his powers of distribution making a new assortment of them. By the one exercise, he may guide his pupils over all the actual philosophy or literature of his department; by the other, he may shed upon it a brighter illumination, or push forward its boundaries. It is obvious that, in the classical and mathematical provinces of education, there is greater room for the first of these offices; while in mental, or moral, or economical science, there is greater room for the second. It would be well, if, previous to their admission into universities, our youth described a more extended course of task-work and examination among the details of practical scholarship; not, indeed, so as altogether to supersede task-work and examination after they had left the more juvenile seminaries—but so that they might be better prepared, both by their habits and their years, for accompanying the professors in their most original speculations, and through the most arduous of their enterprises. It is thus that the country would secure a constant supply of those more exalted functionaries in science, part of whose vocation it is to build her up to a prouder altitude than before, or to extend the range of her discoveries. They might become the chief instruments for the advancement of philosophy,—the labourers who, by successive lifts, from age to age, made perpetual additions to the intellectual and literary wealth of our species.

26. A university should not be a mere gymnasium. We admit that it is too little so in Scotland, and perhaps too much so in England. Certain it is, however, we repeat, that it were most desirable if in our own country the preparations of the gymnasium were greatly further advanced at the entrance of our young men into colleges. This could be managed by the establishment of a thorough scholastic system in each of our university towns. If our students came to us more advanced both in years and in scholarship, then the original and excursive and independent methods of our professors in all the higher sciences would not be so indefensible ;—when, instead of having to address an audience of boys, they felt themselves sustained, even in their loftiest endeavours, by the intelligent sympathy of those who had now reached the manhood of their understandings. It is obvious that, in this way, the style of education might be indefinitely heightened ; while, as the fruit of the services of those who laboured in the upper departments of it, there might come forth of our universities, from time to time, the richest contributions to our literature and philosophy. A college might thus be an organ, not merely for bringing the scholarship of a country up to the level of its science, but for creating a higher science, wherewith still more to raise and refine its scholarship.

27. The colleges of Scotland, with all the defects which attach to them as practical seminaries, have, in regard to the latter of these two functions, been of the most important service in promoting both the honour and the advancement of our national literature. The truth is, that greatly more than half the distinguished authorship of our land is professorial ; and, till the present generation, we scarcely remember, with the exception of Hume in philosophy, and Thomson in poetry, any of our eminent writers who did not achieve, or at least germinate, all their greatest works while labouring in their vocation of public instructors in one or other of our universities.* Nay, generally speaking, these publications were the actual product of their labour in the capacity of teachers ; and passed into authorship through the medium of their respective chairs. Whatever charges may have been preferred against the methods of university education in Scotland, it is at least fortunate for the literary character of our nation, that the professors have not felt,

* But we should not forget the names of Monboddo, and Hailes, and Kames, and Gillies, and Macknight, and Robert Walker, and Henry Mackenzie, who, though still alive, rank more properly with the distinguished men of a former age.

in conducting the business of their appointments, as if they were dealing altogether with boys. To this we owe the manly and original and independent treatment, which so many of them have bestowed on their appropriate sciences, and by which they have been enabled to superadd one service to another. They have not only taught philosophy; they have also both rectified its doctrines, and added their own views and discoveries to the mass of pre-existent learning. They, in fact, have been the chief agents in enlarging our country's science; and it is mainly, though not exclusively, to them that Scotland is indebted for her eminence and high estimation in the republic of letters. For the truth of this averment in regard to natural science, we may appeal to the works of Colin Maclaurin, and Robert Simson, and Matthew Stewart, and Wilson of Glasgow; and Dr. Black, and Professor Robison, and the Monros, and Gregories, and Cullen and Playfair and Leslie of Edinburgh; and Hamilton of Aberdeen. And, in regard to moral and political science, we appeal to the writings of Hutcheson, and Adam Smith, and Reid, and Miller, and Campbell, and Beattie, and Dugald Stewart, and Tytler, and Ferguson, and Brown. We would further appropriate to the honour of our universities, the publications of Principal Robertson in history, and Dr. Hill in theology, and Blair and Barron in taste and criticism, and Dr. John Hunter of St. Andrews in classical learning, and the philosophy of grammar.* With one or two exceptions, all the authorship which we have now enumerated was of direct college fabrication; in the first instance, designed and executed for the class-room, till fitted, by successive rectifications, for presentation on a wider theatre. The colleges were the manufactories of all this literature, which they never could have been, had professors been mere practical teachers; and hence, if, along with the expedients for giving that more practical character to the education of Scotland, which it certainly requires, something be not done to uphold the independence and the contemplative leisure of its professors, the nation may come to be shorn of its intellectual greatness.

28. Dr. Smith, who appears in his *Wealth of Nations* to have erred so egregiously in his economic views on the subject of literary and ecclesiastical endowments, gives, in the same work, some very sound and admirable observations,—the results, we

* Dr. John Hill, and Professor Dalzell of Edinburgh; Professors Jardine and Young of Glasgow, though the last unfortunately has bequeathed little to posterity in the way of authorship, are worthy of a high place in the enumeration of Scottish Professors.

have no doubt, of his own professorial experience on the effect of professorial work, in perfecting the views of a master, and enabling him at length to come forth with a mature and well-digested course of lessons on his own peculiar subject, for the instruction of the public at large. It is thus that his own Theory of Moral Sentiments was ripened for publication; and it is thus that his still more enduring Theory of National Wealth was at least germinated, if not a great way advanced, at the time when he relinquished his academic situation. We cannot, indeed, imagine a more favourable condition for the formation of a great literary work that shall have solid and enduring excellence, than that which is occupied by an ardent and devoted professor, whose course, by means of reiterated elaborations, receives a slow, it may be, but withal a sure and progressive improvement. Only conceive him to be fully possessed with his subject, and giving the full strength of his mind to its elucidation; and then, with the advantages of perseverance and time and frequent periodical reiteration of the topics of his lectureship, he is assuredly in the best possible circumstances for bequeathing to posterity some lasting memorial of industry or genius. It is by the remodellings and the revisals every year of his yet imperfect preparations; it is by strengthening what is weak, and further illustrating what is obscure, and fortifying some position or principle by a new argument, and aiding the conception of his disciples by some new image or new analogy; it is thus that the product of his official labours may annually acquire increasing excellence, and gradually approximate to a state of faultlessness, till at length it comes forth in a work of finished execution, and becomes a permanent addition to the classic and literary wealth of the nation. It is not so often by flashes of inspiration, as by power and patience united, that works are reared and ripened for immortality. It is not in the hasty effervescence of a mind under sudden and sanguine excitement, that a service so precious to society is generally rendered. It is when a strong, and, at the same time, a steadfast mind gives its collected energies to the task; and not only brings its own independent judgment, but laboriously collecting the lights of past erudition, brings them also to bear on the subject of its investigations; it is thus that treatises are written, and systems are framed, which eclipse the volumes of their predecessor, and, taking their place, become themselves the luminaries of future ages.

29. Such objects as these never can be carried into effect without endowments. The leisure and independence of the men who wield these high services, must in some way or other be secured. This, indeed, is as good as conceded by Dr. Smith himself, in the beautiful exposition which he gives of the comparative states of literature in England and Scotland.* In the former country, the church is better endowed than the universities, which, therefore, generally becomes the ultimate landing-place of her more eminent literary men, the line of preferment being in that direction. In the latter country, the universities were, in the days of Smith at least, better endowed than the church, which reversed the line of preferment, so that, in as far as patronage was associated with merit, the men of abilities who signalized themselves in Scotland, found their final destination to be among the employments of a college. In other words, there is a process for the absorption of talent going on in England—the occupier of an ecclesiastical office there, in so far as he is removed from the stimulus and the sympathies of academic converse, not being in such likely circumstances for literary exertion. A process, the opposite of this, is going on in Scotland—where the conspicuous talent of the church is more drawn to its universities; and so, in the midst of a congenial element, and amongst congenial duties, expands into greater power and productiveness than in any other situation. It is thus that while more than half the literature of Scotland is professorial, it is a much smaller fraction indeed of the literature of England which is contributed by those who are connected, by office or by employment, with either of its universities.

30. Now, from this fact, the inference deducible in favour of endowments is obvious. They contain in them that adhesive virtue, which both draws men of literary power to the places of literary employment, and detains them there. Were the value of our endowments lessened, the process of Scotland might be reversed into that of England. Or, were the endowments done away, and the remuneration of lofty science left to the payments of those who had a spontaneous demand for it, then all lofty science would depart from our universities; and the men who were most capable of sustaining the toils and advancing the honours of an arduous philosophy, would easily find a more liberal reward for the exercise of their talents, in some of the gainful walks of civil or secular employment. We have some-

* See Note C, Appendix.

times regretted, that it was in the power even of one of our most affluent noblemen, to tempt Dr. Smith away from his professorship in Glasgow; or, if the injury which literature suffered, in consequence of this divorce, was more than compensated by the gain that accrued to economic science, from his opportunities of travel and observation on the Continent, there is at least one, and that the last of his preferments, which must ever be deplored by the friends of philosophy. We allude to his appointment as a Commissioner of customs, which blasted one of his greatest literary undertakings. The public lost by this, his projected work on jurisprudence; and all they got in return was a service which hundreds could have rendered as well as he, among the details and drudgeries of an official employment. We hold it to have been quite a gothic deed in our country, thus to fritter away the fine mental energies of one of the most accomplished of her sons, by setting him down with mere penmen or practitioners at a board. Surely it would have been better, if a provision, as ample as this incongruous situation afforded, could have been found for such a man within the asylum of a college, where, exempted from the fatigues and the vulgarities of ordinary business, and in the midst of a kindred society, he might have been upheld at a high pitch of literary effort and enthusiasm to the last.* He ought to have been sustained, to the end of his days, in the simple and venerable capacity of a sage; and that was a disgraceful economy, which rifled from him his intellectual leisure, and robbed the commonwealth of all those fruits, wherewith, in the mellowness and maturity of his wisdom, he might still further have enriched the authorship of his land.

31. Yet hostility to such endowments often assumes the garb of a generous and high-minded patriotism. This is an evil fruit, or rather one of the evil accompaniments, of our liberty. Its jealousy, both of expense and patronage, has given rise to a penurious system of encouragement for literary merit; and in the style of its rewards, when it does bestow them, we behold at times all the grossness of the mercantile spirit. It is because

* We should feel no difficulty in assigning to the Principal of a College duties of such magnitude and importance, as might well be pleaded both for the prolongation of the office in each university, and for the ample endowment of it. But, even though it should still retain that character of a sinecure into which it has now lapsed for nearly half a century, we would still regret either the abolition of the office or the abridgment of its emoluments. It should form the natural reward of men distinguished by their literary services, and whose names might throw a splendour on the societies over which they preside. Scotland is far too scantily provided in such situations.

there is so much of the *à la bourgeoise* in the reigning policy of our land, that it gives no offence to the feelings even of our most refined and polished society, when told of Sir Isaac Newton having been Master and worker of the Mint, and Dr. Smith Commissioner of Customs, and Henry Mackenzie being Comptroller of the Tax-Office, and Wordsworth an agent for stamps in the county of Westmoreland, and Dugald Stewart recorder of prices in the Edinburgh Gazette; and, lastly, Sir Walter Scott a clerk to the Court of Session. It is the dread of that popular odium which attaches to pensions and sinecures, that gives rise to such incongruous and untasteful combinations, and which, under the mask of purity and public virtue, has impressed a certain taint of sordidness and plebeian coarseness on this department of the country's affairs. At the same time, the real freedom and substantial prosperity of the inferior classes, are in no way promoted by it; and in truth, it were a better tempered society, and would be conducive to the welfare of all its classes, if, by means of more amply rewarded talent, an aristocracy of letters could be upholden, by which to qualify and to soften the vulgar aristocracy of mere rank and power.

32. We have a continued historical illustration in favour of endowments, in the princely establishments of England. Grant that neither of her universities has been so productive of learning as it might have been, yet, who can imagine for a moment, that, apart from benefactions, and under the fostering influences of the public demand and patronage alone, either the erudite and classic lore of the one illustrious seminary, or the profound science of the other, could ever have been realized. It is, indeed, highly instructive to mark the progress of these two great literary institutes. One cannot do so without being convinced, that but for the liberalities of patriotism or piety, the education of the land never would have risen to its present altitude—that, in no one instance, has their constantly growing scholarship been indebted, for any new addition, to the encouragement of an anterior demand, or market, for science, from without; but that it has originated in the emanating force of some additional endowment from within,*—that the learning which now wells out upon the

* The most recent example of this which we at present recollect, is the endowment of a class for Political Economy in Oxford. They might have waited for ever for a permanent establishment of this sort, had they waited till there was a sufficient extrinsic and effective demand for the lessons of the science, to ensure its being supported by fees alone. But now that these lessons are obtruded on the notice of the young men attending that Uni-

nation from these venerable fountainheads, did not arise at first in the shape of a previously required service by the country, and for which the country was willing to pay; but that it arose in the shape of a gift, which had to be pressed for acceptance on the country, and which had to be urged perseveringly, and against the opposition of many moral and many natural difficulties, ere the country would be prevailed on to accept it. It is, in truth, the history of a perpetual struggle on the part of a few lofty and large-hearted men,* with the mental apathy and indolence which naturally, and, but for appliances from without, lord it over the great bulk of our species. It is only through the force of aggressive movements, and by dint of successive advances, that the cause of learning has gained on an otherwise passive or reluctant public; or that they have laboriously and at length been nurtured into their present habits of education. Teachers had not only to be paid by endowments for their lessons; but students had to be paid, or bribed, for their attendance. There was a real practical necessity for all this forcing and fostering. The fellowships and bursaries, or scholarships, of the English colleges, have not been thrown away. They have, upon the whole, fulfilled their destination,—and to them we owe a loftier science, a far more lettered and refined society, than ever would have spontaneously arisen out of the barbarism of past generations.

33. We cannot conclude this passing notice of the universities of England, without the mention of how much they are ennobled by those great master-spirits, those men of might and of high achievement,—the Newtons, and the Miltons, and the Drydens, and the Barrows, and the Addisons, and the Butlers, and the Clarkes, and the Stillingfleets, and the Ushers, and the Foxes, and the Pitts, and Johnsons, who, within their Attic retreats, received that first awakening, which afterwards expanded into the aspirations and the triumphs of loftiest genius. Their family honour is built on the prowess of sons, not on the greatness of ancestors; and we will venture to say, that there are no seminaries in Europe on which there sits a greater weight of accumulated glory, than that which has been reflected, both on Oxford and Cambridge, by that long and bright train of descendants

versity, who does not see that, on the appointment of an able lecturer, there is the certainty of a large amount of education in this important branch of knowledge? We should rejoice to see distinct lectureships on Political Economy instituted and provided for in each of the Scottish Universities.

* See Note D, Appendix.

who have sprung from them, It is impossible to make even the bare perusal of their names* without the feeling, that there has been summoned before the eye of the mind, the panorama of all that has upheld the lustre, whether of England's philosophy, or of England's patriotism, for centuries together. We have often thought what a meagre and stunted literature we should have had without them; and what, but for the two universities, would have been the present state of science or theology in England. These rich seminaries have been the direct and the powerful organs for the elaboration of both; and both would rapidly decline, as if languishing under the want of their needful aliment, were the endowments of colleges swept away. It were a truly gothic spoliation; and the rule of that political economy which could seize upon their revenues, would be, in effect, as hostile to the cause of sound and elevated learning in Britain, as would be the rule of that popular violence which could make havoc of their architecture, and savagely exult over the ruin of their libraries and halls.

34. There is much to be learned upon this subject from the failure of many sectarian academies in England.† The dissenters of that kingdom have made the richest contributions to the cause of vital Christianity, by the publication of an immensity of practical works, replete both with piety and experimental wisdom. We are not, indeed, acquainted with any department of authorship, where so much of this precious treasure is to be found as in the writings of the Nonconformists. Yet it is not to be disguised, that, with all their powerful appeals to conscience, there is not among them that full and firm staple of erudition which is to be found among the divines of the Establishment, to whom, after all, the theological literature of our land is chiefly beholden.‡ To them we are, in the main, indebted for a species of literature, which in no country of Europe is carried to such a height as among ourselves. We allude to the part which they have sus-

* See Note E, Appendix.

† We trust that the strenuous exertions which have recently been made in favour of the Homerton and Highbury Colleges, will lead to the secure and permanent establishment of these excellent institutions. This, however, will require, I should imagine, a perseverance of liberality from year to year, on the part of contributors, whose annual subscriptions perform in fact the part of an endowment.

‡ But we must not here forget the lasting obligations which Lardner has conferred on the world, by those erudite and laborious researches which have been of so much benefit to the Christian argument. It must, at the same time, be remarked, that the most conspicuous of the early Nonconformists belonged originally to the Church, and had the benefit of University Education.

tained in the deistical controversy, and to the masterly treatises wherein they have so thoroughly scrutinized and set forth the Christian argument. But it is not in the war with infidelity alone that they have signalized themselves. A bare recital of the names associated with Oxford and Cambridge would further convince us that, from these mighty strongholds, have issued our most redoubted champions of orthodoxy; and that the Church, of which they are the feeders and the fountainheads, has, of all others, stood the foremost, and wielded the mightiest polemic arm in the battles of the faith.

35. Upon the whole, then, the great argument for literary endowments is founded on the want or the weakness of the natural appetency for literature in our species. There is not that spontaneous demand for it which would be effective to the bringing forth of an adequate supply; and the higher the literature is, the more is it placed above the reach of any such effective demand. This is not a subject on which we can with safety wait for mankind, but a subject on which mankind need to be assailed with offers, or which they must be beckoned to approach by all the signals and facilities of invitation. The importunity is not, as in many other things, on the side of the customers who receive, but the importunity must be on the side of the sellers or the providers who bestow. Rather than want the articles of ordinary merchandise, men will give a price for them above their prime cost, so as to afford a profit. But science is not one of these articles, and will infallibly languish and be neglected, unless it is pressed on the acceptance of men at a price greatly below prime cost; and the purpose of endowments is to make up the difference. The operation of these is exemplified in miniature, when a munificent patron of literature or the arts aids the publication of those massy and expensive folios, for which the demand is so limited, that all the money given by purchasers would amount to but a fraction of the cost. It is to his largess that the world is indebted for all the delight or instruction which this publication affords. So is it likewise with the expense of an educational apparatus, and, more especially, when the education is of a lofty scientific character. The scholars do not yield the full remuneration, and, but for the benefactor, there would have been no such scholarship.

36. It is mainly by the same argument that we would vindicate the policy of ecclesiastical endowments. The necessity for the one is founded on the natural want or weakness of the literary

appetite; and the necessity for the other is founded on the natural want or weakness of the spiritual appetite. But we are sensible that each requires its own peculiar modifications, and these we shall separately discuss in the two following chapters. We shall attempt, first, a more special application of the argument to the Endowment of Colleges; and, afterwards, an application of the same general argument to the Endowment of Churches.

CHAPTER II.

MORE SPECIAL APPLICATION OF THE ARGUMENT TO COLLEGES.

1. IN the days of our forefathers, the difficulty, both in Scotland and England, was to obtain a sufficient number of persons qualified for undertaking the duties of the pastoral charge. The number of vacant parishes greatly exceeded the number of competent and well-educated labourers who might fill them. This scarcity, in fact, was one great impellent cause of the multiplication of colleges, where, by salaries for teachers, on the one hand, and bursaries for the taught, on the other, learning was made more easily accessible; and so a much greater number were allured to the scholarship requisite for the office of a Christian instructor. The necessity for such an artificial encouragement as this, is in itself a strong argument for literary endowments. Without this, we have reason to think either that the land might have languished under the paucity of its ecclesiastical ministrations, or that Christianity, represented, and feebly represented, by an ignorant and unlettered priesthood, might have been lorded over by an infidel philosophy, and left open to the contempt of general society.

2. It is evident, that the higher the preliminary education for the Church was made, the greater must have been the need of endowments, and that not merely for providing an adequate remuneration to the masters, but, by immunities of various sorts attached to them, to induce students to attend in sufficient numbers, notwithstanding the larger amount of fees, and the more lengthened periods of study to which this higher scholarship subjected them. At one time, in Scotland, all the existing encouragements, whether in the shape of bursaries, or honoraries, or gratuitous lodgings, failed to attract so many students as

might suffice for the supply of parishes. This is the reason why a constant attendance on the Divinity Hall was dispensed with, and why so many sessions of occasional attendance were sustained, as a sufficient preparatory course for entering upon holy orders. It facilitated the approach of entrants into the ministry; but it did so by abridging the studies and the sacrifices which they had to make, for the purpose of obtaining the required qualifications. The important thing to be noted here, is the connexion that subsists between the character, whether more or less arduous, of the education in colleges, and the consequently smaller or larger number of our clerical aspirants. It is evident, that the longer and more laborious the curriculum is, the fewer will be found to have described it; and conversely. This furnishes a palpable index by which we may judge of the changes that might be made on the state of our academic education. The time has been when the Church, straitened in respect to the number of her licentiates, and at a loss for the supply of her vacant parishes, was forced to let down her requisitions, and, in that proportion, to degrade the scholarship of her clergy. Does not the reverse condition, in which we now are, both permit and justify a reverse process? Might not the fact of a great yearly overplus of probationers, emanating from our colleges upon the ecclesiastical profession, warrant the institution of a more arduous and more expensive course? It would diminish, it is true, the number of our licentiates, but then there is ample room for the diminution. And might not this be turned to the precious account of ordaining a still more laborious preparation for the Church, whereby to secure, even for Scotland, the inestimable benefit of a still more lettered and accomplished clergy?

3. It is not our business to theorize on the reasons of that change which has taken place in regard to the number of those who are at present studying for the sacred profession; and whereby there is now an excess, as before there was a deficiency, of licentiates or probationers in our Church. It is due, in part, to the augmentation of the church livings, without a proportionate increase in the expense of college education; and also, in part, to a certain influence connected with the progress of wealth in a country. As society advances, profits decline, and people, in consequence, embark the same money on any given speculation, with the prospect of an inferior return. It would be in the face of all experimental wisdom to deny the reality of this influence, even in the business of embarking money on the education of a

family. In Scotland, the sum of £200 will be advanced now, for the sake of a smaller return than it would have been a century ago; and, accordingly, if that sum had then been, and still were, the expense of education for any of the learned professions, we should have expected, on that single account, a more crowded attendance at our various universities, even though the pecuniary income in any of the professions had been stationary. The effect, then, must be greatly enhanced, if the outgivings at college bear a smaller proportion now than they did formerly to the earnings whether of the medical profession, or of the law, or of the church. Certain it is, that, in reference to the last of these three professions, the proportion is now utterly reversed between the offices to be filled, and the candidates for these offices. Formerly the vacancies greatly outnumbered the labourers capable of supplying them; and now the labourers greatly outnumber the vacancies. In the Scottish Establishment, there should be somewhat short of thirty nominations to churches in the year,—constituting a demand for licentiates which would be most amply supplied by 200 students of divinity. But three years ago, there was upwards of 700. The profession is greatly overstocked; and so, in fact, are the other two professions of medicine and law,—a state of matters, we repeat, available to the important object of raising the scholarship of them all.

4. It is not for the purpose of reducing the number of competitors that we would beset the entry to the learned professions with additional difficulties. But the present excess of those competitors proves with what safety such difficulties may be imposed. Nor would we impose them for their own sake. The toil and the cost of a more lengthened and laborious attendance at our universities are not desirable in themselves; but the more comprehensive and profounder scholarship to which they are subservient, is highly desirable; and, to the attainment of this object, the present state of matters is convertible. As formerly, we were obliged to let down the system of education, for the purpose of drawing more students to college; so, now that we can afford to have greatly fewer students, we may raise that system. The standard of preparation was lowered when the circumstances of the country required such a facility for the due supply of the learned professions; but now that the facility is such as vastly to have overdone the supply, this is the intimation to us how much the standard of preparation admits of being elevated.

5. The great yearly overplus of students, in Scotland, is a valuable fact, because it at once suggests the expedient by which to reform all that is most objectionable in the peculiarities of our Scottish education, and demonstrates the practicability of that reform.

6. The radical error of our system lies in the too early admittance of our youth to universities. Generally speaking, whether we look to their age or to their acquisitions, they are too soon translated from the pedagogy of a school to the more liberal discipline of a college. The change wanted (and on it every other desirable improvement could be easily suspended) is, that a far higher than their present average scholarship should be exacted from them ere they are admissible as students. As it is, we pass a great deal too early from the treatment of them as boys, to the treatment of them as men. In the majority of cases, they take their departure from the Grammar school, without even the first elements of Greek, and without being able to translate extemporaneously the easiest of our Latin authors. It would be well, we repeat, if, ere they could be received into a college *for any professional* object, they had a far higher practical acquaintance with both languages; and if, by their tried and ascertained expertness in the work of translation, they should evince both that they have a large command of vocables, and that they are thoroughly grounded in syntax and grammar. But, for this purpose, it seems absolutely indispensable that the period of their boyhood, with its appropriate drudgeries, should be considerably extended. They should be kept at least two or three years longer at drill; whereas at present they are handed over to the professor, before the schoolmaster has finished his work upon them; and, by the existing methods of our university tuition, the one is in the worst possible circumstances for executing what the other has left undone. All the vigour and vigilance that can possibly be put forth from the academic chair never will replace the incessant task-work, the close and daily examinations of the school-room. What should be done is, that, ere the university course shall commence, the scholastic course, instead of being cut short, as it now is, should be allowed to attain its proper and adequate completion. It is assuredly in the rudimental part of education that we are defective; and it is in this that we are so much excelled by our southern neighbours. We are weak throughout, because weak radically. A failure at the root is sure to be indicated by a general sickness

—a lack of strength and stamina, even in spite of that gay and gorgeous efflorescence which disguises the frailty that is underneath. The characteristic freedom, exuberance, and activity of our college system, we hope will remain unchecked and untrammelled; but, certain it is, that these would yield a produce far more enduring, were they grafted on the deep and well-laid foundation of English scholarship.

7. At Berlin, there are institutions termed *Gymnasia*, of intermediate rank, in point of education, between our high schools and colleges, and through which the students have to pass in their way to that higher order of education which they receive from the faculty professors. In England, too, young men receive a far higher preparation for the university, at the public schools. Now, the thing wanted for Scotland is just some apparatus of equivalent power either to the *gymnasia* of Prussia, or to the public schools of England; for, unquestionably, the great defect of our system is, that our youth, by quitting too soon the school-boy for the student, have not had such thorough exercise and training as is desirable in what we again term the *gymnastics* of education.

8. There are two simple expedients, by either of which we think that this defect might be remedied.

9. The first is, the institution of a more extended Grammar-school system in each of our university towns. In so far as the Latin is concerned, this could be provided for by the appointment of more classes, with masters who might carry the scholars higher, by several steps, than they now attain in their acquaintance with that tongue. And we should, further, hold a Greek master to be indispensable in each of these seminaries, who might supersede altogether what is called the first or public class of Greek in our colleges;* and who would certainly be in far better circumstances than a professor for conducting all the initiatory processes in the acquisition of the language.

10. Or, what we should consider as a still better arrangement, would be the institution of a Greek and Latin tutorship in each university, forming an intermediate passage from our schools to our colleges, and at which the learner should be detained till he become a fit subject for the higher treatment of a professional course. This would be tantamount to the *gymnasium* attached

* Or rather, the present work of the first Greek class, which might then be appropriated to the present work of the senior class, and so permit a far higher advancement of our students in Greek language and literature.

to certain universities of the Continent. Its terms or sessions might be extended beyond those of the higher classes; and its teachers, though of distinct rank and employment from the professors, should, in reference both to themselves and their offices, be regarded as essentially belonging to the university.

11. By the help of one or other of these contrivances, we think that the chief objections to our present Scottish mode of education might be obviated. To prevent the inconvenience of having students either so juvenile or so untaught as those to whom we are often exposed at present, we have heard it proposed that they should not be admissible to college under a certain specified age. It would, however, be a better regulation, that they should not be admissible under a certain specified amount of scholarship. The question of their admissibility should be decided, not by their years, but by their acquirements; or by certain definite tests of proficiency which they should be made to undergo in a strict public examination; such, for example, as the execution of certain prescribed versions; the translation of the easier Latin authors *ad aperturam libri*; the translation of assigned passages in some of the more difficult Latin, and easier Greek authors, with a certain allowance of time for preparation; and, above all, a correct acquaintance with the syntax and grammar of the one language, and such an acquaintance with the other as might be expected from the study of it for at least one, and perhaps two years. At Glasgow, the students, at the commencement of their second, third, and fourth years, are examined on the subjects of their previous education, that their fitness for an ulterior scholarship may be ascertained, ere they are permitted to pass onward in the course. Now, what I should propose is a great initial examination of students at the outset of their university career, or at the commencement of their first session, and that as an indispensable preliminary to their becoming collegians at all. It is on the degree of performance or proficiency executed upon this occasion that the whole of the proposed reformation turns. I should fix a very high standard; and, whenever the youthful aspirant fell short of it, there would be either a grammar-school in the university town, or a gymnasium in the university itself, where he could obtain the requisite preparation.

12. But I would not that his attendance either on the one or the other of these institutions were deemed indispensable. His admissibility as a regular student should be made to depend, not

on the previous schools which he has attended, but on the previous scholarship which he has acquired. And let him get this scholarship wherever he can find it. It would be well if our provincial schools became so efficient, and the classical teachers at the head of them were so accomplished, as to meet the demand of the new system for higher acquisitions on the part of college entrants. They will not, for a long time, supersede the advantage either of a gymnasium or a completely equipped grammar school at each university seat. But there cannot be imagined a distinction more honourable for any school in the country, than to send up young men to the university who can stand the arduous initial examination for which it is the office of the gymnasium to prepare them. By this simple device there might be a wholesome rivalry set agoing, that would give an impulse to elementary or scholastic education all over the land. The ambition in many towns, and perhaps even in some country parishes, would be to qualify their own scholars for immediate admission into the faculty classes. And thus, as the fruit of the arrangement which we have ventured to recommend, there would be the almost instant elevation of every college entrant to a far higher grade of scholarship than is now usual; and there would be eventually, in accommodation to this, a far higher style of education in the provincial seminaries of Scotland.*

13. But it is obvious that the whole improvement hangs on the fidelity and strictness with which the initial examination of students is conducted. If once laxity in these respects be admitted, the gymnasium will become a mere piece of useless framework; and like many other seemly contrivances of man, be struck with impotency by the faulty administration of it. To secure the faithfulness, then, of the examination, men of rival and opposite interests should be admitted to a voice in it. The tutors of the gymnasium, whose classes might receive augmentation from the number of defeated candidates, should have a seat in the board of examiners. Even eminent schoolmasters from the country might be invited to assist at this grave and formidable trial. And this very attention should be conferred on the one side, and would be felt on the other as a flattering reward for the assiduity and success wherewith these meritorious men had, in their respective nurseries of scholarship, raised so many into a fit state for being transplanted into the higher field

* See Note F, Appendix.

of a university. It would further be well if, on the occasion of this great anniversary, the colleges sent corresponding members to each other, even as the synods of the church do. For there is an interest which each college has in admitting with greater facility than the others, and against which a check ought to be provided. But far the most precious fruit of this attendant publicity, and pomp and circumstance, would be the stimulus that it should give to all the seminaries where the preparatory education was carried on ; and the high feats of prowess in scholarship to which it should urge every youthful aspirant in the prospect of that exhibition which was before him. It would be no small advantage that it marked the strength of that barrier which had to be forced ere the entry was made on a higher education. The greater the appearance which the wall of separation between schools and colleges made in the public eye, the more strenuous would be the preparation in the lower, and the more sustained and lofty, it is hoped, would be the state of the scholarship in the higher seminaries.

14. We prefer a gymnasium in the university to an extended grammar-school in the university town ; and in the gymnasium we should like also a mathematical tutor, as well as a Greek and a Latin one, in order to repair our great inferiority in mathematical science to the nations of the Continent. It is desirable, we think, that, previous to their first year at college, students should acquire all that they now learn at the professor's first mathematical class. Suppose that they have mastered the first six books of Euclid, with plane trigonometry, and algebra up to quadratic equations, before entering the class of the faculty professor of mathematics, this would enable him to carry them to such heights of science as, under the present system, are completely unattainable during the season of attendance at the university. Were this arrangement adopted, there behoved, of course, at the great initiatory trial of college entrants, to be a mathematical as well as a classical examination.

15. The expense of such an institution might not go beyond £300 a year for each university. In the smaller universities, one tutor would probably suffice for each of the departments, and the annual salary required for each might not exceed £100. In the larger universities a greater number of tutors might be required, but their smaller salaries would be greatly more than compensated by the fees of their larger attendance.*

* The very high state of education, both in the High School of Edinburgh and at the

16. They only, however, who propose to study for one or other of the learned professions, should be subject to the examination in question. All the classes should be as open as they are now, to the general public; and any new regulation connected with a gymnasium, or qualifications to be ascertained by an initiatory trial, should be confined to the students of law, medicine, and theology. The ultimate object of such a guardianship as that proposed should be, to elevate the learned professions, and not to intercept the approaches to college of those who resort to it purely for the sake of instruction, and without any professional view. It is enough that, for the aspirants to any learned profession, the examination at entry on the studies which qualify for it, should be held indispensable; and that the certificate of having passed this examination should be required along with the certificates of attendance on the prescribed classes. In this way literature is as freely dispensed as before to those with whom literature is the sole object; while lawyers, physicians, and clergymen are restricted to that course which secures for them a higher education, and so secures for the land still more accomplished functionaries than before.

17. It is obvious that, under the proposed arrangement, there would, for a time at least, be fewer students than at present: and that because of the more lengthened and expensive course which they should have to undergo. A higher preparatory education, whether at the gymnasium or at schools, might, in the case of theological students, be tantamount to a prolongation of their attendance at college of from eight to ten years. This behoved to operate as a check upon their numbers; and it is well that so large a reduction of numbers can be afforded without at all hazarding the adequate supply of church vacancies. The existing overplus of students of divinity is often spoken of with regret. But it will become a matter of gratulation, when turned to a purpose so valuable as that of refining and raising to a still higher point of elevation, both the general and professional literature of clergymen.

18. But with fewer students, and no increase either of fees or salaries, the professors would sustain a reduction of their income. This seems to furnish an irresistible argument in behalf, not only of our existing, but even of larger endowments. Are the teachers

New Academy, would of course lessen the demand for instruction in a gymnasium there, though we do not think that it should supersede the institution of one, unless the masters of these seminaries were admitted to and had a voice at the initial examination.

to descend to a lower status, and that by the very arrangement of which the main purpose is to elevate the taught to a higher scholarship? No way appears to us of rightly adjusting any scheme for a more arduous University course, that does not enhance the necessity for endowments. We shall in vain look for this improvement as the fruit of a spontaneous demand by the public for a higher education. This higher education must be made imperative by a statute of apprenticeship; and, whenever it is so, there will be, for a time at least, a diminished attendance upon colleges. It is to compensate this that there ought to be an increase of revenue provided for professors from some source or other—from salaries or fees. The process is analogous to that which we have conceived for parish schools, (chap. i. § 14, 15.)

19. It is farther obvious, that, by exacting from students at their entry upon college, higher initial qualifications than they have at present, we elevate the work not merely of the language professors, but of all the professors of all the sciences. They would have to deal with more advanced pupils in each of the classes. They would have to accommodate the style of their tuition to understandings more on the eve of manhood. They would have to prepare a more substantial repast for the hardier and more exercised intellects of those who listened to them. There is great discomfort to a public instructor when haunted by the suspicion that he is above the level of those whom he addresses. But the discomfort is far more painful, when humbled by the opposite suspicion that he is beneath that level. It is thus that a higher set of pupils act by a sort of moral compulsion on the professor in raising the whole tone and character of his preparations; and he is tempted to higher walks than before by the feeling that now he will be followed by the intelligent sympathy of those with whom he can safely hold more lofty and scientific converse. Under this arrangement, the reproach which has been cast on our Scottish Universities, of dealing in metaphysics and all other sorts of adventurous speculation with boys of fifteen, would in time be wiped away. When once our classes were furnished with students both more advanced in age and more elevated in acquirements, this incongruity would no longer exist. It would be competent for a professor to conduct such students to the very altitudes of his subject, and thus to accomplish that twofold service which Scottish professors have often rendered, who, while engaged in the work of original preparation

for the class-room, have, at the same time, pushed forward the limits of discovery in their respective sciences.

20. There ought to be a distinction observed between the work of a professor and that of a schoolmaster; and the proposed gymnasium may be regarded as marking the transition space, or as a broad line of demarcation between them. At the admission of our young men to college, the pedagogical treatment should give way to the professorial; and the wide difference between these two should be felt even in those languages, the study of which is prosecuted for at least two years in the greater number of our universities. This difference, we think, might be illustrated by a comparison between the work of him who, in the reading of a Greek or Latin author, is obliged to have frequent recourse to his grammar and dictionary,—and the work of him who, able to translate without the necessity of constant appeal to these, can now discriminate the peculiarities of the writer, and feel the force and beauty of his expressions, and appreciate the sentiments which he utters, and treasure up the information which he affords. The business of a schoolmaster is to superintend the former of these two works. The business of a professor is to superintend the latter of them. There must of course be a good deal of translation performed before the professor; and this of itself will help both to keep up and to extend the practical acquaintance of his students with the language which he teaches. But with their now fuller command of its vocables, and their now greater intimacy with its syntax and structure, he will have more time and liberty for his own proper office, which is to point out the niceties of its idiom and dialect—to trace the law of its various metrical constructions—to mark the characteristics and the felicities of its different writers—to exercise the taste and discernment of his pupils on the eloquence and poetry of the ancients—to illustrate the passages which are read in the class-room, by a reference to the history, customs, and localities of Greece or Rome—and to unfold the philosophy of grammar, whereby the phenomena of speech are examined in connexion with the laws and the processes of human thought.* To guide,

* It is much to be desired, that Dr. John Hunter of St. Andrews, who stands unrivalled in this high walk of investigation, would favour the world with those original views, which, for upwards of half a century, he has been in the habit of delivering from the chair. As specimens of his characteristic excellence, the reader may consult the notes to his editions of various classics,—his Treatise on the Tenses of the Latin Verb, appended to his edition of Ruddiman's Rudiments, and his Essay on the Greek *δε*, &c., published in the Philosophical Transactions of Edinburgh.

in short, his disciples along the higher walks of literature and refined criticism, constitutes the proper business of a professor; and in the prosecution of this object, care should be taken that much translation be gone through, and many versions executed. In the examination of these last, again, it is the part of the schoolmaster to attend to the fidelity of the rendering; but it should be that of the professor to attend both to its fidelity and its elegance.

21. But if, even in the teaching of languages, there is room for the distinction between a pedagogical and a professorial treatment of this work, much more does the distinction admit of being verified in the teaching of the sciences. At the outset of a mathematical course of study, it seems advisable that each student should be tasked, and tried with every demonstration in the plane geometry of Euclid, and made to resolve a variety of examples in all the cases of plane trigonometry. But it is not, therefore, necessary, or even desirable, that he should be followed thus closely through the subsequent and more advanced stages of the science. Let us suppose him to have been thoroughly schooled and exercised in the elementary mathematics, and that then, with higher preparation, and a more mature understanding than at present, he passes onward to the collegiate method of studying this branch of education, which obtains in Scotland. He might be one in a class of fifty, or even of a hundred, and yet make substantial progress notwithstanding. He cannot, it is true, be examined on every demonstration, yet he must prepare for the chance of being examined on it, for he knows not but that he may be named for that purpose. After having undergone all the previous gymnastics through which we suppose him to have passed, he is fit surely for reading intelligently over by himself a treatise on conic sections. Much more might he follow intelligently the lucubrations of a master who demonstrates and explains every proposition, and who has every demonstration repeated to him by one or other of the students. That he may be the student called upon, operates as a stimulus both to his attention in the class-room, and to his busy preparation out of doors. Add to this, the prescribed exercises which he may be frequently required to perform, and which in no instance can escape the observation of the professor, who, it may be farther observed, will find no difficulty in giving to each student his relative place in the scale of merit and estimation. The pupils of a college-class in Scotland are not acted upon by that compulsion which is

proper to boys, but they may be fully acted upon by that higher and more generous compulsion which is proper to young men. The great thing to be desired for giving effect to our system is, that they shall have enough outgrown their boyhood, and have approached sufficiently near to manhood, before the higher studies are entered upon. After which there is every security for their making a sound progress in these studies, inasmuch as that all who will to make that progress may make it; and, in fact, it is quite practicable, by exercises and examinations together, to bring the talent and proficiency of each fully out both to the view of the professor and of his class. The merits of not one of the students need remain unknown. The able and attentive may have the opportunity of signalizing themselves throughout the session by their masterly appearances, whether in oral or written demonstrations. Even they to whom mathematics are a drudgery, have all the impulse to exertion which lies in the approbation of their teacher, and the awarded respect of their fellow-students.* Certain, too, it is, that they who have come forth from the gymnasium smitten with a taste for the sciences, and endowed with an intellect which triumphs in the difficulties with which it has to contend, and is regaled with its success in surmounting them, might follow their professor, without the failure of a single step, to the very highest of his lessons, even though he should carry them to the utmost verge of our present discoveries.

22. They who conceive of the Scotch university system as hollow and inefficient throughout, overlook the distinction between that treatment which is right for boys, and that which is right for men. Surely if a full-grown man may, in virtue of his present maturity and previously acquired scholarship, read with perfect intelligence the most arduous book in mathematics or morals, though altogether left to himself,—then, the nearer a learner is to this maturity and manhood, the more independent he is of aid and superintendence on the part of a living master. He may require this aid to a certain degree, just as he might require the help of a commentary to throw light on some difficult text. But just as the commentary should be more or less copious, according to the various ages or acquirements of the

* In the English colleges, there is great efficacy ascribed to their prizes. In our own colleges, all that is needed is an hour for examination in each class; and—numerously attended as many of them are—there would be presented at least the weekly, if not daily opportunity of such distinguished exhibitions, on the part of the ablest students, as should carry in them all the moral efficacy of a prize.

reader, so ought the expositions of the teacher to be more or less full, and the examinations to be more or less frequent, according to the advancement of his pupils. There is in this matter a keeping between the age and the regimen—a time when the puerile discipline may be relaxed with safety and advantage before it is given up altogether. There is as much one educational treatment for a youth of twenty, and another for a boy of fifteen, as there is one treatment for a boy of ten years of age, and another for a child of five. Because the class-room of an English tutor, with its perpetual task-work and its close overhanging vigilance, is the best adapted for youth of a lower age; it follows not that the lecture-room of a Scotch professor, even though the practicks of education obtain there in a far less degree, is not the best adapted for youth of a higher age. Our great error is, that we admit students too soon into the lecture-room—not that our university system is not the best which can be made to bear on a certain period in the growth and development of the human intellect, but that we make it to bear on a wrong period, on a period immature for the application of it. But the way to amend this is to alter the period, and not to overturn the system—not to sink the collegiate into the scholastic, but, preserving them distinct, to take care that the scholastic course shall be thoroughly described before the collegiate course is entered upon.

23. Nevertheless we most willingly allow that we are deficient in the practicks of Education. We would have these admitted more largely even into our highest classes. Not that we would give up the hour which at present is devoted almost exclusively to the lecture of the professor; but it would be an improvement if in each class there was another hour for examinations and exercises. With this supplement, the Scottish system should remain untouched; and professors should be left as heretofore to their own independent views, and their own original style of treatment and preparation in all the sciences;—not tied down to the order and the lessons of an antiquated text-book,* but at liberty to change their instructions with the light and spirit of the age, and themselves in the advanced position of men who, after having traversed all the doctrines of our existent philosophy, can both enrich it and widen its domain by discoveries and doctrines of their own.

24. It would be no subversion of this professorial method of

* See Note G, Appendix.

teaching, but an improvement of it, to superadd the stimulus of a great public examination at the end of each session, in every way as sifting and severe as those which are held in the English universities, at the dispensation of honours, and affording the same tests of high proficiency in the various sciences as are required at our sister institutions in mathematics and the ancient languages. We maintain that by our peculiar methods, students can be effectually prepared for such a trial; and that, from the lecture-rooms of our Scottish professors, there might issue youths as thoroughly accomplished in the principles of the ethical and intellectual philosophy, in political economy, and the various branches of a theological education, as if they had been made to undergo that more elaborate distillation which is imaged to take place in the tutors' class-rooms of Oxford and Cambridge.

25. There is doubtless a certain style of close and almost compulsory tuition by which every doctrine of a text-book might be infused into the scholar's mind, and which can be better accomplished by a Fellow in his chamber with a few pupils, than by a Professor in his lecture-room with many. But then, however needed by boys, it is not needed by young men who have out-grown their boyhood. For example, a class might thus be most minutely and thoroughly lessoned in every chapter and paragraph of Paley's Moral Philosophy, and yet we are confident that, by the ordinary collegiate methods of Scotland, and more especially if an hour of examination were superadded to the hour of lecturing, a tenfold greater number of youths could not only be instructed, but soundly instructed, and that within half a year, not in the doctrines of this book only, but in all the doctrines of any worth or prominence which are to be found in the most distinguished works on ethical science. In that space of time, the professor could take a wide compass over the whole literature of his subject; and he could deliver with fulness and effect all the truths of permanent importance which have been expounded by our best writers, from Bacon and Butler, to Brown and Dugald Stewart of our own day; and he could make full exposure of the scepticism and the infidel sophistries by which the orthodox system of morals has been assailed; and he could sit in judgment on all his predecessors; and without either trampling on that which is precious, or going widely astray after the novelties of wayward speculation, he could nevertheless cast the science in the mould of his own understanding, and transmute it into his own language, and throw all the freshness of

an original interest over the lessons of his course ; and with these lessons he could thoroughly imbue the great majority of his pupils, traversing along with them the whole length and breadth of his department, and giving them, we are sure, a far greater amount of instruction than they ever could acquire by conning over the dicta of any single author in the pages of an established text-book. For giving effect to this high professorial mode of teaching, all that we require is a sufficient age for our pupils. This is the great reformation wanted ; and not that we should exchange the methods of Smith, and Stewart, and Playfair, and Jardine, and Black, for the mere pedagogy of the English colleges.

26. It is just because the preparatory schooling is so complete in England, that there the pedagogical method admits of being relaxed in the universities ; and our professorial method might with all the more safety be substituted in its room. And it is just because our preparatory schooling is so very deficient, that the professorial style of instruction wherewith it is instantly followed up, lies open to the charge of being so very preposterous and premature. There is thus a perversity in each of the two systems ; and it would not be the way to amend either of them, that it should be run entirely into the other. The danger to be apprehended is, lest in the work of amelioration which has begun with the colleges of Scotland, it should be proposed to sink the business of a professor into that of a schoolmaster ; whereas the only right way of proceeding would be to provide that the schoolmaster finish his work, ere the higher task of the professor shall be entered upon. We trust that the main characteristics of our Scottish system, instead of being subverted, will be kept inviolate ; and that our professorial method of tuition will not be done away, but only provided with a good basis of English pedagogy.

27. This being provided, we are satisfied that our Scottish system might be compared most advantageously with the system which obtains in the universities of England. There we behold the strictly scholastic method kept up often beyond the age of majority in the two departments of mathematics and the classics. And the main strength of teachers and pupils being thus centred upon one or two subjects, there arises, as we might expect, the natural consequence of a greater amount of high proficiency in these, than is generally to be found in the seminaries which have adopted a more comprehensive scheme of education. Yet,

we cannot for a moment doubt, that, from the latter seminaries, if under the conduct of able professors in all the sciences, a far greater produce of usefulness might be thrown off upon society. All that is wanted for this is the exaction of higher qualifications at the outset of the university career; that the faculties of our students may be enough expanded for the lessons of a sublime or arduous philosophy; and that, although beyond the coercion which would absolutely force a daily preparation for each, there may, from the single circumstance of their age, be a sufficient guarantee, in the power of manly and liberal inducements alone, for at least a large proportion of them in every class entering fully and vigorously into the spirit and studies of the course. To us it is inconceivable how accomplished linguists, and mathematicians, and economists, and moralists, and theologians, and chemists, and naturalists, can fail of being formed under an arrangement like this; or wherein lies the mysterious inaptitude of such an apparatus, for the effective conveyance of full and substantial instruction in all the branches of science and literature. It will therefore scarcely admit of a question, by which of the two systems of education a greater service is rendered to the community—whether by universities that send forth many of their sons thoroughly schooled in mathematics and the ancient languages, but in these two branches of education alone; or by universities that send forth fewer so well accomplished in these, but that make up for this defect by sending forth a few who have made eminent proficiency in each of the sciences, and many besides, who, though not beyond a respectable mediocrity in any of the separate departments of human knowledge, yet, in the description of their college course, have acquired a general intellectual cultivation, which is thereby largely diffused throughout the higher and middle classes of society.

28. The comparison between the two systems may be made thus. Only the few, by dint of surpassing strength and genius, are fitted to extend the boundaries of any of the sciences. The many never realize this glory; and yet they receive incalculable good from studies in which they make considerable advances, although immeasurably distanced therein by those of colossal mind, who are destined to out-peer all their fellows, and to be the luminaries of their age. To receive benefit from a science, it is not necessary that one should attain the station of a master or a discoverer. There is a scholarship far short of this, which

may so grace and inform the mind as to be of inestimable worth to its possessor. We even think that the spread of this more moderate proficiency among hundreds, is of greater use and importance to society than would be the elevation of half-a-dozen to superlative rank and accomplishment in learning. But both are best; and we most willingly admit that it would be a serious deduction from the usefulness of a college, if it failed in either one or other of these services.

29. By this distinction between the few highly eminent, and the many merely respectable scholars, we shall be the better enabled to set the English and Scottish university modes of education fairly against each other. In regard to the first class of scholars, the highly eminent, it is evident, that, under either mode, there is enough of practical teaching for the development of that special capacity and power to which their aptitude for eminence is owing. There may be more of taskwork and lessoning in the southern than in the northern colleges; but it is not by the mere dint and quantity of lessoning that genius is created, although a certain amount of it be necessary for the excitement of genius to those spontaneous and self-sustained efforts by which mainly its future triumphs are achieved. Now, we contend that such an amount of lessoning is to be had in the colleges of Scotland—as much of it, indeed, in every department of education, as will set every student, having the requisite taste and talent which may qualify him for eminence in that department, most prosperously agoing. Let the bent of his inclinations and energies be towards philology, or belles-lettres, or mathematics, or physics, or ethics, or economical science, he comes in contact with enough of his favourite subject for awakening the kindred inspiration; and enough, too, of practical guidance for directing him on that path of study, in which, if he be gifted with original and inventive faculties, his conceptions may ripen into immortal authorship. Only grant, then, that those minds of surpassing force and fire, which need but the touch of some congenial excitement, that they may kindle into the luminaries of their age—only grant, in regard to such minds, that they may be as effectually ignited at a Scotch as at an English college; and then we ask, in behalf of the former institution, whether it is not better that all the various sciences should be presented to the various taste and intellect of its students, than that its whole discipleship should consist in the exclusive and incessant application of but two subjects or two sciences? Is it not better for

the country, that, at the great fountainheads of its literature, there should be rendered a supply of human knowledge in all its branches ; and that altogether there should, in the wide range of its professorships, be as many affinities provided as might suit the peculiar aptitude and disposition of every genius ? In this way each master spirit is furnished with its own proper science ; and each science, in the encyclopedia of human learning, acts by its own magnetic charm on every spirit that is kindred to itself. There is thus a far greater amount of superlative talent enlisted in the service of philosophy, and that not in but one or two of its branches, but in all the most important diversities of human study and human speculation. We do not lose, under this generalized system of education, the services of those who, in virtue of their peculiar mental conformation, are signally and specially qualified, either in the ancient languages to shed an original light over the walks of criticism, or in the mathematics to extend the resources of the science, and open up new tracks of investigation. And additionally to these, we secure minds of another conformation for the like high service in other sciences. We supply each first-rate genius with the theme which he is best adapted to perfect or to adorn ; and, instead of only sending forth men fitted more thoroughly to explore the classics, or more widely to extend the mathematics than before ; we overspread the entire field of human knowledge with labourers, each qualified to make original contributions in his own department, and collectively to enrich and to enlarge not one or two, but all the provinces of learning.

30. But the comparison we are making has hitherto respected chiefly those who are capable of reaching the loftiest scholarship. Another comparison has yet to be made in reference to those who, though far short of eminence like this, yet acquire at universities the polish, and the information, and the disciplined intellect, and the certain cast of mental strength and superiority which are generally attendant on the pursuits of literature, even although the specific acquisitions do not amount to more than what may be termed a respectable scholarship. And the question is, whether it is better that the acquisitions to be obtained at our seminaries should be restricted to one or two, or should be extended to all the sciences. In other words, whether among a thousand students who have reached proficiency in one or other of the classes, it is better for the society wherein they mingle in future life, that one-half of this number should be good linguists,

and another half good mathematicians ; or that they should be still more subdivided, so as to afford a smaller number of good linguists and good mathematicians, and to leave a surplus, out of which there may be drawn so many good theologians, and good naturalists, and good economists, and good chemists, and good or tolerable adepts in all the branches of literature and philosophy. Is it not better that there should be all these varieties of acquirement and mental cultivation corresponding to the varieties of truth and nature ? For the general intelligence of a people, is it not a good thing that there should at least be some, however few, who are intelligent in each one branch of human knowledge that can be specified ? Is it desirable for a nation, that its whole literary public should be made up of mere philologists and mere geometers ? If not, can that institution be said to fulfil the proper end of a *university*, which, instead of furnishing society with proficient in every kind of scholarship, deals exclusively in the manufacture of but two species of literary men ? When truth and nature offer such manifold varieties of mental food, is a university which dispenses so limited a number of these varieties, and withholds all the rest, in keeping either with the powers of man, or with the objects of that theatre by which he is surrounded ?* Would it not, then, by a more comprehensive scheme of education, adapt itself more both to the diverse exigencies of human life, and to the diverse appetencies of the human intellect ?

31. But we are now proceeding on the supposition, that they who describe the curriculum of a Scottish college, make proficiency only in one branch of education. Certain it is that, in the majority of instances, there is one favourite science in which each student makes his greatest proficiency. But, along with this, he very commonly receives a certain infusion of the other sciences ; and the various faculties of his mind are exercised and improved by the various studies in which he is engaged—as his taste in the study of languages and belles-lettres ; his reason in the study of mathematics ; his power of internal reflection in the study of human nature ; and his power of analysis, by which he elicits principles from the complex phenomena presented to him,

* We are sensible, while making this comparison between two systems, that neither of them is exemplified, whether in England or Scotland, to the full : that, on the one hand, in our universities the complement of sciences is not altogether made up ; and that, on the other hand, along with the regular courses of Oxford and Cambridge, there are public lectures delivered on a variety of subjects.

when studying the doctrines of economical science or the relations of civil society. Besides all this, too, a mind which thus diversifies its acquisitions finds itself in a state of completer adjustment with the actual diversities of that scene over which man expatiates, and in which he has a part to perform. It is more cast, as it were, in the mould of universal truth; and becomes more nearly a mirror of that Divine workmanship which is itself the mirror of that manifold wisdom wherewith all things have been created. It surely tends to grace and dignify an individual, and not to derogate from his honour, when it is said of him that he has a mind stored with various information. This, doubtless, is a better and higher accomplishment than to be a mere linguist, or a mere mathematician, or, indeed, a mere proficient in any single department of knowledge—whose one exclusive *forte* or faculty confers little or no illustration on its possessor, unless in those rare cases where it elevates him to the rank of a master and discoverer in science. The man of blended and comprehensive acquirements bids fairer to acquit himself well, both in the business of life and the converse of society; and such acquirements can more readily be had in describing the round of that varied education for which we are now contending.

32. We have thought it necessary to say thus much on our Scottish collegiate methods of instruction, in the conviction, that by means of some very practicable improvements, the objections which have been charged against them may be fully done away. It has been charged upon our universities, that there is a want of what the French would call *approfondissement* amongst us; that we offer nought but the sketches of a varied and agreeable, but withal meagre, philosophy; that even when the course of some occasional professor is profound as well as brilliant, such as, most undoubtedly, was that of Reid, and Brown, and Dr. Adam Smith, yet, from the very bare cognizance which is taken of the pupils, there is a want, at all events, of complete and substantial scholarship among them; and that thus, from the colleges of the north there emanates a whole host of pretenders, who, though abundantly versant in the phraseology of science, have made no careful and elaborate search into its principles. We admit that at present, and more especially in our higher classes, there is a lack of sufficient inspection over the progress of our students. But this could easily be remedied to all the extent that is desirable, after which we only require the attendance of more advanced students, in order that they may

be made as expert and as erudite in the modern philosophy as our English neighbours are in the ancient languages. The college apparatus of Scotland is fully competent to such an effect—to the effect of nurturing a hardy race of severe and sound thinkers in every walk of human speculation—men of depth and substance and firm staple—and of far purer and wiser aim than to shine forth in the tiny lustre of those slender and superficial, but withal plausible accomplishments, which have been said by our contemptuous friends in the south to constitute all the philosophy of our nation.

33. But we must return from this digression—yet not without deducing from it what we have ever held to be a valid, and, indeed, an incontrovertible reason, in behalf of literary endowments. For giving such efficacy to our college system, as may place above, or even put it on a level, in point of utility, with the university system of England, it seems indispensable that our students should be greatly more advanced, both in age and in acquisitions, than on the average they are at present. But such a reformation would obviously lessen the number of pupils, and so proportionally lessen the revenues of the professors. Or, in other words, that change which imposes upon them the task of a far more arduous preparation for the lessons of a now more arduous philosophy, is at the same time a change which, if not followed up by any compensation, must oblige them to forego a portion of their emoluments, and so to descend to a lower status in society. This compensation is only to be found, either in larger fees, or in larger endowments. And if it be indeed true that professors are already sufficiently low in the scale of society—if these public functionaries have been immeasurably left behind in the growing opulence of all the classes in the state,—if, as it unquestionably holds in the provincial universities, the masters there are scarcely enabled, even with the severest struggle, to support the establishments, or to maintain the appearance of gentlemen,—then the cause of endowments is that of pure science and of lofty sentiment, however maligned it may have been by a spurious or mistaken patriotism.

34. The pending experiment in London is well fitted to manifest the principles of this subject. The university there is to be slenderly endowed, and the main security of the professors for a revenue is to be laid on the spontaneous demand for education. And there will be no statutes of apprenticeship to compel an attendance upon its classes; so that, at the outset, it will have

nothing to look to for its support, but the prevailing taste for literature and philosophy in the metropolis. What we should anticipate, in these circumstances, is a larger attendance, at the first, from the force and attraction of novelty, but which will afterwards subside, to the discouragement perhaps, though not, we trust, to the utter despair of those who at present are most sanguine in their hopes of a great coming enlargement both of light and of liberty from this patriotic institution. We do apprehend for this seminary of magnificent promise, the mortifying experience of a native sluggishness and apathy on the part of the city families, ere a higher taste shall be created among them, and there shall be excited a more adequate demand for the attainments of a severe and exalted scholarship. But for such an elevation of the general taste of these families, the infancy of this noble undertaking must be cherished to the uttermost; and it may even need the strenuous perseverance of years, ere it shall be fostered into the conclusive state of a secure and lasting establishment. And after all, we fear that, for the upholding of its prosperity, there must be a perpetual compromise between pure science, on the one hand, and the popular taste upon the other. There will be need to be a half-way meeting between them,—a descent on the part of philosophy, from its own proper level, in order to draw the general mind upward to at least a higher level than it before occupied. The service is invaluable; but a sacrifice must be made for the performance of it. The otherwise dull and didactic course must be enlivened by a thousand expedients not altogether in keeping with the dignity of stern and high intellect—as an occasional flash of eloquence, though somewhat misplaced amid the abstruser doctrines which it is intended to relieve; or the glare of showy experiments, though not the best fitted for the manifestation of principle; or an abatement from the rigour of demonstrations, without which the judgment is left unsatisfied. In a word, effect must be consulted to the uttermost; and the dread is, lest the high interests of truth and reason should suffer by it. The seminary must adjust itself to the taste and demand of society; and may not, in fact, be able to get on without a certain dash of that empiricism which both tarnishes the honours, and deteriorates the firm staple of philosophy. It will do incalculable good in its sphere; although, far above it, there should be the upper spheres of chaste, and lofty, and ethereal intellect. It is well that the citizens of our land should be provided with as

much light as they will receive and pay for; but that is no reason why the savans of our land should not be provided with a purer and a higher light, even though it should fetch no price in the general market. And it is because it fetches no price, that, unless upholden in another way, it will inevitably expire. On the principle of demand and supply, there may be the spread of a popular philosophy; but if left exclusively to this, there may be the utter disappearance of a transcendent philosophy from our nation. We therefore trust, that, for science in its best and loftiest character, there will ever subsist its present hospitable asylum in the old Attic retreats of Oxford and Cambridge, where it may continue to flourish as heretofore in the shade and under the shelter of college endowments. We feel no doubt that thence will still issue forth the largest proportion of our most precious and enduring literature; and that, whatever the light may be which shall radiate from more modern seminaries, it will, generally speaking, be found that, in light of superior purity and permanence, the existing universities both of England and Scotland shall greatly overpass them.*

35. We shall be greatly misunderstood, however, if it be thought that we hold the proposed university of the metropolis in light estimation. It will achieve a mighty service if it but elevate the middle classes of that immense city to a higher grade in the scale of mental cultivation, even although in science and scholarship it should come far short of the endowed colleges. But what confers its chief interest on this projected seminary is, that it will act upon these colleges by a most wholesome reflex influence. The very dread of being outrivalled will force them to bestir themselves; and, in whatever degree they may have heretofore been the dormitories of literature, we know not a more effectual device than a great popular institution like this, for awakening their dormant energies. The very dismay and jealousy wherewith it is regarded by the dignitaries of our established system, are the best guarantees of a coming renovation. Professors will be aroused from their indolence; and patrons be ashamed of

* The celebrated Lacroix of Paris teaches a class of the higher mathematics, where he is often not attended by more than eight students. If he furnish his country with that number of accomplished mathematicians every year, he renders back to it a sufficient value for all that he receives in the shape of salary. But how could such a class be sustained by fees alone? It is proposed, we understand, that the salaries of the higher professors in the London University shall be paid from the overplus of those fees which are paid for the more popular classes. This is a truly interesting experiment; and every enlightened friend of his species will rejoice in the success of it.

that vile prostitution by which the chairs of philosophy have been trafficked, and bestowed at the bidding of an ignoble politics. For reasons on which we have now abundantly insisted, we conceive that, in an endowed, there is a better mechanism than in an unendowed college, for working off the products of science and sound literature. But if there be a virtue in the worse mechanism to stimulate the better mechanism, and set it more actively agoing; then to the former really, though indirectly, we may have to attribute the high service of raising and sustaining the character of philosophy in our land. It is not difficult to reconcile our preference for endowed universities, to the pleasure wherewith we contemplate the rise of a great popular university in the midst of them. The one sentiment is truly the effect of the other. The recent institution will never, we think, outstrip the older ones; but it will urge them onward so that they shall be perpetually ahead of itself. It will be the impellent cause for advancing and elevating the tone of science, even though a high-toned science may never be dispensed from its own lecture-rooms. It will work its greatest good through the medium of Oxford and Cambridge; and, in their ostensible triumph, and its own apparent defeat and inferiority, will an intelligent observer recognise the most substantial proof of the great service it shall have achieved for the nation.*

36. There is a bigotry on the side of endowed seminaries, which leads those whom it actuates to be jealous of popular institutions. And, on the other hand, there is a generous feeling towards these institutions, which is often accompanied with a certain despite towards the endowed and established seminaries. We think that a more comprehensive consideration of the actings and reactings which take place in society, should serve to abate the heats of this partisanship; and that, what in view is regarded as the conflict of jarring and hostile elements, should, in another, be rejoiced in as a harmonious concourse of influences, tending to accomplish the grand and beneficent result of an enlightened nation. It is just because we wish so well to colleges, that we hail the prosperity of mechanic institutions. The latter will never outrun the former, but so stimulate them onwards, that the literature of our higher classes shall hold the same relative advancement and superiority as before over the literature of our artisans. It will cause no derangement and no disproportion. The light which shall then overspread the floor of the

* See Note H, Appendix.

social edifice, will only cause the lustres which are in the higher apartments to blaze more gorgeously. The basement of the fabric will be greatly more elevated, yet without violence to the symmetry of the whole architecture ; for the pinnacles and upper stories of the building will rise as proudly and as gracefully as ever above the platform which sustains them. There is indefinite room in truth and science for an ascending movement, and the taking up of higher positions : and if, in virtue of a popular philosophy now taught in schools of art, we are to have more lettered mechanics, this will be instantly followed up by a higher philosophy in colleges than heretofore ; and in virtue of which we shall also have a more accomplished gentry, a more intellectual parliament, a more erudite clergy, and altogether a greater force and fulness of mind throughout all the departments of the commonwealth. The whole of society will ascend together, and therefore without disturbance to the relation of its parts. But, in every stage of this progress, the endowed colleges will continue to be the highest places of intellect ; the country's richest lore, and its most solid and severest philosophy, will always be found in them.

CHAPTER III.

ON CHURCH ENDOWMENTS.*

1. THE argument in behalf of endowments seems to stand on the same footing with Christian as with common education. In the one case it is founded on the languor of the intellectual appetite ; so that ignorance, if left to itself, will not, by any spontaneous effort of its own, go in quest of instruction, or provide the effectual means by which it may be supplied to the extent that is desirable. In the other case, there may be alleged the languor of the moral or the spiritual appetite ; so that irreligion, if left to itself, will not originate the movement by which it may be brought into contact with that ministration which is best suited to it. In both cases, the subject to be dealt with must be addressed by an application from without. It must be treated aggressively. And, in like manner, as schools have to be raised, and teachers' salaries to be provided for every little district of

* The argument in behalf of an endowed and established church is more fully expounded by the author in "The Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation," chap. iii.

the land, ere the inert mass can be thoroughly pervaded with scholarship—so we fear that, without a like provision of churches and beneficed churchmen to preach in them, the vast majority of our land would be left without the reach of gospel calls, or gospel opportunities.

2. The experiment of leaving religion without a religious establishment, has been tried on a large scale in America : and it is much to be wished that we had thorough statistical information from that country as the results of it. It is not enough to be told of the revivals which have taken place in that part of the world ; nor yet of the many churches, with their full attendance, in certain towns or even provinces of that immense territory. These, although of an imposing magnitude when stated absolutely, may yet be of small comparative amount to the exigencies of the whole population. And besides, in most of the Northern States, at least till very lately, there was an ecclesiastical system altogether tantamount to an establishment—a revenue exacted and set aside by law for the maintenance of a clergy, though a clergy not of one but of various denominations. It has often been affirmed, that to this arrangement the people of New England stood indebted for the evident superiority of their moral and religious habits over those of the Southern and middle States. We have further heard that in New Hampshire the law of a compulsory provision for the teachers of Christianity has recently been abolished—and with this effect, that, in many instances, when a chapel has become vacant by the death of the incumbent, his place has not been supplied ; and the district which enjoyed his services, now left without any Sabbath ministrations whatever, gives melancholy attestation to the native listlessness and unconcern of its families. Certain it is, that in other places of the Union, even in those which have been settled so long as now to have reached a high state both of wealth and population, there is abundant proof of an extremely feeble demand for the lessons of Christianity. The rapid increase of human beings is followed up, at a very sluggish and unequal pace, by an increase in the means of religious instruction. The effect of this lethargy is, that whole breadths of territory are in a state of spiritual desolation ; and the families by whom they are occupied, almost strangers to the habits or the decencies of a Christian land, are represented as being scarcely above a state of practical heathenism.*

* See Note I, Appendix.

3. But instead of drawing our argument from the uncertainties of a dim and distant region—we may only look nearer home, to have the very same exhibition of our nature immediately under our eyes. It is true that we have an endowed church; which was formerly more adequate than it is now to the wants of our population. But many are the towns and parishes of our land where the population has vastly outgrown the means of Christian instruction within the pale of the establishment—and it is interesting to mark in how far the deficiency has been made up by the spontaneous efforts of those who are unable to find admittance into its churches. It is unquestionable that dissenters have done much by their chapels to supplement the deficiency; but it were an utter mistake to imagine that they have nearly overtaken it. The truth is that, in our large cities, and more especially in their suburbs, as well as in those manufacturing districts which so teem with recent villages, and whose every establishment has its cluster of families—it may with all safety be affirmed, that greatly more than one half of the people of sufficient age for church-going attend nowhere; and that they neither own nor occupy seats in any place of worship whatever. The sectarians, with all their activity and zeal, notwithstanding the fullest toleration for their efforts, have not been able to pervade this impenetrable mass—and the profaneness and profligacy of the multitude just deepen and accumulate the more with every augmentation of their numbers. It is quite palpable that the people do not seek after the article of Christian instruction, as they would after an article of ordinary merchandise. This appears most patently in all those cases where the people have multiplied beyond the establishment—and we may infer the melancholy result, if, without an establishment altogether, they had been left to no other principle than that of demand and supply over the whole length and breadth of the land.

4. This, then, is the good of an establishment. The people, instead of being left to go in quest of religious instruction, have by its means the instruction obtruded upon them. Generally speaking, they have not so much of desire or demand for the article, as that they shall themselves originate the movement towards it, and far less travel the whole distance, and make all the efforts and all the sacrifices necessary to obtain it. In the vast majority of instances would neither the requisite trouble be taken, nor the requisite expense be incurred. They have not enough of native appetite to create an effective demand for the

food ; and unlike to the corporeal, the want of this food, instead of whetting the spiritual appetite, would only dull and deaden it the more. We have therefore no doubt, that, on the event of our establishment being swept away, and a mere system of free-trade being substituted in its place, the moral effect would be tremendous. That which gave activity and healthful impulse to the commerce of our land, would be of withering effect upon its Christianity. Let the machinery, if needful, be actuated by the force and the fire of another principle—let all its rust and other unhingements be done away—let it be provided with more efficient workmen—and everything be done so as that it shall perform its evolutions more sweetly and yet more powerfully than before—but let it not be taken down. It never will be replaced by the spontaneous act, or kept in operation by the spontaneous habit of the people. It may be better wrought at one time and worse at another ; but, even with all its corruptions, our establishment is a stay and a safeguard—and a helpless, a headlong degeneracy would ensue from the demolition of it.

5. And an establishment might be so framed, as, by a sufficient multiplication of parishes, to pervade the whole mass of society. Let each family be provided with a church so near, that by an easy Sabbath-day's journey they might enjoy the stated ministrations of a clergyman, and each clergyman be provided with a territory so moderate and manageable, that, by his week-day movements, he can ply the attentions of Christianity and kindness with frequent reiteration upon all the families,—this were to secure, over the whole length and breadth of the land, such a juxtaposition between the gospel and every human creature, as never will be accomplished in any other way. Let such an apparatus be *well worked* ;* and in no other way will a population be so thoroughly seasoned with religious instruction or so regularly served. Without this, we fear that in every country there must be unbroken fastnesses, within which men would persist always in the undisturbed heathenism of nature ; and whence they would never, by any primary will of their own, go forth to the lessons or emerge into the light of Christianity. They must be assailed from without—and that, not by transient or migratory invaders, but such as shall, having made good their lodgement, keep perpetual occupancy within the borders. How is it that dissenters, with all their activity, and all the freedom which they enjoy, both of effort and locomotion, have

* The consideration of this necessary condition is deferred to the next chapter.

not been able to overtake this? Both in the excess of the larger country parishes, and in the growing surplus of town populations, there is ample range over which they might expatiate at pleasure. And yet the vast majority of these outfield families remain like sheep without a shepherd—aliens from the habits and the decencies of a Christian land—and demonstrate of how little avail for reclaiming them are a mere gratuitous zeal in behalf of Christianity upon the one side, and a spontaneous demand for the lessons of Christianity upon the other. It appears but a distant expectation, that, out of these two elements alone, we shall arrive at the result of a humanized peasantry; and we should at the least not be so far short of it, were these outcasts provided with a sufficient number of officiating churchmen—not working gratuitously, but conscientiously alive to the duties of their station—and not waiting a spontaneous demand among the families of their allotted vineyards, but fostering that demand by the assiduity both of their pulpit and their household services.

6. We most readily admit, that ere the machine of an establishment do its full good in a country, it must be provided with men who will work it well. It is not such a machine as supersedes the zeal and activity of Christian labourers; but it is such a machine as, when put into their hands, makes that zeal and activity tenfold more effective. It is no argument for setting it aside, that without the devotedness of human hearts, and the diligence of human hands it is useless. Enough that through its intervention, any given amount of such devotedness and such diligence is made far more useful. It surely does not nullify the military art, that, for its best devised system of tactics, the courage of human beings is indispensable. And the same holds of spiritual tactics—one system of which may be greatly more efficient than another, although neither should be of any avail without labour and integrity on the part of clergymen. We hold that, by means of an endowed church, and a territorial division of the country into parishes, there is secured a greatly fuller and wider dispensation of the lessons of the gospel through the land, than by means of any such arrangement as might come spontaneously forth of all the zeal that exists for the diffusion of Christianity, on the one hand, and of all the desire that exists for the reception of Christianity, on the other. That this zeal should have its ebbs and its alternations, is no better argument for the destruction of our establishment than is the fluctu-

ating supply, by inundation of water from the Nile, for effacing or filling up those ducts of conveyance which serve for the irrigation of Egypt. Though it is the descent of living water from the upper sanctuary, which transforms the sons of nature into holy and heaven-born men—this does not supersede an earthly tactics and an earthly mechanism for the right distribution of it. Should the Nile cease from its overflows there would no fertilizing influence be conveyed over the land, through the dry and deserted channels by which it was intersected. And should the Spirit of God withdraw the showers of His grace from our nation, we have no such blind confidence in the virtue of frameworks, as to look for a sanctifying influence from the mechanism of pulpits and parishes. Nevertheless, it is good to uphold the sluices and reservoirs and aqueducts of Egypt; for when the Nile shall again rise above its banks, that is the apparatus by which its water shall be most beneficially dispersed over the fields of the territory. And nevertheless, it is good to uphold the churches and the parsonages and the livings of our establishment; for when the celestial influence shall again come down upon us, that is the terrestrial apparatus for the most beneficial dispersion of it among the families of our population.

7. We associate, in fancy, more of locomotion, more of itinerancy, with dissenterism; yet, in fact, an establishment, when rightly viewed, has greatly more in it of the character and power of a missionary operation. It may be regarded as a universal home mission. It works aggressively all over the land. That was a prodigious aggressive movement which it made at the outset, when it first planted its churches and chalked out its parishes, and so caused the voice of the gospel to be heard throughout the whole length and breadth of the territory. And then, if rightly followed up, we shall discern in its internal workings the same character; for each minister, in his own little vineyard, is provided with ample scope, and is placed on the best vantage-ground for the high and holy functions of a Christian missionary. It is true, that his pulpit is stationary, and there must be some predisposition for Christianity among those families of his people who are drawn to it by a process of attraction on the Sabbath. But his person is moveable; and, by a process of aggression through the week, he can go forth among all the families of his people, even among those who have as little of predisposition for Christianity as exists in the remotest wilds of paganism. We have not to traverse oceans and conti-

nents, in order to perform the essential work of a missionary; or to assail an immortal spirit which is not in quest of salvation for itself, with the calls and overtures of heaven's high embassy. There is a moral as well as a physical distance which must be overcome; and, in the act of doing it, the parochial clergyman may have to face such difficulties, and to force his way through such barriers of dislike or prejudice or delicacy, that in the prosecution of his calling, he may, without half a mile of locomotion, earn the proudest triumphs, and discharge the most arduous functions—and, in short, evince all the sound characteristics of a most deep and devoted missionary. It is true, that the same spirit may alike actuate our dissenters and our churchmen; and we must not overlook the great Christian good achieved by the former, whether in those rare and transient visitations by which they intersect our land, or in that multitude of fabrics whence they permanently send forth the lessons of the gospel, and by which they have beautified, with frequent spots of surpassing verdure, the face of our island. This says much for them; but it says nothing against the effectiveness and the power which we ascribe to the machinery of an establishment, or against its fitness both for thoroughly pervading a land with the influences of Christianity, and for perpetuating these influences from generation to generation. It is most honourable to our sectarian ministers, that, unaided by the resources or facilities of an establishment, they have achieved so much; but this does not preclude the assertion, that with the same zeal and activity and Christian uprightness, they could, in the capacity of churchmen, more especially of parochial clergymen, have achieved a great deal more.*

8. There is a charm in the week-day services of a parish minister, which has not been duly estimated either by philanthropists or patriots. He, in the first instance, meets with general, and I had almost said, universal welcome from the families—at least from those in the humbler classes of society. His official and recognised character furnishes him with a ready passport to every habitation; and he will soon find that a visit to the house of a parishioner is the surest way of finding an access to his heart. Even the hardest and most hopeless in vice cannot altogether withstand this influence; and at times, in their own domestic history, there are opportunities whether by sickness, or disaster, or death, which afford a mighty advantage

* See Note K, Appendix.

to the Christian kindness that is brought to bear upon them. It is thus that Nature and Providence may be said to act as the handmaids of Christianity, by the frequent openings which they afford to its officiating ministers; and of which if he do avail himself, he is sure to obtain a vast moral ascendancy over the people. Even his courtesies on the way-side are not thrown away upon them; and little do they know of humanity, who would undervalue the most passing smiles and salutations which reciprocate between a clergyman and his people, whether as the symptoms or as the efficient of a cordiality the best fitted to soften the asperities of our nature, and so to cement and harmonize the jarring elements of a commonwealth. And his week-day attentions, and their Sabbath attendance go hand in hand. A house-going minister wins for himself a church-going people. The bland and benignant influences of his friendly converse, of his private and particular affection, are enlisted on the side of their piety—nor can we imagine a position of greater effectiveness than his, whence to bear on the hearts and habits of a surrounding population.

9. It is no personal disparagement to the dissenting minister, when we simply say of him that he is less favourably placed. He may officiate through the week among his own hearers, who often lie scattered in isolated families over a wide extent of country, or through all the streets, and to the distant outskirts of a populous town. We have no doubt that he would greatly augment his influence, by assuming a local district in either of these two situations, and, in the way of Christian experiment, charging himself with the duty of religious attention to all the families within its limits whom he shall find willing to receive him. We should look for a far wider and more welcome responsiveness, and therefore a better result than is generally anticipated. But, in point of fact, this is seldom if ever done by Dissenters. They are incredulous of its success—and are even themselves discouraged by a certain haunting sense of inferiority, which, in as far as it is well founded, is itself a strong demonstration in favour of a religious establishment. They do apprehend a certain defect of reception and recognition among the families; and that, on the ground too, that they are not the regular or established functionaries of the land. They hang back under a sort of consciousness, that theirs is not so valid a right of entry as that of the parish minister. They cannot help the feeling of a certain defect in their warrant, in virtue of

which they are not so authorized to go into every house, and there overture the services of Christianity. They themselves, in short, would have a greater sense of comfort and confidence in the prosecution of such a round, if translated into the place of regular clergymen, or similarly backed by the institutions of the land. For ourselves, we should like if our dissenting ministers could, in the spirit of enlightened zeal, or of active religious philanthropy, overleap all these delicacies, and actually make the attempt of carrying their household ministrations into the bosom of every family that would open the door to them. The fact that this is so little done by them, is pregnant with inference. To our mind, it speaks powerfully for a religious establishment; that under the cover of its sanctions, there is on the one side, a greater boldness of access felt by its ministers; and, on the other side, a readier acquiescence by the people, in their offered services. The propriety of a universal movement among the houses of his allotted territory on any Christian errand, or with any Christian proposal, is far more promptly recognised by all, when performed by the parish clergyman, than would be a similar movement, if gratuitously attempted by a sectarian minister. And this would be the feeling not of the upper classes of society alone—but, in truth, the feeling even of workmen and cottagers. It is one of those aptitudes of our nature, of which it were most legitimate to avail ourselves—and which is turned to its best account by the device of an establishment. Without this machinery, the population will fall away in large masses, beyond the scope of any ecclesiastical cognizance. With it a wide door of access is opened to all the families. It is just the access which it is most desirable that a man of principle and prayer should be provided with—that as it is a great, so also it may be an effectual door.*

10. The reason for such an ecclesiastical economy as we term an *establishment*, is founded on certain principles which seem rooted and established in the moral economy of man. One of these is a promptitude to do homage, and defer to that which is established, and just because it is so,—such a predisposition to acquiesce in the existing order of things, that we do not wait till we are satisfied of its goodness, ere the acquiescence is given; but give the acquiescence until we are provoked by its felt and ascertained badness, to resist and to disown it. The Author of our being does not trust our movements to our own

* 1 Cor. xvi. 9.

slow calculations of expediency—but He inserts moving forces into our condition, which have in them the urgency of an immediate law. And it is well for the peace and settlement of a community, that the gravitation of our nature should lie so much in the direction of the powers *that be*—not so strong as to be insuperable, when these powers make outrageous violation of the rights of conscience or liberty; but yet strong enough to secure the quiescence of the aggregate society, till violence to such an amount shall have been rendered. It is a great thing for public order, that the tendencies of our nature upon this subject should, in the first instance, be sedative, and on the side of the existent authorities,—by which we mean, not the supreme only, but also the provincial and parish authorities of the land. There is a *prima facie* claim on the side of these authorities, to which there is the instant response, not of a pusillanimous, but of a proper and well-principled homage on the part of the people. It is thus, that when a monarch appears in the midst of his subjects, even the most turbulent of them all cannot help the infection, not of a slavish, but of a generous and sentimental loyalty. It proves how congenially moulded the nature of man is, to the objects of rank and office and ascendant station, that on the moment of their presence, there is felt an involuntary respect, of which it may almost be said, that we lie under the moral impotency of withholding it. It is true that the respect may be forfeited—but this very forfeiture implies anterior possession—and it is possession grounded on a law of our nature, distinct from that by which we give our esteem to virtue, or our esteem to talent, or our esteem to personal strength, or personal loveliness. These are so many laws, but so also is that principle by which we give our esteem to station a law, having its own specific and substantive operation in the heart of man. To be without this, would mar and deform the character, and inflict upon it a sort of moral ungracefulness. The man who feels disrespect for magistracy, seems, to the general eye, as one stained with a blemish, or disfigured by a mutilation. The man who acts this disrespect, is, by the general voice, chargeable with indecency.

11. These influences meet in the person of an established clergyman—and they are greatly enhanced by the sacredness of his character. Altogether, he stands forth so invested in the public estimation, as to guarantee the utmost moral security, from aught like offence being felt, or insult being given, along the path of his Christian philanthropy. His parish office will

confer upon him a fully admitted right of introduction to every house in his parish—and, in spite of the popular jealousy where-with endowments are regarded, certain it is, that the popular influence of his visits, and attentions, and labours of love, will not be lessened, but greatly added to, if he have the manner and independence of a gentleman. And it saves him from a gross misinterpretation to which he might have been otherwise exposed, that his own personal interest is in no way dependent on the number of his hearers. We believe that there is a strong alliance between the household activities of a minister, and the Sabbath attendance of his people. But any shrewd imagination, that so much pains were taken with the one, because of the so much profit that accrued from the other, would dissipate the charm and efficacy of this operation. It is the prerogative of the established clergyman that he is above so injurious a suspicion. He may receive payment from the State. But in reference to the people he acts gratuitously. There may be an indispensable routine of duties—but all his spontaneous services bear upon the unequivocal aspect of pure and disinterested zeal. And this, in the midst of a people to whom he is every day more endeared by the kind notices and cordialities of his growing acquaintanceship, gives to all the forthgoings of an earnest parish minister, a power over the hearts and habits of families, which cannot be realized by any other individual in the commonwealth.*

12. It is a melancholy truth, that an office of such high capabilities, is, in many instances, not adequately filled. This, however, is no reason why the office should be abolished, though a most pertinent and powerful reason for its being purely and righteously patronized. The engine is not to be destroyed, because it has been sometimes worked by incompetent or unskilful engineers. The apparatus of a church establishment is not to be taken down, because, either at present or throughout past generations, it has been under the useless or perverse management of corrupt and indolent churchmen. When the concurrence of two things is necessary to a beneficial result, we are not to demolish the one, because we have not always secured the other.

* It is on this account, we confess, that we view the preservation of the Church Establishment in Ireland as a great object of national policy—being fully persuaded, that if only aright patronized, or, in other words, if worked by zealous and efficient ministers residing in their parishes, and expatiating in all the acts of common and Christian kindness throughout their respective vicinities, it would prove the organ of a greater moral and spiritual blessing to the land, than could be achieved by any other machinery which it is possible to devise.

The two essential conditions of usefulness, in the present instance, are a good machine, and a good mechanic; and the clear direction of wisdom is to keep up the machine, and to look out for the mechanic. The one we already have, in the framework of an endowed church, fitted, both by its extent and the minuteness of its subdivisions, for the conveyance of religious light and influence to every district of the land. But, for this result, it is indispensable that the working of the goodly instrument should be given to religious men. And ere the instrument should be put aside, and ere the Christianity of our people should be abandoned to the operation of those spontaneous forces, which have hitherto proved so inadequate, we should deem it greatly the better part, to uphold the establishment, and to labour in every possible way for its careful and conscientious patronage.

13. And for this inadequacy of dissenters, we might confidently appeal to the vivid recollection of its most zealous and influential supporters; we mean its inadequacy to the object of overspreading a land, with aught like a full and competent supply of religious instruction. And it is not that there is a defect in the supply of qualified ministers, but that there is a defect in that efficient demand which offers not only solicitation but support to ministers.* There are many who can both feelingly and experimentally tell how strong the *vis inertiae* is which they have oft to overcome, ere they can mature an erection for the regular performance of Sabbath services—what shifts, what entreaties, what humiliations, what heartless discouragements must all be undergone before the chapel is reared—what debts and difficulties beset the infant undertaking—and how frequently, after the house has been prepared, no such congregation can be allured, even in the midst of most populous and unprovided districts, as shall yield the barest subsistence to a minister. The country teems with these melancholy abortions; or, (should a living birth be the result of this sore labour,) with the no less melancholy struggles to sustain, by all sorts of appliances, a sickly and glimmering life, that is ever on the verge of its extinction. The penurious, and sometimes the disgraceful allowance on which the minister even of affluent hearers is permitted to bring up a family in starvation and sordidness, speaks powerfully on the side of our argument. It demonstrates the strength of that barrier, which nothing, we apprehend, but the energies of an endowed church can force and overcome. The system of meeting-houses

* See Note L, Appendix.

can only be carried to a certain extent over the face of society—after which, and at its extreme margin, it can no longer summon the people to effectual co-operation, having then to encounter a sluggishness, a spiritual inertness, which it finds to be impracticable. Within this margin there may be, there are dissenting congregations which flourish in point of number, and dissenting ministers who are comfortably and respectably maintained by them. It is near to this margin when the contest begins to be tough and arduous, and at length altogether hopeless. A fraction, and but a fraction, of the species may thus be brought into contact with the word and ordinances of religion. But the impotency of the expedient would be felt long before half the species were overtaken ; and with no other system than that of free trade in Christianity, the vast majority of every land would, in respect even of means and ordinances, be left in a state of practical heathenism.

14. In all ages of the church, there has been room for the complaint, as well as for the prayer founded upon it—that the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few. Yet, if the greater number of the fields which contain this harvest be inaccessible, there might be more labourers than can be admitted to that part of the harvest which may be approached. We, therefore, see no inconsistency between the general position, that there is a paucity of efficient ministers when compared with the population ; and the actual state of the sectarians, among whom, on the one hand, “there are many ministers of irreproachable character at this time unable to obtain pastoral engagements,” and, on the other hand, “there are many stations highly interesting and important, that are suffering greatly from the want of able and learned ministers.” We hold that, by means of an establishment, the great national vineyard is thoroughly intersected by roads to every parish, and even by footpaths to every little hamlet and cottage of the land. It is thus that avenues are opened up, throughout all, even the minutest subdivisions of that territory by which the harvest is borne ; and then does the prayer obtain its most emphatic fulfilment, when, by a blessing poured forth from on high on the churches of the Establishment, its ecclesiastics, under the visitation of a new spirit, labour more abundantly than before, each in his own homestead, and so leaven with Christianity the whole mass of that population wherewith they are so extensively mingled.

15. But though we hold a revival in the Establishment to be

the likeliest mean by far for the revival of Christianity in our land—such a conviction of the might and efficacy which belong to a national church, does not preclude the conviction, that it is of the very highest importance to have an active, unrestrained, and fully tolerated dissenterism. This latter will never, we think, supersede an establishment; but it may stimulate that establishment to a ten-fold degree of effectiveness. It may act by a moral compulsion, not merely on its existing clergymen, but on those holders of patronage and power to whom we have to look for our future clergymen. For this purpose, it is well that sectarianism should flourish and prevail even to the degree of alarming the dignitaries of our land for the safety of its ecclesiastical institutions—of reducing them to the necessity of providing these institutions with those functionaries who are best fitted, by their talent and their piety, to uphold the church in public estimation. We should therefore like, on the one hand, to behold dissenters in the full glow of activity all over the land, for out of the disturbance thus given to our high church exclusionists, we should anticipate the happiest consequences. We question not, that there is a great direct service rendered to Christianity by the instrumentality of sectarians. But we have ever reckoned it their chief service, that they set in motion, and in more efficient play, a far more powerful instrumentality than any which is wielded by themselves. They are not the best fitted for working a general religious effect upon the population. But they give impulse to that apparatus which is best fitted for it. They do not themselves form an effectual mechanism for operating throughout a whole aggregate of human beings. But they, nevertheless, occupy a high place of command, for they touch the springs of that mechanism which is effectual. It is to the intervention of the Church, in fact, that they owe their greatest usefulness; for, by moving that which most powerfully moves and affects general society, they might do more for the religion of the people, than by the application of their own immediate hand to the hearts and consciences of individuals. With these views, sectarians on the one hand might bless and honour the Church, while on the other hand the warmest friends of the Church might look with benignant welcome on the zeal and prosperity of sectarians. They have done much for Christianity by the congregations which they have formed in towns and crowded parishes, and by the conversions which they have achieved in families. But the benefit which they have wrought,

by their wholesome reflex influence on the Establishment, is above all computation.

16. In every great question upon which two parties have been formed, the difficulty is, to construct the right system, by adopting the excellencies and avoiding the errors of both. The parties themselves move in masses. They act gregariously. And hence, in spite of all that is said about the ascendancy of rational opinion in this our enlightened day, there is really much of the blind and the headlong in the operation of those moral forces which decide the practical measures and influence the general state of society. Men take their direction and their impulse from the broad aspect of things—and when once they take their stand with either side of a controversy, and read nothing but hate and hostility in all that is opposed to them, they find it a far easier work than that of discrimination, simply to urge forward whatever shall make for the one side, and shall make against the other. It is thus that the bigots of an establishment are for putting down all sectarianism; and that the zealots of sectarianism are for rooting up all establishments. They regard not how beautifully it is that these two rival interests act and re-act for the good of a population—so that the perfection of an ecclesiastical system lies in the ample endowment of the one, and the ample toleration of the other. Without an establishment, the light of religious instruction would shine forth but rarely, or be spread but superficially over a land. Without a free and active dissent, that light might wane to its extinction and become darkness—the establishment, reposing in its undisturbed security, would become inert and inefficient; or, along with the intolerance, might be further deformed by all the corruptions of Popery.

17. The sectaries act upon the Establishment as we have already said that the proposed university of London is fitted to do on those of Oxford and Cambridge; that is to say, not so as to supersede, but so as to stimulate, and thereby to uphold the character and stability of the national institutions. As it is with common, so it is with Christian education. By the establishment of parochial schools, the former has become a universal blessing among the peasantry of our Lowland parishes in Scotland. Yet how frenzied were that bigotry which should denounce those private and subscription schools, that have accommodated the families for whom there was no room in the endowed seminary; or perhaps even drawn away some families

from their wonted attendance on the parish schoolmaster. This latter they can only in general do by the superior scholarship which they afford—and this is an advantage which they can continue to hold only until, by a pure exercise of patronage, the parish school is again provided with an able and efficient functionary. And this reasoning applies exactly to the case of a parish church. It may, for a whole incumbency, labour under an inferiority in the style of its ministrations to the adjacent meeting-house—and may give token, by its deserted pews, to the surpassing energy and zeal of the sectarian over the regular clergyman. This casts a temporary obscuration over the Establishment; but not in the slightest degree to endanger its perpetuity. By a new appointment the recovery either is or may be made. And such, after all, is the native preference of the people for the Establishment, that nothing but a right and conscientious patronage is required to keep the vast bulk of our families within its pale.

18. But we may here notice a very observable difference between the case of science and that of religion—even though it is a difference which does not affect the essential or the general argument for endowments in behalf of either. Our argument in the former case is, that unless pure science be thus upholden, it will vanish from our land—for it lies greatly too remote both from the popular understanding and the popular taste, to be upholden by the spontaneous demand of society for its lessons. But it cannot be said of pure Christianity—either that it is above the popular understanding, or repugnant to the popular taste. According to our apprehensions of the gospel, the pure and the popular are mainly at one—and its most characteristic doctrines find a readier coalescence with the intellect and affections of the humbler, than with those of the higher classes of our community. That conviction in some truth of philosophy which is worked laboriously into the mind by arduous demonstration, differs from that instant recognition which is given to some religious truth, when, by the immediate light of its own evidence, it finds its way to the consciences of men. In human learning, the people, naturally averse to mental labour, would prefer to be taught superficially rather than scientifically—and hence, if lofty and rigorous science is to be upheld in a land, there must, to compensate for the small number of students, be salaries for teachers, and even a compulsory attendance upon their instructions. But in divine learning—if once the people are assembled to its lessons,

their clear preference is for the scriptural and the sound representations of Christianity, to those more meagre exhibitions of the truth in which mere moralists or sentimentalists indulge. Let there be any incipient earnestness about religion at all ; and the doctrine of the New Testament, in its whole depth and peculiarity, is felt to be the ministration which is best suited to it. In science, the class-room of severe demonstration is attended by the few, while the class-room of showy experiment is attended by the many. It is to retain and perpetuate the former style of instruction in a land that college endowments are necessary. In religion, those churches where the momentous realities of the question are glossed over by false and flimsy representations of it, are attended by the few ; while that church where the truth in all its nakedness is most faithfully expounded, and where the most severe and searching applications of it are made unto the conscience, is attended by the many. It is not then for the sake of upholding a sound against a spurious Christianity that church endowments are necessary ; for in truth, the lessons of the former are far more congenial with the taste of the multitude than those of the latter. But they are necessary for upholding Christianity, in any of its forms, against the lethargic indifference of nature to Christianity in all its forms. Once the multitude is addressed with Christianity, their native preference is for the sound rather than the spurious. But still they need to be so addressed—for of themselves they will go in quest of neither. The thing to be overcome is not their resistance to the sound religion because of their love to the spurious. But the thing to be overcome is their *vis inertiae* in reference to religion at all. That is the point which needs to be carried—and, instrumentally speaking, it only can be carried, we apprehend, through all the corners of our land, and through all the classes of society, by the forces of an establishment. After that, by this device, the sound of a gospel is heard in every parish, it is a mighty auxiliary on the side of true religion, that the relish and preference of the multitude should be for the lessons of *the* gospel. The Establishment has the effect, in the first instance, of carrying a general Christianity, in bulk or in gross, throughout a whole population. Let this establishment be well patronized—and then each zealous and efficient clergyman, in his own special vineyard, would rally around the altar at which he officiates, his own separate portion of the population. It is in this way a noble machine for the thorough Christianization of a land. It is true that, without an evangelical ministry, it

will not accomplish the service. But its superiority, in point of tuition, to a system of dissenterism, remains notwithstanding—for, under the latter, the service cannot be accomplished whether without an evangelical ministry or with one.

19. But this it is which has disguised the merits of our question from the eye of the public. What we affirm is the superiority of an establishment as a *machine*, whether for Christian or for common education, to that merely natural mechanism, whose alone impellent force is the spontaneous demand of society. But this machine will not give full experimental proof of its efficacy, unless it is provided with good workmen—and so its power and properties may lie altogether hidden, because of the incompetent hands to which it has been committed. It is thus that the adversary of endowments has frequently too much colour for a triumphant appeal, in the actual state of the church and universities; and he is enabled, when the one is filled with ungodly clergymen, and the other with indolent or illiterate professors, to speak with plausibility of the uselessness of both. Nevertheless it may hold true, and most importantly true, that in point of enginery, there is nothing nearly so effective as a system of endowments; and that though, when placed under the heavy disadvantage of being administered by men who are corrupt or careless, it does little for the land—yet that men of talent and virtue can work off a tenfold benefit, when the means and capabilities of such an apparatus are intrusted to them. When viewed as a question of national or philanthropic policy, it should not be difficult to say, whether it is better to have a system under which lofty science and a fully diffused Christianity may be served out to the country—and without which, it seems neither possible to sustain the purity of the one, nor adequately to circulate the other through the mass and interior of a country's population. The alternative is not, we admit, between a state of things in which these blessings *must* be, and a state of things in which they cannot be; but between a state of things in which they *may* be, and in which they cannot be. Even though we should be able to allege no more for our case, this we hold to be a mighty allegation in its favour—and it does appear an unwise and a harsh conclusion that, because in the former state of things it is in the power of bad or indifferent men to render an establishment inert and inefficient, we must therefore be precipitated into the latter state of things, when, without an establishment, the power of the good and the able shall be

abridged tenfold. Because a framework in the hands of the worthless does nothing, that surely is no reason against the erection of it, if it can be demonstrated that, in the hands of those who are competent to its management, it is vastly more productive of good than ever without such an instrumentality they are able to do for the commonwealth. That should be the system in every land which gives fullest scope to the zeal and energies of the righteous, even though it should become altogether effete in those seasons of moral degeneracy when the righteous have disappeared. Then it is true, that an establishment becomes worthless and withered like the skeleton of dry bones in the vision of Ezekiel—yet, rather than take down the fabric, and scatter it into fragments—better, we deem, to pray for that vivifying Spirit which comes down from on high, when “the Lord God will cause breath to enter into it, and it shall live.”

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE ABUSE OF ENDOWMENTS.

1. To realize our *beau-idéal* of a good educational system in the land, there must, in the first instance, be the erection of a right machine, and, in the second instance, the appointment of right men to work it. The two ingredients which must meet together for this purpose, are an adequately endowed establishment on the one hand, and a virtuous patronage on the other. There may be a wealthy establishment without a virtuous patronage; or it can be imagined, that there may be in great force throughout the land, the principle which would lead to a virtuous patronage, but withal a meagre and ill-provided establishment. In either way, we think that the interests whether of learning or religion would be greatly abridged; and that, to make out a full security for these interests, we should neither acquiesce in our possession of but the one ingredient while the other is wanting, nor far less expunge the one because the other is wanting, without which it is comparatively useless—but we should strenuously endeavour to realize the combination of both.

2. If we have succeeded in our foregoing argument, it will be evident—First, that a population are in far unlikelier circum-

stances for being pervaded with Christian instruction, when left to their own natural demand for it, instead of its being offered and obtruded upon them by means of churches ready made to their hands, and ministers within these churches, who each, within the moderate and manageable territory assigned to him, shall charge himself, both in his pulpit and throughout his parish with the care of the religion of the families. And, secondly, that even for the elementary scholarship which should be acquired by all, there is no apparatus so efficient as a scholastic establishment at least partially endowed; and that, for a higher scholarship, there is no need of a larger endowment. If there be truth in this principle, it points emphatically to a more liberal endowment for the universities of Scotland. The improvement chiefly required is to raise the preliminary education, that so rising from this higher commencement, we may raise all the posterior education of our students, and send them forth far more accomplished in high erudition and philosophy, than they are under our present system. But for this purpose, the professors must be men of loftier science than at least they need to be at present; and the task which shall then be put into their hands, can only be well achieved by men of rarer and higher qualifications. Now, for reasons which have already been abundantly insisted on, they will, after this ascent to a higher species of literary labour, have fewer students than before—standing then at a greater distance from the popular taste, and placed more beyond the reach of the popular and general demand for education. In other words, by one and the same movement, they are called to a higher service, yet condemned to a lower recompense than before. This is not the way in which the more scarce or the more valuable is secured in any other department of human affairs; and we therefore fear that, in this department, competent labourers for the then greater mental or literary labour will not be obtained, unless some compensation be provided for the sure reduction that must take place in the attendance upon seminaries, when there shall be a more remote and recondite science, and when all the courses of instruction shall be more elaborate than before. We can perceive no way of rectifying this inconvenience but by larger fees or larger salaries,—and as, by the former expedient, a still greater reduction must be effected on the attendance, we are not aware of any sure method by which the cause of a loftier learning can be upheld in our land, but by a larger endowment coming in aid of a smaller attendance. It is thus

that, for one of the purest and brightest glories of a nation, even its science and literature—we mean, that profound and vigorous science, and that Attic literature which alone are worthy of the name—endowments more large and liberal, we fear, than our nation is willing to bestow, seem to be indispensable. On the subject, indeed, both of literary and ecclesiastical benefices, the public appear to be sadly misinformed—misled in part, perhaps, by the declamations of an honest but short-sighted patriotism, that looks with jealousy, not to their misapplication alone, but also to the existence of that regular and established provision, which, if abolished, would cause Christianity to decline, and all high learning to disappear.

3. And certain it is, that there has historically been too good reason for this jealousy of endowments. The cause has become unpopular, because estimated, not by the deserts of the system itself, but by the deserts of those individual functionaries who have abridged it of its efficacy. One of the cruellest effects of official corruption is, that, in the consequent reaction of society, not only have unworthy men been despoiled of their wealth, but the country has been despoiled of a beneficial economy, which required all that wealth to uphold it in full operation. In wresting it from the hand of corruptionists, it has at the same time been wrested from the public; and the public good has grievously suffered by spoliations towards which, nevertheless, the community at large looked complacently and rejoiced. This was remarkably verified at the time of the Reformation, when the church was shorn of its patrimony; and revenues which might have been assigned to the support of Christian instruction in extensive and overpeopled parishes, were absorbed into a state of mere property by the rapacity of individuals. Thus it is too that church lands, and prior acres, and bishop rents and lay impropriations of tithes, and many other vestiges of the opulence in this country of the establishments of former days, have merged either into personal ownership, or into the possession of the crown; and in both ways, (in the latter through the medium of pensions,) they have been transferred from the object of public usefulness, to the object of upholding the splendour and opulence of private families. And the result of that which was contemplated at the time with a sort of generous satisfaction, has been the aggrandizement of individuals at the expense of the common weal; the sacrifice of great public interests, because the sacrifice of great public institutions, at the shrine of cupidity; the enrich-

ment of the landed aristocracy, it is true, but this with sore prejudice to the best elements of a nation's greatness—the learning of its upper classes—the piety and moral worth of its general population.

4. Such has been the melancholy result of that blind and impetuous vengeance that was called forth by the vices of the Popish clergy. Society were scandalized; and they regarded, not with tolerance merely, but with high gratification, the plunder of the ecclesiastical benefices. Knox, and the other heads of the Reformation, saw the mischief, and endeavoured to avert it; and had their representations been listened to, we should have had both a better endowed church, and perhaps the most perfect collegiate system of any nation in Europe. Not merely might our present universities have been upheld in full equipment, but we should have had in our chief provincial towns endowed seminaries of a higher class than parish schools. The funds that were absorbed during the period of that unprincipled scramble, would not only have sustained a sufficient number of functionaries, for the purposes both of literary and Christian education; but there would have been enough, and to spare, for the decent and respectable maintenance of them all. What a fine national object would have been gained had there been a sufficiency reserved for a seemly income to our parochial schoolmasters; so that, instead of men sunken in poverty and but on a level with the peasantry by whom they are surrounded, we should have had men who superadded the weight of station to that of office, in contact throughout all our parishes with the families of our general population. This also has gone to wreck along with the other noble interests which perished in the wilderness of that revolutionary storm; and in this little age of calculators and economists, there are patriots who can rejoice in such a consummation. The age of moral chivalry is gone.

5. Still we must admit that, even in our own days, there is too good reason for a jealousy of endowments. We believe, that, to secure a higher style of education at our universities, larger salaries would, in many instances, be indispensable. But let these once be established, and they instantly become objects for a common-place ambition. They can be imagined of such value, that, independently of fees, they might be sought and aspired after by men of family; and, whereas now they are exposed to invasion from the mere underlings of political subservency, they might then be alike exposed, from placemen of a

higher walk, whose present game is among the offices of a prouder and a wealthier preferment. It is not then by a more liberal endowment of professorships that we escape the danger of their lapsing into sinecures. We may, in fact, aggravate the danger, and render a virtuous and vigilant patronage still more requisite than before. This is the precise difficulty which meets us in advocating the cause of endowments. We hold them to be a *sine qua non* for the purposes either of a diffused Christianity, or of a sustained philosophy in our land; and yet, in respect of both these purposes, they are liable to be nullified. The task we have undertaken, is to uphold the necessity of one ingredient, which, nevertheless, by the access of another ingredient, may at once be neutralized. We trust it is obvious to our readers, that this does not annihilate the importance or significance of our argument. We have endeavoured to show, that, what in the business of ordinary trade would be stigmatized as an artificial bounty, is so indispensable in the business of education, that, without it, Christian education would be greatly abridged in point of extent, and scientific education be greatly reduced beneath the eminence of that pure and high philosophy to which it should be carried. Yet there is a blight of corruption by which the whole power and promise of a system of endowments might be cruelly undone; and we proceed to offer a few considerations on which society may now hopefully look forward to a mitigation of this evil.

6. But we would in the first place remark, that in reference to the great majority of our existing endowments, there is a frequent, but a most unfair method of estimating the burden of them to the commonwealth. The wealth which sustains them, is not wrung by taxation from the other orders of the State. They are a species of property—held, no doubt, by a particular tenure—but still coeval, at least, with the great mass of actual property in the land. The territorial estates of Oxford, and Cambridge, and Glasgow, and St. Andrews, and Aberdeen, are, on the whole, of higher antiquity, as possessed by these corporations, than far the greater number of landed properties in the island, as held by private individuals. The public are no more entitled to regard these university domains in the light of a usurpation, than one squire is to look upon the acres of his neighbouring squire, as having been wrested by injurious encroachment from himself. No doubt he would have been all the richer, had it so happened that both properties had been

merged into one, and descended by inheritance to his own family; and he may look with cupidity to fields which he dare not appropriate. And it is just with a cupidity as unreasonable, that some, in the guise too of patriotism and public virtue, would eye the patrimony both of church and college, and would even look with somewhat of the same complacency as to the triumph of liberality and justice, if it were made the subject of general spoliation. Yet it remains a truth, that neither are tithes, nor church and college lands, a burden upon any man. In virtue of these, the property of our nation has come down to the present age, either more divided than it would otherwise have been, or so much of it in the possession of public functionaries, instead of being in the possession of men, who, simply proprietors, or "*nati consumere fruges*," have had no function assigned to them. As it is, that property is owned by men who, in return for it, do something. Otherwise that property would have been owned by men who, in return for it, did nothing. This is the real state of the alternative; and when so viewed, we may fearlessly commit the question of our literary and ecclesiastical establishments to its trial. Even had they simply been harmless, or if the harm they have done is barely in equipoise with the good, it has not been worse for the country than if these obnoxious endowments never had existed. This is the true point from which the reasoning should take its departure; or this the level of zero from which the positive argument in favour of establishments is raised. The service they have done may not be very calculable, and yet be very great; for what would have been the religion of our country without the churches of England and Scotland; or what its science without the universities of both?

7. But this, though enough to silence the hostility of those who are the adversaries of establishments, should not be enough to satisfy their friends. It were well if the service rendered to society, by churches and colleges, could be augmented tenfold; and besides, we are pleading for something more than the toleration of their present endowments. We plead for the extension of them. And the question recurs, How are the requisite grants to be guarded against the abuse to which they are so readily exposed, by the worthless nominations of a corrupt and unprincipled patronage?

8. We will not extenuate or conceal the difficulties of this question. We scarcely know a more arduous problem in the philosophy of human affairs than the construction of a right

board or body of patronage. We are unable to offer an infallible specific upon this subject; and have a far stronger apprehension of the danger, than confidence in the benefits or the safety of any method that has been proposed. It is true that we look forward, and sanguinely too, to a better and a purer direction of the patronage than heretofore; but that, not because of any virtue in the constitution of a different framework, or of a more skilful mechanism in the construction of that body by whom the election shall be made, or in whom the power of the appointment shall be vested. We think that under every variety of framework, the principle of corruption is ready to operate; and it is only because of the stronger moral counteractive to this, that we hope, under all the varieties, henceforth to behold a series of more virtuous and patriotic nominations.

9. It is no infallible preservative against corruption, that the patronage of college livings be vested in the members of Faculty, or in the *Senatus Academicus*. One might, *a priori*, have imagined that there could not be a better security for right nominations, than that they should be thus vested—seeing that all the professors participate, more or less, in the benefits of that larger attendance, which the distinguished merit of any one individual of their body has the effect of drawing to their seminary. But there are personal and family considerations which overbalance this. And hence the hereditary successions in colleges which are thus patronized—the firm and infrangible compacts which sometimes last for generations, cemented as they are by the affinities of blood and of relationship—the decaying lustre of chairs once occupied by men of highest celebrity and talent, but the very ascendancy of whose influence when living, or of whose names after they were dead, effected the transmission of their offices to a list of descendants. We should expect this corruption to be more incidental to the remote or provincial colleges—the proceedings and the policy of which are farthest removed from the glare of public observation. Yet no one can deny, that, even under this form of patronage, a visible improvement is going on—though it must be confessed that it is perhaps, of all others, the form least compatible with the public benefit under such an augmentation of endowments as we would recommend. The effect of that augmentation were to increase still further the proportion of the salaries to the fees—that part of revenue which is independent of merit and exertion, to that part of it which merit and exertion alone have the tendency to

enlarge. The temptation to an interested appointment thus becomes greater ; while the prejudice inflicted by it on the whole income of the corporation would be proportionally less. For these reasons we should not object, though, contemporaneously with an addition to the professorial salaries, there was a commutation of the professorial patronage—a transference of this power to some other quarter, where it should be less exposed to the hazard of being worthlessly exercised.

10. Another method is to vest the patronage in a body exoteric to the college, as in the corporation of the town where the university is situated. We believe that, notwithstanding the literary disqualifications of many of the electors, the nominations under this mode of patronage in Scotland will stand a most honourable comparison with all the others. It is remarkable that some of the chief deviations by magistrates and councils in the exercise of this trust, have been brought about by the influence of leading men whether in the church or in the university. This certainly makes against the first mode of patronage ; and it is saying much for the second, that when the patrons are left to themselves they do feel in such considerable degree the guidance of the public voice, and are so often the willing organs for giving expression and effect to the public opinion. The force of this engine has mightily increased within these few years ; and accordingly, the improvement of all city patronage, whether in the disposal of church or college livings, has become quite palpable.

11. The third mode of patronage is to vest it in the crown. The causes of corruption under this form are too obvious to be insisted on ; yet who can deny the growing strength of those counteractive forces, by which, even under this modification, there is now a far purer and wholesomer exercise of the patronage ? There is an energy in the collective voice of society that was before unfelt—a call from the public to which statesmen now find it their truest policy to conform ; and by the contemptuous disregard of which for years, the ascendant influence of our land has at last been wrenched from that basis on which it had been so long and so inveterately settled. Scotland now breathes a freer air than it did but months ago ; and any attempt to keep down the heavings of the public mind towards a purer and more righteous system, were like the wretched impotency of Xerxes lashing the Hellespont. It were a vain endeavour to stem that torrent which sooner or later must carry all before it ;

and as well might corruption try, at the bidding of her voice, to seal up the winds of heaven, or to lay an arrest on the courses of the firmament.

12. We have no other remark to offer, in regard to the last mode of patronage which we shall at present notice, namely, that which is exercised by private individuals—than that, more or less, it participates in the same improvement of its character—and that, too, by the same influence. The dominant spirit of the times, in fact, runs through all the channels of the existing organization of society; and a sense of character, under the vigilant notice of the many-eyed Argus, operates with a force that was never before known in any bygone period of our history. There is now a greater value felt for public gratitude and public esteem; and this does come powerfully in aid of a higher principle, both with the many private patronages of our church, and with the few of our universities. A careless and unprincipled act of patronage would be more felt now than ever by the general mind as a moral violence, and would be more represented as such by the general voice. It is certainly more to this that we look for our prospect of brighter days, as far as they can be realized by a more effective official agency in all the departments both of the church and of the State, than to any changes in the law or methods of our existing patronage. There is a corrective and a controlling force in the opinion of society, which now operates with salutary effect on all these methods; and, independently of any ameliorations in the form, we cannot but anticipate, from everything which passes before our eyes, a very great amelioration in the substance and spirit of all patronage.*

13. Now, it is this which gives comfort and confidence in pleading the cause of endowments. Is that the time either for abridging them or for arresting their progress, when the security for a righteous dispensation of them is so obviously upon the increase? Are we now to abstract or to withhold the one indispensable ingredient, when the other ingredient, alike indispensable to a prosperous result, is supplied more plentifully than before? Even with all the jobbing and low jockeyship that may have been concerned in the appointments of other days, is there any prepared to affirm that it would have been better for the science and religion of our land, had these interests been left to their chance; and the country been suffered to proceed without her church and without her universities? And if good

* See Note M, Appendix.

has been done by the endowments which support these, in what, comparatively speaking, some would be disposed to term a reign of profligacy, what greater good may now be anticipated under the evident advances of a reign of principle? Shall we demolish that apparatus which, even with workmen fetched to it at random, has wrought off such an incalculable amount of benefit to society, at the very time when workmen are beginning to be selected with greater care; and is the best enginery for a great and beneficent result to be set aside, just when the demand of the public has become more effectual than ever for the best enginemen? Now, if ever, is the time when, side by side with the growing securities for a righteous patronage, there should be a growth of endowments towards, if not all at once to, the furthest limit of their usefulness; when, like the ascent of an ordinate from its minimum state, there should at least be in progress the reascent, both of clergy and professors, to the status from which they have so immeasurably fallen; and when, emancipated from the straits of a condition certainly too beset and limited, the dignitaries of learning should be placed in more fit and seemly relation than that in which they have stood for half a century to the other dignitaries of our land.*

14. There is one species of abuse on which I do not propose to enter—the mal-administration of college revenues. The Royal Commission of Inquiry now sitting on the universities of Scotland will, there is every reason to believe, place this matter on a satisfactory footing; and there is one reason connected with the interest of these endowments, which makes it strongly advisable that everything connected either with fees or bursaries or salaries, should be perfectly open to public observation. It will give confidence, and along with it liberality to the authors of bequests. The Farquhars of future times will feel security when they find that such munificence as his is not misapplied. In this view it is of the utmost importance that our universities should no longer retain the character of close corporations—and that the light of day should be admitted upon all our doings. We have no doubt, that first, the imagination of our unbounded wealth; and secondly, a distrust founded on the ignorance of its

* We have data for fixing the relation in which the various public functionaries, whether of the church, of the law, of the army and navy, or of colleges, stood to each other, and to the proprietors of land a century ago, in the revenues which were then attached to the respective offices, and in the rentals of estates. We have also not perhaps less satisfactory data, in the traditions of that period respecting the state of society, and more especially the intermarriages of families.

application—that these two things have chilled the generosity of many who otherwise would have gladly associated their names with new or more extended endowments in behalf of education. In either view, a system of publicity is most desirable, both that men of wealth and patriotism should see the nakedness of our land, and that they should have the fullest guarantee against any abuse or perversion of their bounty. When made fully acquainted with the actual state of our colleges, they will be at no loss for the right subjects of testamentary beneficence, as the foundation of a bursary, with some qualification of merit or proficiency annexed to it—or that of a new lectureship for some science not yet provided in the scheme of education—or that of an ecclesiastical ministration to the students, whether in the shape of a regular Sabbath service, or a course of week-day addresses on some topic connected with the evidences or the doctrines of Christianity—or the establishment of tutorships, by which young men of talent might be detained, and made to act a most important auxiliary part in the business of the professor—or lastly, the extension of such of the old endowments as are found to be inadequate. These, not to instance further the creation of funds for the purchase and the upholding of apparatus, or for the erection and the upholding of such fabrics as libraries or museums or chapels or observatories, form the ample and inviting objects of that enlightened philanthropy which at one time devises for the interests of science, at another for the interests of sacredness—and which never makes a higher exhibition of itself than when, viewing these as conjunct interests, it blends into one the cause of learning and the cause of piety. Everything should be done to facilitate and encourage such a career of benevolence as this. It might at length approximate our universities to those of wealthy and well-endowed England, which, fostered as they have been into magnitude by the liberality of former ages, require only an impulse from the wholesome jealousy of the present age, to give them all that might and momentum in society, of which they are so abundantly capable.

15. But if this spirit of testamentary benevolence were once awakened, it would have a boundless variety of other objects connected with education, beside the full equipment of colleges. There still lies an immeasurable field before us in the needs of our growing population, both for common and Christian instruction. What a multiplication, for example, must there be of local or district schools, ere the plebeian orders of any of our

large cities can all be overtaken. How many even are the provincial parishes, where the number of people has outstripped three or four times over what was found to be an adequate provision of scholarship a century ago. What an opening to Christian benevolence is presented in the enormous magnitude of those town parishes, where so many chapels are required to supplement the one church, which is all that our establishment has provided for the accommodation of many thousands! Altogether, the apparatus, the system of means or of instrumentality in our land, is greatly short of its moral, and educational, and religious necessities. There is room not merely for an immense number, but for a beautiful variety of new endowments, corresponding to the peculiar wants of various neighbourhoods; as of sewing-schools in the midst of a cotton-mill population; and city missions that might be brought to bear on the crowded vicinities of the profligate and the poor; and itinerant teachers of different sorts for the thinly inhabited tracts of the country; and beside the erection of new, the extension of old endowments by bequests, for the augmentation of poorer livings, or for an augmentation most urgently required, even that of the salaries of our parochial schoolmasters. This is the time, when both popular and parliamentary vigilance is more alive than it ever has been to the abuse of all sorts of endowments; and this, therefore, is the time when these endowments might be multiplied, with the greatest confidence that their end shall be attained.

16. The superstition of past ages has been far more prolific of endowments, than the enlightened benevolence of the present. Some of the English colleges have been founded, and many of them enriched by Popish bequests granted in return for Popish observances. We should like to see the liberality of these days restored; but, liberality placed under the direction of wisdom and sound piety. Posterity will not pray for the souls of benefactors, they will only bless and venerate their memory. This, however, is an earthly reward; and it is well, therefore, in these days of more scriptural religion, that we can quote from the Bible passages of higher and purer encouragement. "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness." "He that watereth shall be watered himself." "The liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he stand."

APPENDIX.

OF the five colleges in Scotland, it may be thought that those of Edinburgh and Glasgow should be the most exempted from that soporific influence which is ascribed to endowments; the former being very slenderly endowed, and the latter, though largely endowed, yet being, at the same time, so largely attended, as that the income from fees in the most important classes, still greatly exceeds the income from salaries. It is thus conceived, that the stimulus to exertion may be kept in full activity in these crowded and conspicuous places of education—while it is feared of the more provincial colleges, where the number of students is comparatively small, that they might languish into dormitories, which, like the holds of ancient monkery, might all be swept away, without loss, or rather with the benefit of a positive relief to society.

But it is not adverted to, that, in many of the largest classes in our best frequented colleges, a very great proportion of the fees is virtually a salary. These are circumstances, which, apart altogether from the merit of the professors, or the superiority of their courses, must fix the attendance of a number of students either to Edinburgh or Glasgow. For example, let us suppose that the great population of the metropolis, and its connexion with all parts of the land, and the prospects of employment which it holds out to the young men of its university, that these of themselves, should, under all the varieties of excellence in the professor of Natural Philosophy, insure to him at the very lowest state of his class, the attendance of a hundred students; then the amount of these hundred fees forms his salary. To that extent he has a secure income; and it may act as powerfully as an opiate upon his exertions, whether it is made certain to him by a fixed and regular allowance, or by a statute of apprenticeship. We are far from lamenting this as an evil; for it is the whole drift of our argument, that without either such a salary or such a statute, there could be no Natural Philosophy purely and scientifically taught anywhere in Scotland. But if the statutes should do as much for the professor of the metropolitan, as the

salary does for the professor of the provincial college, they really are not in such circumstances of disparity as might at the outset be imagined. Both have tasted of the opiate. Both lie under a certain temptation to indolence. If the one might remit exertion because sure of so much salary, the other might remit exertion because sure of so many students. In neither situation can this evil influence be done away; and it is by an upright patronage alone that the evil can be fully counteracted. Without this, the degeneracy of colleges is unavoidable. It is not by modelling these institutions, so that professors shall be wholly dependent on their exertions, that such degeneracy can be prevented; for, if there be any truth in our argument, science will, under such a system, dwindle into popular empiricism. Professors must to a certain, nay to a very considerable degree, be independent of the public taste, and the public demand. They are made so in the smaller colleges by salaries. And they are no less made so in the larger colleges by statutes of apprenticeship; for they are these statutes which, in all the severer parts of education, replenish our university classes. Without such independence, there must ensue the corruption of science, while, with such independence, there might ensue the indolence and unconcern of its teachers. It lays a grave responsibility upon patrons, that, in the impotency of all other expedients, there seems no method of escape from the evils, but in the righteous exercise of their trust—in the appointment of conscientious and zealous, as well as able teachers—men, at once of lofty professional acquirements, and of lofty professional enthusiasm.

Let the metropolitan professor be sure, in all circumstances, of a hundred students, and the provincial only of ten. By talent and exertion, the former may draw from his well-peopled neighbourhood and remote places together, an additional twenty. The same talent and the same exertion, might enable the latter to draw only an additional five; some of which, perhaps, may have been lured by his reputation from the other colleges. It is utterly a mistake to imagine, that this competition is too paltry to be felt. It is a competition in which the greatness of the victory is to be estimated, not by the number, but by the quality of the students; and they are only the students of a strong and decided academic taste, who, at the expense of derangement and inconvenience, will, in their preference for a better and a higher style of science, make such movements from one university to another. The homage of their selection is far more delicious to a pure

collegian, than the bustling attendances, and the clamorous applauses of a crowd. It is like the praise of Atticus, the incense of which, though not copious, is exquisite—that precious aroma which fills not the general atmosphere, but by which the few and the finer spirits of our race are satisfied. Theirs is not the broad daylight of popularity. It is a fame of a higher order, upheld by the testimony of the amateurs or the *élite* in science; and grounded on those rare achievements, which the public at large can neither comprehend nor sympathize with. “They sit on a hill apart;” and there breathe of an ethereal element, in the calm brightness of an upper region, rather than in that glare and gorgeousness by which the eye of the multitude is dazzled. It is not the *éclat* of a bonfire for the regaling of a mob, but the enduring though quiet lustre of a star. The place which they occupy is aloft in the galaxy of a nation’s literature, where the eyes only of the more finely intellectual gaze upon them with delight, and the hearts only of such are lifted up in reverence and *con amore* towards them. Theirs is a high though hidden praise, flowing in secret course, through the *savans* of a community, and felt by every true academic to be his most appropriate reward.

Were it for nothing else than to keep this competition agoing, it were well to keep up our provincial colleges, even though they should require larger salaries for the maintenance of professors, while the others could be upholden on fees alone by means of the statutes of apprenticeship. It were deciding on a hasty and superficial view, that because education was furnished to two thousand students in Edinburgh, for less expense in salaries than two hundred students in St. Andrews, the university of the latter place might therefore be deemed an excrescence, and dealt with accordingly; that is, might, with all safety and even advantage, be blotted out from the reformed scheme of colleges for Scotland. We believe, that some imagination of this sort is very much fostered by the spectacle of only two universities in England; whereas, in our own land, there are no less than four such seats of learning. It is forgotten that, both in Oxford and Cambridge, there is a busy competition, not of the one university with the other, but a strenuous internal competition amongst the numerous distinct colleges of which each university is composed. For the twenty-four seminaries of Oxford, and the sixteen of Cambridge, we have only five colleges of literature and philosophy in Scotland; and to suppress but one of these, would be

to abridge a benefit of which, in spite of the contrary appearance, we have a far less share than in the sister kingdom. To lop away any of the provincial colleges, because the professors there, secure in the possession of salaries, are in less likely circumstances for exertion, would still be to leave the metropolitan colleges secure in the possession of students, who, then limited in their choice, and bound to so many classes by a law of compulsory attendance, would make certain a higher income to the professors there than before, and cause them to be less dependent on their exertions than before. The mischief would not be annihilated. It would only be transferred; and by a process, too, which tended to augment and to confirm it. To extinguish the lesser colleges, and so put an end to their awakening rivalry, might have the effect of turning the others into two large dormitories of literature. There is a peculiarity, as we have laboured all along to demonstrate, in the higher scholarship; in virtue of which, it can less afford to lose a single influence that is fitted to uphold it. We have seen, that the spontaneous demand of the public is not sufficient to uphold it; and to help out the inadequate maintenance of the professor from fees, there must be salaries. Or if, to remove this temptation to professorial indolence, the salaries are taken away, then, what would constitute another temptation equally strong, there must be statutes of apprenticeship. Such are the inherent difficulties of the case; and we should gladly avail ourselves of any other influence by which to make head against them. The competition between colleges is precisely such an influence, which, operating in some degree on the love of emolument, but in a far higher on the love of character and fame, might enlist on the side of learning and its interests, one of the most generous and sometimes one of the strongest propensities of our nature.

There can be no doubt that it would serve to multiply and diffuse the higher scholarship through England—were the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge more dispersed than they are over the face of the country. The distance of these great seminaries, or rather of these mighty aggregates of seminaries, is a barrier in the way of many families. Let these aggregates be, in some degree at least, broken up—by detaching so many of the separate institutions, and transferring them, with all their endowments, to other parts of the land; and we feel quite confident that the whole amount of the nation's literature would be greatly increased. Each vicinity so blessed, would brighten into a more highly lettered region than before—and we should there

behold a more refined and accomplished society. The juxtaposition of a college would tell on the general habit of education in every town or neighbourhood where it should happen to be situated. Such indeed is the virtue which we ascribe to salaries and statutory privileges, that should even the metropolis be made the scene of such an experiment, we fear its unendowed university might sink under a rivalry so formidable. At all events, whatever improvements may be deemed expedient for England—we are thoroughly persuaded that the existing local distribution of colleges in Scotland should be left undisturbed—and more especially that the suppression of the provincial colleges, or the incorporation of them into one or two central universities, would both lessen the amount and enfeeble the quality of our academic education.

And indeed, under a system of incorrupt patronage, we should hold the provincial to be a likelier asylum for lofty, vigorous, and uncompromising science, than the metropolitan university. Certain it is, that professors in the latter are under greater temptation to vitiate and debase their courses of instruction by unworthy accommodation to the taste of the city multitude. They are sure, at all events, of a large attendance from those who study for a professional object—but over and above this, they are in circumstances for making larger additions to their attendance, by the ministration of that which shall be found most pleasing and palatable to the community around them. The danger is, lest the tone and texture of philosophy should be weakened by a commutation of the profound into the popular—by gaudy sentimentalism in the moral, or the glare of exhibition and experiment in the physical sciences. It is very well that education, even in this style, should be plentifully served out to those of the lower intellectual grades of society. But it is not well that our universities should be corrupted by it—that any departure or descent from a high academic standard should be admitted there. There is an imposing aspect of prosperity in the throng, and bustle, and excitement, of an over-crowded class-room. But it is a miserable thing—if obtained by a degrading empiricism on the part of him who conducts it. The remote professor, who sustains the dignity of his theme, even though with but ten kindred spirits to follow him on his high track of demonstration, sheds a finer lustre, and eventually confers a more substantial benefit upon the nation.

There is a grossly arithmetical style of computation on this

subject; and whereby a nation's best and highest interests are inconceivably brought down, by the way in which a debasing reference is made of them to a pecuniary standard. Grant that a professor, for his salary of a few hundred pounds, does no more than educate soundly every year ten or a dozen naturalists, or economists, or youthful *savans* of any description, who, by his means, shall have become thoroughly versant in one or other of the sciences—and he makes to society an adequate return in value for all that he receives. And the value is greatly enhanced, if, in addition to the produce of his own class, he shall by his example and his efforts, give a quickening impulse to the other classes of other and rival colleges. It is true that he may not individually be an effective professor, who can either acquit himself well of his own special task, or stimulate others to the vigorous performance of theirs. This, however, is due not to the endowment, but to the wrong exercise of the patronage. The first would have worked its effect had it not been nullified by the second. The first is that without which the public benefit cannot be achieved—the second is that without the right exercise of which the benefit will not be achieved. In all wisdom and sound policy, if we want to uphold the learning of our land, the way is, not to sweep off the first, seeing that it is indispensable—but to attend well to the second, seeing that this is also indispensable. Because the patronage has in many instances been carelessly or corruptly exercised, this is no adequate reason for destroying or even for deteriorating the endowments. The patent way is to maintain, or even extend the one, and to give, in all time coming, a purer and better direction to the other. It were hard to visit on posterity the errors of former generations; and because the men of power in the times that are gone by, have corrupted the one ingredient of a most salutary result, that we should proceed to cancel the other ingredient—and so as that the result, however salutary, or however desirable, shall be beyond the reach of any reformation.

And it is well to remark of the provincial colleges in Scotland, that the expense of their maintenance, in the great bulk of it, is not more rightfully a topic of complaint or clamour to the nation than the expense of the maintenance or establishment of any landed gentleman. The former have a property in land or in tithes, just as the latter has the ownership of an estate. The only difference between these two cases is, that the public functionaries do something—though perhaps, not all that they ought

to do—but still retaining the balance in their favour; for the private gentleman, the “*natus consumere fruges*,” does nothing. The one is pledged to a service in return for his livelihood, and some service is actually rendered. The other is pledged to no service—and the public are gainers therefore by such a distribution of the land, as that so much of it shall be allocated to the support of men, who make at least a certain return of labour for those rents, which, under another distribution, would have been absorbed by men on whom no obligation of any sort of labour was laid. It is marvellous, that, with this as the real state of the case between professors on the one hand and proprietors on the other, one might complain of the former as being an oppressive burden upon society, and be hailed for the sentiment as a sound and enlightened patriot, and yet could not utter the same invective against the latter, without exposing himself to the charge of being an outrageous radical. There is, by the public feeling, a firmer intrenchment around the rights of the simple and absolute possessor, than around the rights of the public functionary, or any corporation of functionaries. We have no doubt that this admits of satisfactory analysis; and we hold nothing more evident, than that a corrupt patronage has been one great aggravating cause of the difference in question. Had clergy all been men of conscience, or had professors all been men of learning and labour, the rights of both would have been greatly more respected—nor would the public have looked with so much toleration or even complacency to those inroads on the property of either, which, when suffered by a private individual, are denounced and execrated as so many acts of spoliation.

Still it must be admitted, that the patrimony of the provincial colleges in Scotland is greatly too small for the adequate endowment of them; and that to make them as respectable and efficient as they ought to be, something more is necessary than that this patrimony should be held inviolate. There can be no doubt that the professors have greatly declined from that status which they went to occupy; and that, intrusted as they are with the charge of the country's highest education, they should be preferred to a greatly higher place in the society of our land. There is much that is offensive to good taste, as well as to good policy, in the want of keeping which obtains between the penury of their condition, and the exalted nature of those functions which they are called upon to exercise. This incongruity will be all the more aggravated, if effectual measures are taken to raise the

standard of college education. The number of students will be thereby lessened—and that change, which for the upholding of our nation's literature is so imperiously required, will at once translate our academic men into a higher work, but into lower wages. This might be compensated in the larger colleges by an addition to the fees—but in the smaller colleges, there seems no other way of it, than by an addition to the salaries. For a few thousands a year, however, we think that all the deficiencies of our university system might be repaired. To this extent professors, instead of independent proprietors, must become pensioners on the public bounty. This change seems indispensable for giving effect to other and most beneficial changes, under which the masters of colleges, charged with a higher philosophy than before, may requite their more adequate maintenance, by their more arduous services.

But something more is necessary for the provincial colleges of Scotland, than a higher endowment of their existing chairs. A few more chairs would need to be instituted in order to complete them as schools of general education. In St. Andrews, more especially, the attempt should not be entertained for a moment of even so much as an approximation to a medical or a law school. But, on the other hand, we cannot imagine a fitter situation for schools of theology and general literature, both from the retirement of the place, and the facilities which it affords of moral discipline and inspection. When the young gentlemen of our higher families attend universities, it is not for any professional object, but for the general object of mental culture, and that they may go forth upon the world stored with manly and liberal acquisitions. To parents in that class of society, the very defect of law and medicine from our system should prove its recommendation; inasmuch as it secures for their sons a more select companionship. But that also is the reason why we should stand complete as a seminary of general knowledge; nor should any one branch of education be wanting to our scheme, which enters into the academic education of a finished gentleman. With two or three additional classes, we could be put into an equal state of equipment for letters and philosophy with any of our sister universities; and it is to be hoped that we shall not be so overshadowed by the magnitude of these, as to make our wants and our wishes be held as things of insignificance. Theirs is a magnitude made up, in great part, by the superinducement of the legal and the medical upon general scholarship: for as to the latter,

we, in respect of attendance, are not many years behind the most flourishing colleges of our land. Our number of students, two years ago, was very little short from that of the general or gown students of Glasgow, at the beginning of this century: so that, instead of the suppression of the smaller universities, or the absorption of them into the large, they should be upheld in their separate existence, whether as rivals or auxiliaries—and even be put into a state of greater sufficiency, in order to meet the growing exigencies of our growing population.

NOTES.

NOTE A, page 14.

THE following are among the most remarkable of those passages in which the Author of the "Wealth of Nations" makes known his hostility to establishments:—

"Have these public endowments contributed in general to promote the end of their institution? Have they contributed to encourage the diligence, and to improve the abilities of the teachers? Have they directed the course of education towards objects more useful, both to the individual and to the public, than those to which it would naturally have gone of its own accord? It should not seem very difficult to give at least a probable answer to each of these questions.

"The endowments of schools and colleges have necessarily diminished, more or less, the necessity of application in the teachers. Their subsistence, so far as it arises from their salaries, is evidently derived from a fund altogether independent of their success and reputation in their particular professions.

"Whatever forces a certain number of students to any college or university, independent of the merit or reputation of the teachers, tends more or less to diminish the necessity of that merit or reputation.

"The privileges of graduates in arts, in law, physic, and divinity, when they can be obtained only by residing a certain number of years in certain universities, necessarily force a certain number of students to such universities, independent of the merit or reputation of the teachers. The privileges of graduates are a sort of statutes of apprenticeship, which have contributed to the improvement of education, just as the other statutes of apprenticeship have to that of arts and manufactures.

"Were there no public institutions for education, no system, no science would be taught for which there was not some demand, or which the circum-

stances of the time did not render it either necessary or convenient or at least fashionable to learn. A private teacher could never find his account in teaching either an exploded and antiquated system of a science acknowledged to be useful, or a science universally believed to be a mere useless and pedantic heap of sophistry and nonsense. Such systems, such sciences can subsist nowhere but in those incorporated societies for education, whose prosperity and revenue are in a great measure independent of their reputation, and altogether independent of their industry. Were there no public institutions for education, a gentleman after going through, with application and abilities, the most complete course of education which the circumstances of the times were supposed to afford, could not come into the world completely ignorant of everything which is the common subject of conversation among gentlemen and men of the world."—Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Book v. chap. i. Part iii. Art. 2.

NOTE B, page 22.

It is but justice to Dr. Smith to notice that he admits the advantage of a school establishment for the common people, as may be seen in the following passage :—

"The education of the common people requires, perhaps, in a civilized and commercial society, the attention of the public, more than that of people of some rank and fortune."—"They have little time to spare for education. Their parents can scarce afford to maintain them, even in infancy. As soon as they are able to work, they must apply to some trade by which they can earn their subsistence. That trade, too, is generally so simple and uniform, as to give little exercise to the understanding; while at the same time their labour is both so constant and so severe, that it leaves them little leisure and less inclination to apply to or even to think of anything else.

"But though the common people cannot, in any civilized society, be so well instructed as people of some rank and fortune, the most essential parts of education, however, to read, write, and account, can be acquired at so early a period of life, that the greater part, even of those who are to be bred to the lowest occupations, have time to acquire them before they can be employed in those occupations. For a very small expense the public can facilitate, can encourage, and can even impose upon almost the whole body of the people, the necessity of acquiring these most essential parts of education.

"The public can facilitate this acquisition, by establishing in every parish or district a little school, where children may be taught for a reward so moderate, that even a common labourer may afford it; the master being partly, but not wholly paid by the public; because, if he was wholly, or even principally paid by it, he would soon learn to neglect his business. In Scotland, the establishment of such parish schools has taught almost the whole common people to read, and a very great proportion of them to write and account. In England, the establishment of charity schools has had an effect of the same kind, though not so universally, because the establishment is not so universal," &c.

This concession in favour of endowed parish schools, is made by Dr. Smith at the expense of the dereliction of his own favourite principle. But he says

what is palpably true, when he affirms that, by means of such an establishment, that elementary education which is desirable for the common people is diffused among them far more extensively than it otherwise would be. And it appears to us just as palpable, that the establishment of endowed seminaries of a higher order, has diffused the education which is desirable both for private gentlemen, and public functionaries, far more extensively than it otherwise would be among the upper classes of society.

NOTE C, page 35.

The following passages from Dr. Smith speak strongly in favour of such an endowment of colleges, as might not only draw to the vacant professorships men of first-rate talents, but as might serve to detain them there in a situation confessedly the most favourable to the formation of first-rate treatises on the subjects of their respective courses:—

“In countries where church benefices are, the greater part of them, very moderate, a chair in an university is generally a better establishment than a church benefice. The universities have, in this case, the picking and choosing of their members from all the churchmen of the country, who, in every country, constitute by far the most numerous class of men of letters. Where church benefices, on the contrary, are many of them very considerable, the church naturally draws from the universities the greater part of their eminent men of letters, who generally find some patron, who does himself honour by procuring them church preferment. In the former situation, we are likely to find the universities filled with the most eminent men of letters that are to be found in the country. In the latter, we are likely to find few eminent men among them, and those few among the youngest members of the society, who are likely to be drained away from it before they can have acquired experience and knowledge enough to be of much use to it. It is observed by M. De Voltaire, that Father Porrée, a Jesuit, of no great eminence in the republic of letters, was the only professor they had ever had in France whose works were worth the reading. In a country which has produced so many eminent men of letters, it must appear somewhat singular, that scarce one of them should have been a professor in an university. The famous Cassendi was, in the beginning of his life, a professor in the university of Aix. Upon the first dawning of his genius, it was represented to him, that by going into the church, he could easily find a much more quiet and comfortable subsistence, as well as a better situation for pursuing his studies; and he immediately followed the advice. The observation of M. De Voltaire may be applied, I believe, not only to France, but to all other Roman Catholic countries. We very rarely find in any of them an eminent man of letters, who is a professor in an university, except, perhaps, in the professions of law and physic; professions from which the church is not so likely to draw them. After the church of Rome, that of England is by far the richest and best endowed church in Christendom. In England, accordingly, the church is continually draining the universities of all their best and ablest members; and an old college tutor, who is known and distinguished in Europe as an eminent man of letters, is as rarely to be found there, as in any Roman Catholic country. In Geneva, on the contrary, in the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, in the Protestant countries of Germany, in Holland, in Scotland, in

Sweden, and Denmark, the most eminent men of letters whom these countries have produced, have, not all indeed, but the far greater part of them, been professors in universities. In these countries, the universities are continually draining the church of its most eminent men of letters.

"It may, perhaps, be worth while to remark, that, if we except the poets, a few orators, and a few historians, the far greater part of the other eminent men of letters, both of Greece and Rome, appear to have been either public or private teachers; generally either of philosophy or of rhetoric. This remark will be found to hold true, from the days of Lysias and Isocrates, of Plato and Aristotle, down to those of Plutarch and Epictetus, of Suetonius and Quintilian. To impose upon any man the necessity of teaching, year after year, in any particular branch of science, seems, in reality, to be the most effectual method for rendering him completely master of it himself. By being obliged to go every year over the same ground, if he is good for anything, he necessarily becomes in a few years well acquainted with every part of it; and if, upon any particular point, he should form too hasty an opinion one year, when he comes, in the course of his lectures, to re-consider the same subject the year thereafter, he is very likely to correct it. As to be a teacher of sciences is certainly the natural employment of a mere man of letters, so is it likewise, perhaps, the education which is most likely to render him a man of solid learning and knowledge. The mediocrity of church benefices naturally tends to draw the greater part of men of letters in the country where it takes place, to the employment in which they can be the most useful to the public, and, at the same time, to give them the best education, perhaps, they are capable of receiving. It tends to render their learning both as solid as possible, and as useful as possible."

The attentive reader will perceive that Dr. Smith makes the charm which works all these benefits to literature, to lie in the mediocrity of the Church benefices; whereas it lies in the superiority to these of the college benefices. It is not the deficiency of endowment in the one, but the fulness, or at least the excess of endowment in the other, which is the efficient cause of the good rendered to society.

NOTE D, page 38.

For the earlier history of the two English universities, the reader would do well to consult Anthony Wood's "*Athenæ Oxonienses*," and Fuller's "*History of the University of Cambridge*." Wood's work is a history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford, from 1500 to 1695. He is, besides, the author of "*Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*." The facetious Fuller carried down his history to the middle of the seventeenth century. It abounds in delectable specimens of the academic wit and humour of his day. In this work, indeed, as well as in his "*Church History of Britain*," there is the strangest mixture of amusement and information.

The moving cause of many of these endowments was superstition, as will be seen in a subsequent note. But to this there were also many honourable exceptions. In the deed of endowment of Clare Hall in Cambridge, the munificent Lady De Clare professes to be actuated by "a desire for the extension of every branch of useful learning, that there might no longer

remain an excuse for ignorance; and to create a firmer concord and closer union among mankind, by the civilizing effects of indulgence in liberal study." This is as far back as 1340.

But perhaps the finest specimen of this pious and enlightened liberality, was afforded by the good Bishop of Winchester, William de Wykeham, the munificent founder of New College in Oxford. Wood thus expresses himself:—"Thus was this noble work finished and completed by the bounty of the thrice worthy and never too much admired prelate, not so much for the eternizing of his own name, but chiefly for the public good; that the Holy Writ and all other sciences might the freer be dilated; that Christ might be preached, and the true worship of Him augmented and sustained; that the number of clerks might be increased, which were before swept away by pestilences and other miseries of the world."

That there is a native *vis inertie* on the part of the public in reference to learning, which needs to be operated upon by aggressive forces from without, and in virtue of which it, without endowments and without statutes of apprenticeship, would speedily decline, is manifest from the whole history of literary institutions. In Fuller's History of Cambridge for 1545, he says, that "there was now a general decay of students, no *colledge* having more scholars therein than hardly those of the foundation, no *volunteers* at all, and only *persons pressed* in a manner by their places to reside; indeed, on the fall of the Abbeyes, fell the hearts of all scholars fearing the ruin of learning."

NOTE E, page 39.

The following is a catalogue of those who have been educated at Oxford, and whose names are the most familiar, at least to ourselves, as associated with the learning or the politics of England:—

1. Merton College.—Bishop Jewell, Bishop Hooper, Shute Barrington Bishop of Durham, Duns Scotus, *Wickliffe*, Anthony Wood, Steele.

2. University College.—Thomas Kay or Caius, Lord Herbert, Hurd, Radcliffe, Sir William Jones.

3. Baliol College.—Bishop Douglas, Keil, *Bradley*.

4. Exeter College.—Prideaux, Conybeare, Secker, Lord Shaftesbury, Maundrell, Kennicott.

5. Oriel College.—*Bishop Butler*, Sir Walter Raleigh, Dr. Joseph Wharton.

6. Queen's College.—Henry V., *Bernard Gilpin*, William Gilpin (on the Picturesque), Wingate, Wycherley, Mill (Prolegomena), Halley, *Addison*, Tickell, Seed, Shaw (Travels, &c.), Collins (Poet), Burn (Justice of the Peace).

7. New College.—*Lowth*, *Young*, Pitt (poet).

8. Lincoln College.—Archbishop Potter, Tindal (Deist), Hervey (Meditations), Wesley.

9. All Souls' College.—*Sir Christopher Wren*, *Jeremy Taylor*, *Blackstone*.

10. Magdalen College.—Bishop Horne, Wolsey, Hampden, Hammond, Sacheverell, Yalden (poet), *Gibbon*, Chandler.

11. Brazen Nose College.—Fox (Martyrs), Burton (Melancholy), Petty (Political Arithmetic).

12. Corpus Christi College.—Pococke (traveller), Twyne, *Hooker*, Dr. Nathaniel Foster, Day, Sir Ashton Lever.

13. Christ Church.—*John Owen*, Atterbury, Horsley, Lord Littleton, Lord Mansfield, Ben Jonson, Otway, Gilbert West, Cambden, Gunter, William Penn, Desaguliers, Lord Bolingbroke.

14. Trinity College.—Chillingworth, Denham (poet), Blount (traveller), Harrington (Oceana), Derham, Whitby, *Lord Chatham*, Thomas Warton.

15. St. John's College.—Archbishop Laud, Briggs, Sir John Marsham (chronologist), Josiah Tucker.

16. Jesus College.—Usher.

17. Wadham College.—Walsh (poet), Admiral Blake, Creech (Lucretius), Dr. Mayow, Harris (Hermes).

18. Pembroke College.—Bishop Bonner, Pym, Whitfield, Shenstone, *Dr. Johnson*.

19. Worcester College.—Sir Kenelm Digby.

20. Hertford College.—Richard Newton, Selden, Dr. Donne, *Charles Fox*.

21. St. Alban's Hall.—Massinger (dramatic poet)

22. Edmund Hall.—Sir Richard Blackmore.

23. St. Mary's Hall.—Sir Thomas More, Harriot.

24. New Inn Hall.—Scott (Christian Life).

25. St. Mary Magdalene Hall.—Sir Henry Vane, Lord Clarendon, Sir Matthew Hale, Theophilus Gale.

The following is a similar list of names associated with Cambridge. The same individual is sometimes connected with both Universities; and it will be observed that Cambridge, on the whole, exceeds Oxford in the number and higher literary stature of its gigantic men:—

1. Peter's House, or College.—Law Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Sherlock senior, Garth the poet, Gray the poet.

2. Clare Hall.—*Archbishop Tillotson*, *Cudworth*, Langhorne, Dodd.

3. Pembroke Hall.—Dr. Calamy, *Spenser* (poet), Mason, *William Pitt*.

4. Granville and Caius College.—*Jeremy Taylor*, Titus Oates, *Dr. Harvey* (Circulation of the Blood), *Dr. Clarke*, Lord Thurlow.

5. Trinity Hall.—Dr. Horsley.

6. Corpus Christi, or Benet College.—Dr. Briggs, Fletcher the dramatic poet, Dr. Sykes.

7. King's College.—Pearson (On the Creed), Oughtred, Gouge, Walsingham, Waller, Collins the Free-thinker, Sir Robert Walpole, Horace Walpole.

8. Queen's College.—Bishop Patrick, Erasmus, *Wallis*, Thomas Fuller.

9. Catharine Hall.—Lightfoot (Hebrew), Dr. Sherlock junior, Hoadley, Reay.

10. Jesus College.—Archbishop Cranmer, Elliot the Missionary, Flamstead, Fenton, Jortin, Hartley, Sterne, Gilbert Wakefield, Henry Venn.

11. Christ's College.—Latimer, Bishop Porteous, MILTON, Joseph Mede, Francis Quarles, Howe, Sanderson, *Paley*.

12. St. John's College.—Gauden, *Stillingfleet*, Roger Ascham, Cecil Lord Burleigh, Ben Jonson, Otway, Cave, Prior, *Bentley*, Ambrose Philips, John and Thomas Balguy, Ogden, Soame Jenyns, Theophilus Lindsey, Horne Tooke, Churchill.

13. Magdalene College.—Waterland, Lord Stafford, *Waring*.

14. Trinity College.—Wilkins, *Barrow*, Smith (Optics), Tunstall, Newton

(Prophecies), Bishop Watson, BACON, NEWTON, *Dryden*, Lord Essex, Donne, *Coke*, Cowley, Pell, Cotes, Conyers Middleton, Atwood, Maskelyne, *Porson*.

15. Emanuel College.—Farmer (Shakespeare), Bishop Hall, Chandler, Hurd, Horrox, *Matthew Poole*, Charnock, Sir William Temple, Law (Serious Call), Martyn (Botany).

16. Sidney Sussex.—Ward (Mathematics), *Oliver Cromwell*, Wollaston.

Beside these, Cambridge can lay claim to *Lord Byron*.

NOTE F, page 47.

The practice of an initial examination obtains in colleges of more recent formation. It does so at the College of Belfast. Those who attend there with a view to the Presbyterian ministry, have to undergo examination by a committee of clergymen of their own denomination, previous to their admission as students. At Maynooth they require a pretty high preliminary education; and the common age of their students on entry is seventeen. The following is extracted from the Minutes of Evidence taken by the Commissioners of Inquiry upon Irish Education:—

“It appears that, in order to be admitted into the lowest class, a young man must be able to construe Cæsar’s Commentaries, the works of Sallust, Virgil’s Eclogues, and the first four books of the *Æneid*, Horace’s Epistles, and Cicero’s Orations against Cataline. He must also be conversant with the Greek Grammar, and he must be able to read the Gospel of St. John, the first book of Lucian’s Dialogues, and the first three books of Xenophon’s *Cyropædia*! He is liable to be examined in all these books.

“Can you state what would be the probable expense that a young man must have incurred in his education, previous to his admission into that class?—I should think they are generally three years at a Latin and Greek school.

“What is the general price of instruction at such a school as they must attend?—The general price of instruction in such schools at present, is a guinea a quarter; but as the schools are not numerous in this country, the young men that go to school, or rather their parents, are obliged, in many instances, not only to defray the expenses incurred with the schoolmaster, but likewise to pay for their diet and lodging, very frequently at a considerable distance from the residence of their parents.

“Is the expense of the education which it is necessary to obtain, previously to a young man’s being admitted to Maynooth, so great as to make it impossible for persons of a very low order in society to be admitted into the college at Maynooth?—I think it is: and more particularly the expenses they are subjected to on entering, and after entering the college.”

It appears, then, from this extract of the Maynooth Evidence, that to obtain the requisite preliminary education, parents have often to send their sons to provincial schools at a considerable distance from home; and that the expense incurred thereby is such as to place the college education above the reach and ability of the lowest orders. Notwithstanding, the institution is attended by three hundred and ninety-one students; and this is deemed so full an attendance, by the President, Dr. Crotty, that he thinks it would be very inconvenient to have a greater number in one establishment. There is,

therefore, a twofold instruction in this passage. First, though our parochial schools should not afford the education required under a new system of regulation for our universities; yet, if there should be one adequate school in each county, for example, we need not wait for the regeneration of an elementary system of scholarship over the whole country, ere we exact a high preliminary education for colleges. And secondly, we need not despair, notwithstanding the additional expense that would be thus incurred, of a sufficient attendance for the supply of all our learned professions. The attendance would be somewhat reduced certainly; but the present state of the competition for vacancies in the Church, or for employment in the professions of medicine and law, may well convince us, that there is very great room for such a reduction.

The following resolution, therefore, by the Trustees of the Maynooth College, we hold to be worthy of adoption by the colleges of Scotland:—

“At a meeting of the Trustees of the Roman Catholic College, held in said College, on the 26th June 1821, it was unanimously resolved, ‘That after the expiration of two years from this date, no scholar shall be admitted upon the establishment of the Royal College of Maynooth, who shall not be found capable of answering in the Latin and Greek authors set down in the following entrance course.’”

For the list of books, see the Eighth Report on Education in Ireland, page 57.

NOTE G, page 54.

A very effective method of teaching a class, is to prescribe an order of reading to the students, from the best treatises which have been written on the subject taught; and to follow up this reading by a strict daily examination on the part of the professor. By means of his own running commentary, he can at the same time give his own independent views, and give the colour of his own mind to every successive topic which shall present itself in the course of the session. Between their careful perusal of the best standard works in their own apartments, and their animated converse on the subjects of these with the professor in his class-room, there is the best security that can be conceived for the students making a sound and well-ascertained progress in the various branches of learning. By this method of teaching, the professor is dispensed from the ponderous and often unnecessary task of composing a full system of lectures. But it does not supersede occasional or supplementary lectures, by which he might rectify, or illustrate, or add to the lessons of those writers who have gone before him. He might himself, in this way, reach the press through the medium of the chair, and bequeath so many text-books for the courses of philosophy in future generations. It is thus, that we may best realize the twofold advantage of retaining in our colleges all that is most precious in the wisdom and learning of the times that are past, and yet of keeping pace with the most recent discoveries, nay of accelerating their progress.

NOTE H, page 65.

We trust that, in the department of medicine at least, the London University may have virtually the benefit of a statute of apprenticeship. The statute that none shall obtain license to act as a practitioner who has not attended a course of lectures on certain branches of medical learning, goes a great way to secure this benefit for *the* courses that are best fitted to accomplish the candidates for reputation and employment in this honourable profession. We are further hopeful, that even without any statute, this latter motive will operate powerfully in gaining a numerous attendance from the students of law. We have less fear, therefore, of a copious supply of students, on the event of good appointments, for the appropriate classes of two of the learned professions. But while it was well, we think, to refrain from the institution of a theological professorship in the university itself, we feel strongly impressed with the benefits that might result from a certain arrangement which we shall now explain, both to the character of this great metropolitan seminary, and to the interests of theological education.

The friends of the dissenting academies in England will not deny the struggles and the severe efforts which it costs to uphold these establishments. Would it not greatly abridge the expense of them, if, relieved altogether from the charge of their students' literary education, they could appropriate their funds to that part of the tuition which was purely theological? This might be accomplished by any body of dissenters, who shall ordain a course of attendance on certain classes of the London University as indispensable for the admission of students into their theological seminary. Such an act as this must of course be liable to revocation, and would be revoked, on serious offence being taken with the spirit or substance of the instructions in London.

This scheme, so far as it could be proceeded in, we hold to be pregnant with advantages. In the first place, it might secure for the university a statute of apprenticeship of very wide operation. Should half the dissenters of England be thus associated with that institution, a very large yearly supply of students would thence be afforded; and in the security of their attendance, there might be as lofty and sustained a learning upheld as in the endowed colleges of Scotland or England.

But, secondly, it would operate in raising the theological as well as the literary education of the dissenting ministers. When released from every other charge beside that of their divinity classes, they could perfect and extend these nurseries of sacred science, so as to fill their churches with more accomplished theologians.

And lastly, when regarded in this connexion, the London University might become an engine of great moral power; and the oldest and wealthiest establishments of our land might be made to feel its ascendant influence, and be thereby provoked to a most wholesome jealousy. We have adverted, in the text, to the likelihood of its beneficial reaction on the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. But should it, further, be the mean of overspreading England with a lettered and enlightened dissenting ministry, who added the weight of piety to the weight of cultivated talent, we scarcely can imagine how a more powerful, and at the same time a more salutary stimulant could be brought to bear upon the church. We should not apprehend, in such a state of things, the most distant tendency to an overthrow of that venerable hierarchy. But we should certainly look, under heaven, for its

great and glorious revival—and should the London University be really, however indirectly, the cause of a more virtuous ecclesiastical patronage in that country, this, though it meaneth not so, will be its noblest achievement in the cause of humanity and patriotism.

It is on these grounds that we should rejoice in observing such a connexion as we have now pointed out between the London University and the dissenting bodies of England.*

NOTE I, page 67.

The melancholy effect of leaving religious instruction to be originated by the native and spontaneous demand of the people, is most strikingly exemplified in the southern and western sections of the United States of America. The following extract is from the narrative of a Tour by the Rev. Samuel J. Mills through that country.

"Never will the impression be erased from our hearts, that has been made by beholding those scenes of wide-spreading desolation. The whole country, from Lake Erie to the Gulf of Mexico, is as the valley of the shadow of death. Darkness rests upon it. Only here and there a few rays of gospel

* We are glad to observe, in the very intelligent address of the Rev. H. F. Burder, at the opening of Highbury College, a seminary for the education of Independent ministers, that he holds out a prospective view somewhat similar to that which we have now given. We do not altogether sympathize with his reflection on the exclusiveness of "a dominant hierarchy." But we join most heartily in his prayer—"May that university which is about to be established in our great metropolis, realize the hopes of its best friends and most enlightened advocates! May it afford the most valuable facilities for laying deep and broad that foundation of literature and science, on which our theological seminaries may erect a superstructure fair and firm."

In the report of the Committee for 1826, on the College at Homerton, there occur the following extracts, which an intelligent reader will at once perceive as bearing upon this question:—

"It becomes necessary for your Committee to direct the attention of the meeting to the serious diminution which has taken place in the annual receipts, arising in part from the distressing reduction in the list of subscribers, occasioned by death and the extraordinary commercial calamities which have so widely affected the general interests of society, and partly from its having been found necessary, in order finally to close the building account, and to liquidate the balance due to the late Treasurer, to sell out £1000, 3 per cent. Red. and £105 new 4 per cent.

"By this indispensable measure, coupled with the sale of stock in the preceding year, the permanent revenue of the Society is diminished nearly £100 per annum; and an inspection of the Treasurer's accounts will show that the annual expenditure exceeds the entire income by at least £350, an excess which must lead to most ruinous consequences unless repaired by measures of a vigorous and instantaneous character. To such measures your Committee pledge themselves, and most earnestly entreat all the friends of the Institution to co-operate with them, by strenuous exertions to procure donations and annual subscriptions to such an extent as can alone perpetuate the benefits which this Society has been enabled to confer upon the Churches during the last hundred years.

"The object of the Institution, which has existed about a hundred years, is to support twenty young men of decided and approved piety, who possess respectable talents, and are desirous of devoting themselves to the glory of God, and the immortal welfare of mankind, by engaging in the work of the Christian ministry, in pursuing a course of study adapted to the attainment of such branches of literature as may best qualify them for the intelligent and honourable discharge of the sacred office to which they aspire. The period of time allotted to the entire course is six years; the first two of which are occupied solely in classical pursuits, and the remaining four in classical, theological, and philosophical studies. *In cases where a classical education has been previously enjoyed, the term of study is contracted proportionably to the attainments which have been made.*"

light pierce through the awful gloom. This vast country contains more than a million of inhabitants. Their number is every year increased by a mighty flood of emigration. Soon they will be as the sands on the sea-shore for multitude. Yet there are at present only a little more than one hundred Presbyterian or Congregational ministers in it. Were these ministers equally distributed throughout the country, there would be only one to every ten thousand people. But now there are districts of country, containing from twenty to fifty thousand inhabitants, entirely destitute. 'And how shall they hear without a preacher?'

NOTE K, page 72.

The excellent Philip Henry, who was expelled from his charge as the established minister of a parish for nonconformity, had the opportunity of contrasting the comparative efficiency of the two systems. We hold the following testimony from him to be peculiarly valuable.

"Yet the opportunity he found there was of doing the more good, by having those that were his charge near about him, made him all his days bear his testimony to parish order, where it may be had upon good terms, as much more eligible, and more likely to answer the end, than the congregational way of gathering churches from places far distant, which could not ordinarily meet to worship God together. From this experience here, though he would say we must do what we can, when we cannot do what we would, he often wished and prayed for the opening of a door by which to return to that order again."

See the edition of Philip Henry's Life, by J. B. Williams, page 47. There is a note subjoined to this extract, by the present, or some former Editor, by which it is attempted, but without success, to neutralize the force of this important testimony. I may here take the opportunity of adding, that this edition by Mr. Williams contains much original matter, whereby he has enhanced still more the value of one of the most precious religious biographies in our language.

NOTE L, page 77.

In the short but very instructive pamphlet of my enlightened friend Mr. Hale of Homerton, entitled, "Cursory Remarks upon the Present State of Protestant Dissenting Congregations," we meet with ample confirmation of our principles on this subject. He, though himself a zealous dissenter, and a most liberal supporter of their interests, seems to feel that these interests can only be upheld by a severe struggle against the popular and the prevailing bias of our nature. The following observations by Mr. Hale we deem to be in the highest degree important and judicious.

"In the common transactions and business of life, we know that an increased demand for any of its comforts or luxuries will always secure an increased supply; but we must proceed in an inverse ratio, when it regards the welfare of immortal souls. 'The carnal mind is enmity against God.' There is no desire in the human race for religious instruction—they are totally averse from it; and, to speak in the political language just referred to, we

must always overstock the market with a supply before we can have reason to expect any demand.”—

“There are many worthy pastors in various parts of the empire, who know, from bitter experience, the truth of these observations; who have been struggling for years against the tide of adversity, and whose extreme distresses are known only to the afflicted partners of their lives, and to those of their children who have been early inured to the severe privation of almost every domestic comfort. Their anguish has often been such as to render them totally unfit for the labours of the Sabbath; and while they have been called to exhort their congregation to the practical exercise of every relative duty, they have been sensible that their own inability to discharge their just debts has been too freely circulated by some of their hearers; that unjust motives have been partially ascribed to their conduct, and that thus an advantage is taken by the enemies of religion to destroy the effects of their preaching.”

“I am aware that it will be said by some, that the young minister should endeavour to keep a school; but this is not desirable. The constant and faithful discharge of his ministerial duties will sufficiently occupy his time, while any other employment will naturally tend to diminish his usefulness. In many situations the establishment of a school is not practicable; in others the ground is already so occupied that the attempt would be fruitless; and frequently where ministers have for a while persevered in the plan, it has ended in their failure, and sometimes in the abandonment of their pastoral duties.”—

“It must, however, be admitted, ‘that there are many ministers of irreproachable character at this time unable to obtain pastoral engagements; and also that there are many stations highly interesting and important that are suffering greatly from the want of able and learned ministers.’”—

“What must be the feelings of a young man who has devoted himself to the Christian ministry, and who, by his amiable conduct and persevering industry while in the college, has gained the approbation and affection of his tutors—I say, what must be the feelings of this holy young man, when, after preaching acceptably to the congregation which he has been supplying, and from which he has received a pressing invitation to become their pastor, he finds, to his inexpressible grief, that the income which they have been accustomed to give to their minister will not be sufficient for his bare maintenance!”

“With respect to those ‘stations, exceedingly interesting and important, which are suffering incalculably from the want of Ministers,’ it is acknowledged, that the chief obstacle to such stations being suited with able Pastors, is the not raising a sufficient provision for their frugal maintenance.”—

“By far the greater part of our dissenting congregations lie under the charge of not contributing what they ought to do for their pastors.”*

NOTE M, page 92.

The crown, in its church patronage of Scotland, has been in the habit of

* The pamphlet from which these extracts have been taken, was called forth by the following observation of a writer in the Congregational Magazine, who seems to have felt, and to have felt truly, the feebleness of the native demand for the services of ministers:—

“When the supply of any article exceeds the demand, the invariable consequence is, a diminution of its value. If ministers should increase in a much greater ratio than the necessities of the churches require, the inevitable consequence will be a degradation of the ministerial character.

evinced so far a deference to the wishes of those who are interested in its nominations, as generally to decide the appointment by the wishes of the majority of landed proprietors in the parish—estimating that majority, however, by the valued rent. We should deem it an improvement on the practice, were Government, in this matter, to grant the benefice on the application of the numerical majority of heritors. Should the elders be admitted along with the heritors to a voice in the application, this would place the Crown Patronages of Scotland on the same footing which obtained in regard to all the patronages at the beginning of the last century. For ourselves, we are not very confident that a purer exercise of the right would be secured by any further extension of the franchise.

Historically, a universal suffrage in the appointment of clergymen has not proved itself to be a specific against the evil of corrupt and unworthy nominations. The Unitarianism which has taken possession of many of the originally orthodox chapels in England; and the Arianism which entered the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster in Ireland, sprung up there under a system of popular election. It is true that Arianism is now rapidly declining in the North of Ireland—and that, too, because of the recent nominations being almost all in favour of orthodox clergymen. But this is saying no more for patronage as vested in the people, than that it is partaking in the improvement which is now taking place in the exercise of all other patronage. The dominant spirit of the country is fast working its way throughout all the forms and frameworks of outward constitution.

While upon this subject, we may take the opportunity of expressing our regret that the Government grant has not been sooner restored to the college of Belfast—and that, too, from the apprehension of its proving a nursery of Arianism. Even though it were greatly worse in this respect than it is at present, we should have no such fear—being assured that in the growing orthodoxy of the synod of Ulster, and in the necessary influence which, apart altogether from stipulations, that body must have on the professorial appointments, there is a moral security against the apprehended evil, far greater than could be provided by any formal ratifications.

PART II

LECTURES

ON

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND EXTENSION OF NATIONAL CHURCHES.*

LECTURE I.

STATEMENT OF THE QUESTION RESPECTING A NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT OF
CHRISTIANITY, AND EXPOSURE OF THE MISCONCEPTIONS REGARDING IT.

1. THERE is a felt indisposition on the part of certain religionists to the question of an Establishment; and that just because it appears to them a mere question of machinery. They view it as at best an earthly expedient for the diffusion and settlement of Christianity in the world. It seems with them to imply a distrust in the efficacy of divine grace; nor can they find room in their contemplation for the respective parts, which belong to the agency of God and the instrumentality of man, in the great work of providing for the religious education of the people. Such is the homage which these men, of strong but unintelligent piety, would render to the supremacy of that Being who rules and actuates and determines all things. In the entireness of their dependence upon Him, they would themselves do nothing—as if in things sacred, and more especially in the affairs of the church upon earth, human skill and human activity were alike uncalled for.

2. To meet their antipathy in this very general form, it might be perhaps enough to say, that, if acted upon or carried into

* Delivered in London from April 25th to May 12th 1838.

effect, it were in utter violation of all the analogies both of nature and of providence. In the business, for example, of agriculture, as well as of seamanship and the arts, do we behold processes of human contrivance adapted to powers, that often, in their principle and mode of operation, are altogether beyond the reach of human comprehension. And certain it is, that the dependence we ought to feel on the Sovereign of our world, for the shower and the sunshine and the various influences of the firmament above, does not supersede the diligence wherewith we ply the labours, and both devise and prosecute the schemes of our well-arranged husbandry below. Here, then, we have a supernal influence in the hands of God, conjoined with a terrestrial economy in the hands of man. If nature withhold her part, there might be no valuable produce from fields cultivated with whatever skill or whatever strenuousness. If we withhold our part, there might be a hundredfold less of valuable produce from the same fields lying waste and neglected, however genial the seasons, or with whatever benign an aspect the year may have rolled over us. But, instead of this, in the operations of common husbandry, man concurs with nature, and nature concurs with man—he by his unremitting industry, the processes of which are all palpable and known; she by her ceaseless and mysterious agency, the footsteps of which are recondite and unknown. Man cannot fathom or foretell the courses of nature—for, whether in the arcana of our heaving atmosphere, or in the depths of the vegetable physiology, there is in each a laboratory, the recesses of which we have never entered, and the inner movements of which are alike beyond our cognizance and our control. Yet this does not restrain the confidence wherewith we address ourselves to the culture and management of the soil; and it is by the patient working of man, superadded to the inscrutable working of nature, or rather of him who is the author of nature, that we obtain the sustenance of millions from a territory, which, if abandoned to nature alone, would yield but a precarious subsistence for the beasts of the field, and a few straggling savages.

3. Now this holds true in all its parts of what may be termed the work of spiritual husbandry. It may be, nay it is by the descent of an influence from above, that every human spirit is reclaimed from the barrenness, from the deadly blight of nature, and made to abound in the fruits of righteousness. But our entire dependence on God, who giveth the increase, does not

supersede the entire diligence wherewith the ministers of the gospel should give themselves to the labour of planting and watering each his own allotted part of the vineyard. So far from superseding, it should stimulate that labour, and affords the best warrant or vindication which can be given of it. There is a region in South Africa where the soil is of the best capabilities; but where, from the utter want of rain all the year, vegetation is nearly unknown, or, at least, no human industry can obtain a recompense by any additions which it can possibly make to the produce of it. Here, then, it is not the presence but the negation of a celestial aliment, which suspends all terrestrial labour as hopeless and unavailing; and if, in virtue of some physical change, this aliment were restored, or rain were to fall as in other countries of the globe, then, and then only, could there be a meaning or a justification for the appliances of human activity and skill; and then a busy agriculture, now unlocked, would find room and encouragement for its various processes. And it is even so in the work of spiritual cultivation. For the prosperity of this work, we are taught that there must be a descent of living water from the upper sanctuary. Yet this descent does not supersede—it rather calls for—a work of preparation on the earth which receives it. The part which God takes in the operation does not abrogate the part which man ought to take in it. They are the overflowings of the Nile which have given rise to the irrigations of an artificial husbandry in Egypt, for the distribution of its waters. And there is positively nothing in the doctrine of a sanctifying or fertilizing grace from heaven above, which should discharge us—but the contrary—from what may be termed the irrigations of a spiritual husbandry in the world beneath. It is not enough that there be a descent; there must be a distribution also, or ducts of conveyance, which, by places of worship and through parishes, might carry the blessings of this Divine nourishment to all the houses and families of a land. There is nothing, therefore, in the doctrine of the Spirit's agency that should foreclose the question, which still remains to us in all its importance, of the best polity, or the best platform for a Church upon earth. While we acknowledge the celestial descent, we must not neglect the terrestrial distribution. That there is a co-operation between these, is evident from the single expression of men being fellow-workers with God. But the principle rests not on any single or incidental testimony. It pervades the whole system of the

Divine administration; and the neglect of it is a radical and pervading error in Christianity. A machinery is not the less essential upon earth, that the impellent force which guides and animates its movements is from Heaven. There is nothing in this to disparage or do away with the paramount necessity of a spiritual influence—whatever the apprehensions may be of a mistaken, I should even say, a drivelling though sincere piety, which greatly underrates the importance of a visible and material economy in things ecclesiastical, and would set it aside as a mere system of earthly means and earthly expedients. Such an economy may, notwithstanding, in the order of cause and effect, be an essential stepping-stone to the salvation of millions; and that without the slightest relaxation of essential dependence upon God. The husbandman, after having dressed his field, looketh for the former and the latter rain, without which the cultured territory would be a dreary waste. The Christian governor, after having laid down his parishes and planted his churches thereon, looketh for the descent of that blessing from above, without which the country will abide as hopeless a moral wilderness as before. Its channels of distribution, however skilfully drawn, will, if dry and deserted of Heaven, convey nothing for human souls; and the goodly apparatus of a throng and thick-set establishment in the land, will neither prevent nor alleviate the curse of its spiritual barrenness.

4. To establish our conclusion the more, let it further be remembered, that when the Spirit does enlighten or impress a human soul, it is generally through the medium of the Word; or, to express it otherwise, the Bible forms the material pathway for His communications. There is nothing in this doctrine therefore to extenuate, but rather everything to enhance, the importance of multiplying the Scriptures, and giving universal circulation to them over the world. But the application to our argument becomes still more obvious when we also recollect, that, both at the commencement and throughout the successive ages of Christianity, although the Spirit has ever been the great agent in the work of conversion, He makes choice of His own vehicles, and has always annexed an especial virtue to, or puts an especial honour on, the instrumentality of man. By means of one heavenly visitant, the whole substance and truth of Christianity might have been conveyed with power to the mind of Cornelius. But for this purpose two were employed—one preternatural message having been sent to Peter, for the purpose

of bidding him go to Cornelius ; and another to Cornelius himself, for the purpose not of delivering the gospel to him, but of preparing him to expect the visit of a fellow-mortal, from whose lips he should receive it. And so it was in the act of Peter speaking to Cornelius and to the other members of his household, that the Holy Ghost fell upon them. The same mysterious agent who gives efficacy to the read also gives efficacy to the preached word ; but preached not by beings of a higher to those of a lower order, but by men to men. It is the Divine Spirit alone who sends the message with efficacy to the heart ; but still it is a message borne to the ear by human messengers. In other words, they are Bibles and ministers that form the two great parts of His main and chosen instrumentality. And, in our capacity as fellow-workers with God, it is for us to set this instrumentality agoing—to see that a Bible should be in every house, and that a minister should have access to every family. These form our plain and palpable doings for the furtherance and distribution of that Christianity upon earth, which, nevertheless, but for the descent of a heavenly influence from above, could have no being in the world. It is ours to strike out the channels of conveyance—it is for God to fill them. The work which belongs to us in this spiritual husbandry is as patent as that of planting and watering is in common husbandry. The work which belongs to God of giving the increase, is, in both, beyond the sight and search of all our faculties—wholly inscrutable in the mysteries of grace ; and far from being fully comprehended, whether in the mysteries of the fitful weather above our heads, or in the still profounder mysteries of vegetation.

5. There is nothing, then, in the doctrine of the Spirit to reduce, but everything to enhance, the importance of the gospel being preached—and so, therefore, the importance of the question, What is best to be done, that we might secure its being preached to every creature ? If there be one economy, under which there is every likelihood that, with all our strenuousness and care, we shall fall short of more than half the population ; and another economy, by which it may be made sure that the calls and lessons of Christianity shall be brought to every door—this, all other circumstances being equal, forms in itself a strong ground for our preference of the latter over the former. It is our purpose to demonstrate, that this invaluable property of a full or universal diffusion belongs only to a National Establishment ; and to make it palpable, by all the lights of history

and human nature, that it never is, and never can be, realized either by the Voluntary System, or by what has been termed the System of Free Trade in Christianity. But we must first premise what is meant by a National Establishment of Religion in a country—or tell what that precisely is which creates or constitutes such an establishment.

6. We shall assume, then, as the basis of our definition for a Religious Establishment, or as the essential property by which to specify and characterize it,—a sure legal provision for the expense of its ministrations. It is a question merely of nomenclature or of definition, and not of doctrine, wherewith we are at present engaged. Our single attempt at this moment is, not the statement of our belief, but the settlement of our language—that there might be a clear and common understanding of the terms used by us, in the course of our argument. We are not saying, at present, whether the legal establishment of religion be a good or a bad thing—we are only telling what we understand such an establishment specifically to be; and saying, that wherever we have a certain legal provision for the ministrations of Christianity, there we have an Establishment of Christianity in the land. It is this which forms the essence of an Establishment; and, as such, must be singled out from among all the other accessories wherewith it may happen to be variegated. This idea of an Establishment may or may not imply what is commonly meant by a connexion between the Church and the State. If it be the State which maintains the Church, we admit that there is such a connexion—whether this maintenance be their ancient and original gift; or a grant renewed every year, and which may or may not be recalled by the civil government. But the truth is, that the maintenance may have originated in other sources—in the bequest of individuals, or numerous private acts of liberality, prompted by the affection of the pious for the Christian good, whether of the community at large, or of special districts in various parts of the land. In our eyes it is not less an Establishment on this account, than if supported by a direct allowance from the national treasury. To realize our idea of an Establishment, it is enough that there be legal security for the application of certain funds to the maintenance of Christian worship or Christian instruction in a country; and this in whatever way these funds may have originated. If the Church be indebted for its revenues to the benefactions of the rich and the religious in other days, then it may have no

more connexion with the State than the State has with any other charitable endowments in the kingdom—where so much property is destined to certain ends; and all which the State has to do in the matter is to make good the destinations, or to see that effect and fulfilment be given to the intentions of the original testators. It is in this sense chiefly that we understand the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to be national or established institutes for the purposes of education. Their *status* or character, as such, does not depend on the antiquarian origin of the property which belongs to them—which, it so happens, they owe, in greater part, not to the liberality of the civil rulers, but to the piety and patriotism of individuals. It depends not on the origin of their property, but on the sureness of its application; the justice of the nation, or the authority of the State and of the laws, being engaged in the defence of it, whether against encroachment, or against its application to other objects than those on which it is now expended.

7. But even although the Church should be wholly supported by the State in things temporal, and a connexion between them be established thus far, it follows not that this connexion should proceed any farther. There might be an entire dependence on the State in things temporal, without even the shadow of a dependence upon it in things ecclesiastical. Although the Church should receive its maintenance, and all its maintenance, from the civil power, it follows not that it therefore receives its theology from the same quarter; or that this theology should acquire thereby the slightest taint or infusion of secularity. The State is the dispenser of things carnal; and the Church, in exchange for this, is the dispenser of things spiritual: but these things spiritual may retain their purely spiritual character notwithstanding; and be ministered by the priests to the people, without adulteration or one ingredient of earthliness. The Church receives from the State the maintenance of its clergy; and the clergy, in return, give to the subjects of the State a Christian education,—but they might, and do, reserve to themselves the whole power and privilege of determining what that education shall be. For their food and their raiment, and their sacred or even private edifices, they may be indebted to the State; but their creed, and their discipline, and their ritual, and their articles of faith, and their formularies whether of doctrine or of devotion, may be altogether their own. Such may be the line of demarcation between the civil and the ecclesiastical—that,

while the State maintains the teachers of religion, it meddles not with the things that are taught. It may ordain a scholastic establishment, yet leave unfettered the whole determination of the learning to an educational board. Or it may ordain an ecclesiastical establishment, and leave entirely with the Church the determination of its own lessons—alike unfettered by any dictation or control on the part of the civil authority. By a system of endowed schools, education might be introduced into hundreds of districts, which, but for this provision, might have remained in unlettered ignorance; and that, too, a right and pure education. By a system of endowed churches, public worship and religious instruction might be introduced into hundreds of districts, which, but for this provision, might have remained in grossest heathenism; and still nothing else be observed or taught but a pure and scriptural Christianity. An endowment may not deteriorate the quality either of common or Christian education, while it adds inconceivably to the diffusion and the amount of both.

8. And it is the more necessary to insist on this consideration, that the attempt is so often made to excite the idea of an essential contamination, in every approach which the Church might make to the State, and even when with no other object than that of simply holding forth a maintenance to her clergymen. And the Church might submit herself so far to the State as to receive this maintenance, and yet abide as spiritual, as holy and independent a Church as before—only enabled to distribute the waters of life more copiously among the population, while as purely as ever. When a West India planter sends for a Moravian missionary, and maintains him in the work of instructing the labourers on his estate, we have here the little model of an Establishment. The planter maintains the missionary; and the missionary, in return, teaches on the estate of the planter—yet teaches nothing there but his own Christianity. The Bible is as much his fountainhead as before—truth and holiness as much the objects of his resolute adherence as before. The whole effect of the relation upon which he has entered, is to bring the gospel into contact with hundreds of immortal creatures, who, but for this miniature establishment, might have lived in guilt and died in darkness. It may or it may not have been a spiritual impulse on the mind of the planter which originated the proposal; either a regard to the immortal well-being of his fellow-men, or an enlightened regard to his own safety and advantage, on the prin-

ciple, that, if his labourers were religiously trained, they would be thereby transformed into a submissive, orderly, and industrious population. With him it may have been a mere calculation of profit and loss; but, whatever the force was which opened the door, still it was a door of highest Christian usefulness to the missionary—and they may have been motives of the purest and highest order, which led him to acquiesce in the proposal. And what is true of the little model of an establishment on this single plantation, may hold true when expanded into the actual machine of a great national establishment of Christianity over a whole empire. It is uncertain whether it was policy or piety which actuated the mind of Constantine. But, whatever secularity it may have been which prompted the overture on the one side, it may have been accepted on the other in purest love to the souls of men, and without the surrender or compromise of one iota of Heaven's high sacredness. When the great autocrat of the Roman Empire, from a persecutor became a nursing-father, the Church might then have raised her orisons of gratitude to Him who turns the hearts of kings whithersoever He will; and, now that a way was opened to the plenteous harvest of so mighty a population, might have entered on her now larger field with as holy a zeal for her Master's word, and as lofty an independence throughout all her pulpits, as in the days of martyrdom.

9. We know that, contemporaneously with this establishment of the Christian religion in the days of Constantine, there was, not the birth but the progress of a great and general corruption, which had its commencement in other causes two centuries before. There is nothing in the mere distribution of ecclesiastical labourers over the territory of the Roman Empire, each working in his proper vocation, and in return for a right and regulated income;—there is nothing in such an economy that can at all account for that fearful degeneracy of the church which began even in the first century; and which the establishment that took place early in the fourth did not originate, and, as it appears from the actual history, could not arrest. The essence of that corruption lay, not in the ascendancy wherewith an establishment had vested the civil power, giving it an undue influence over things ecclesiastical; but, diametrically opposite to this, it lay in the ascendancy wherewith the superstition and ignorance both of princes and people had vested the ecclesiastical power, of which it most unworthily availed itself, to its own enormous

aggrandizement in things temporal—at once supplanting the rightful authority of God in His Scriptures; and substituting both a doctrine and discipline of its own, by which to blind the souls of men and subjugate them to its sway. Had emperors and kings understood their own place, and resisted every encroachment by the hierarchy on their own proper and legitimate functions—there was nought whatever in the system of endowed churches, for the universal spread of a Christian education, that could have given rise to a despotism of priests; any more than a system of endowed seminaries, for the spread of a common or literary education, could have given rise to a despotism of schoolmasters. The truth is, that influences were at work which, either with or without an establishment, would have landed Christendom in the terrific Popery of the middle ages—the product, not of that economy for which we are contending, and by which, in return for their legal maintenance, the ministers of the church would, each in his own district, have given forth the lessons and performed the services of the gospel for their respective populations; but the product of an enslaving superstition, that enabled an ambitious priesthood to riot at pleasure over the consciences and fears of their deluded votaries. Their enormous wealth was the fruit of voluntary offerings made by the people; and their enormous power, in its first beginnings at least, the fruit of voluntary concessions made by princes, who partook in the debasing fanaticism of the times. The effect of a regulated establishment might have been to regulate and restrain the characteristic excesses of that period; and to those who, unable to discriminate, are ever sure to confound the adjuncts or the accidents with the causes of certain great and complex phenomena, we would propose for contemplation the ecclesiastical state of Presbyterian Scotland on the one hand, and Catholic Ireland on the other—the first with an establishment, the second under the entire ascendancy of the voluntary principle; and then ask, in which of the two countries it is, that a corrupt and a domineering priesthood are doing the most to vitiate the pure doctrine of the apostles, or to injure the peace and virtue of the commonwealth?

10. It is fortunate that the reformers knew how, in this matter, to make distinction between the machinery and the men; and that, instead of destroying the machinery of the Establishment in their respective countries, they only placed it in other and better hands; and so had it worked by men of another doctrine

and another principle than before. An establishment, in fact, with its universities and its parishes, might be the best and most active instrument of conveyance in a land, either for good or for evil, either for a corrupt or a scriptural theology. And so they went intelligently to work. They did not, with blind and headlong zeal, demolish the old apparatus of distribution. They substituted the true gospel for a false one; and sent forth its now amended and purified lessons along the old pathways of conveyance. The Establishment, in the days of Popery, made sure of a pulpit and a minister in every little district of the country. The Reformation did not destroy this arrangement. It kept up the same fountainhead as before in the colleges, and the same rills of distribution in the parishes and throughout the churches of the land; and maintaining, as was done most strenuously by Knox, and all enlightened reformers everywhere, the necessity of a settled provision for the teachers of Christianity—it but changed and new-modelled the system in respect of the things that were taught. Whatever the scholarship may be, whether common or general, wherewith you want to charge and inoculate the population of a country, if you desire that it shall be universally spread, you cannot but desire an effective mechanism for the full and ready diffusion of it. The lessons may be good or they may be bad; say that they are bad, and then the question is, Whether shall we change the lessons, or take down and so demolish the machinery? The obvious thing, we should imagine, would be to do as the reformers did—to change the lessons; and if, after this, they be the lessons now of a pure and wholesome theology, we ask, in the name of common sense, where lies the wisdom of destroying the machinery—kept up, it would appear, so long as it subserved the propagation of corruption and error; and now that this evil is transmuted into good, proposed to be taken down when it might enhance the propagation of righteousness and truth? Is this the treatment, we would put the question, which the government of a country—or if it be a popular government, at the bidding of the collective mind or will of the community at large—is this the treatment which the society of that country ought to bestow on the respective elements of good and evil? After having for ages furnished the evil with all facilities for its rapid march and full circulation through the families of the land—then, when the evil has been made good, is that the time when these facilities should be taken away? So long as the religion taught was a moral poison, by

which to vitiate the hearts and habits of the people, it had the prerogative of an establishment, by which access was made for it through every district and into every door. Strange, if when the religion from a deadly virus has become the water of life, that we should then dispense with those aqueducts of conveyance, by which it might be spread abroad for the healing of the nation. It is well that the venerable fathers of our Protestant church, making distinction between the things which differ, felt and judged otherwise from the headlong innovators of the present day. They medicated the quality of the thing that was circulated; but they let alone the apparatus of circulation. In their achievement we behold the wisdom and the principle of genuine reform. The other achievement is by men of a different spirit—done, it may be, in the name of reform; but marking the very crisis, and having in it all the characters of a revolution—whether it be the act of a legislature, which lends itself, either to the cupidity of the nobles, or to the outcries of the multitude; or an act of pillage by the multitude themselves, broken loose from the ancient holds of authority, and borne waywardly and uncontrollably along on the surges and amid the uproar of wild insurrectionary violence.

11. And here may we pause on the instructive contrast between the ecclesiastical reformers of the past and present day. It is on the high walk of theology and sentiment that we meet the former—it having been their aim not to destroy the Established Church, but to animate it with another spirit; or to give it other doctrines and other principles than before. In these times, again, the hands of our reformers are differently employed—taken up chiefly not with the internal, but the external—with what may be termed the economics of the Church, its rights, its revenues, the number and pay of its office-bearers; and were their sole aim a better distribution of its wealth, instead of the abridgment or the alienation of it, this, though a humble, might yet prove an innocent, nay, even a salutary undertaking. The real object of the first reform by Luther and his contemporaries was to mend the Church's faith. The professed object of the second reform is to mend the Church's framework—though often the obvious effect of the attempted changes, as in Ireland, were to mutilate and weaken, and ultimately to destroy. In former times, it was a high war of intellect and principle, and many of the best heads and noblest hearts of England were engaged in it—when the lore of her profoundest students, and the testimony

of her sainted martyrs, and the outraged moral sense of a now awakened community, were all enlisted on the side of Scripture, and of a pure scriptural ministration throughout the parishes of the kingdom. Altogether it was a nobler controversy, and maintained on a nobler field than that which now calls forth the championship both of priests and of parliament men. The struggle then related to the quality of that nourishment which should be given to the souls of the people; and the noble result was, that it should be the pure bread and water of life, taken at once from the repositories and fountainheads of inspiration; and not adulterated, as before, by the mixtures of a corrupt and superstitious Popery. The struggle now relates not to the kind or quality of this spiritual nourishment, but rather to the kind of apparatus that should be maintained for the distribution of it. It is a question not of theology or of morals, but of machinery; and many are the economical and the arithmetical reformers of our age, who feel themselves abundantly qualified for the entertainment of it. We cannot but remark the total difference, both in character and aim, between the two reformations. If the one were a doctrinal or moral, the other perhaps may be termed a mechanical—or, as the sure effect were not to mend but to demolish altogether the framework of the Establishment, it may best of all be styled a machine-breaking reformation; and of course its advocates, or rather its instigators and its agents, are the machine-breaking reformers of the present day—far more mischievous in their higher walk, but hardly more intelligent, we do think, be they in or out of Parliament, than the machine-breakers of Kent, the frame-breakers of Leicestershire, or the incendiaries of a few years back in the southern and midland counties of England. It was by strength of principle, or strength of argument, that the venerable fathers of nearly three centuries back achieved their reformation—it will be by strength of hand, or a sort of sledge-hammer energy, that the coarse utilitarians of the present generation, in a period of frenzied delusion on the part of the multitude, or by a wayward exercise of power, unintelligent and unknowing on the part of the legislature, will ever be able to accomplish theirs. If it be the consecrated title of reformation which is to avail them in this day of conflict, if by its means, as with the magical influence of a watchword, they are to enlist in their favour the passions and prejudices of men—then never was there more exemplified the omnipotence of words or sounds over the human understanding

—never did conjurers in any walk, whether of politics or of fortune-telling, operate with such success on the credulity of the world, or practise a grosser delusion in the use and by the prostitution of a venerable name.

12. In this age of distempered speculation, we gladly look back, and that with affectionate remembrance, to the more excellent way of our forefathers. Knox new-modelled the faith; but he did not, in spite of all the violence that has been ascribed to him—he did not demolish the pulpits of the Catholic establishment. He did infinitely better—he took possession of them. He did not destroy a good machine, because of the bad working of it. He did what was a great deal wiser—he dismissed the workmen, and committed the machine into other hands. Fury is often blind; and, if ever there was a provocative to its wildest excesses, it was at that time, when the accumulated wrongs of many ages had at length aroused an indignant community, against the profligate and the persecuting ecclesiastics who so long had lorded over them. Between the cupidity of the nobles and the indiscriminate rage of the multitude, the Establishment itself might have been swept off as a moral nuisance from the face of the country. But our great reformer interposed in its defence; and, making his resolute stand for the churches and stipends of the clergy, he transmitted the material framework, not without hurtful molestation, but still as entire and uninjured as he could, for the use of future generations. The truth is, that, without such an apparatus, he could not have propagated, with the speed and facility which he did, the doctrines of his own reformation—which went like lightning over the land, not on the wrecks of the Establishment, but through the numerous pathways which the Establishment, as far as preserved and upholden, had still left open to him. But for this, he might have found a lodgement on the naked strand where he alighted, yet found the country at large an impenetrable forest; and which he only entered and pervaded by the old channels, through which now, and by numerous rills of intersection, he sent forth the pure water of life, the lessons of his sound and scriptural theology among all the parishes. And accordingly all that remains of Popery in Scotland is in those Highland fastnesses—where there might be said to have been no parishes, or these so large and impracticable, as to have been left without the benefits of an Establishment. And so, amid the stormy agitations of that period, when there was a general

effervescence in all spirits, his views were calm and enlarged and philosophical. He may have looked indulgently on when the edifices were pulled down, which harboured the most corrupt and powerful of the old hierarchy; but he protested against all the violence that was offered, and certainly with too much effect, on whatever of the Establishment was really serviceable, or could be turned into use, either for the instruction of the clergy, or the instruction of the people. He denounced the shameful appropriations that were then made of the wealth which should have gone to the better and more frequent endowment both of churches and colleges. His was the inspiration of lofty principle; but there was a regulating as well as impellent power in his mind—there was the guidance of profoundest wisdom along with it.

13. That corruption and error have been spread abroad by the organ of an establishment is no more an argument for the destruction of the establishment, than that infidelity and licentiousness have been printed is an argument for the destruction of printing-presses. The way is to preserve and to extend both—making the one the instrument for a full diffusion of Bibles, and the other for a full diffusion of Bible-preaching and Bible-sentiment through the land. To do otherwise, were as if a physician, to get quit of some disease in the blood of his patient, should, instead of operating on the quality of the liquid, so mangle the apparatus by which it finds its course through the corporeal framework as to stop the circulation of it. Were the water of London to take on a deleterious tinge from the accession of some impurity—the way surely is to purge it of this, or, if possible, to bar the ingress of it, rather than make insensate attacks on the subterranean machinery, by which distribution is made of it through the streets of the city and into the houses of the citizens. Yet this last is in the style of our modern reformers. They would suppress parishes; or, by at least a partial destruction, keep back the water of life from certain parts of the territory. Or they would abolish church-rates; and no longer enforce those contributions from the wealthy, by which access and accommodation are provided for the supply of gospel instruction to the families of the poor. Their war is not against any system of theology—for about this they are mainly indifferent, as if all systems were alike in their eyes; but their war is against the machinery set up in other days, and preserved to our own times, for the circulation of its lessons—a machinery effectual then for the spread of a deadly superstition, and so

for the subjugation of all spirits to its sway ; but which might be as effectual now for the spread of a pure and undefiled Christianity, and so for the healing of the nation. The days were “when a man was famous, according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees, or according as he gave of materials or money for the building and the endowment of churches. But now they would break down the carved work thereof at once with axes and hammers. They have said in their hearts, Let us destroy them together: they would burn up all the synagogues of God in the land.”

14. The desirable church reform, then, whether for England or Scotland, is not certainly to destroy the machine—not even to mutilate or abridge ; but rather, as we shall afterwards state, to repair and strengthen, and greatly to extend it. There may, besides, be other external or even economical changes that should be honoured with the name of improvements ; but mainly, the great reform is that which, leaving the framework of the Establishment untouched, would infuse into it another spirit, or make it the vehicle of a more powerful and scriptural ministration than heretofore. In short, the thing wanted is an internal reform ; and, for carrying this into effect, we do not require a change in the theology of either of the churches—none at all in their creeds—a very little, perhaps, in their service-books—though at all times, for the efficiency of any church, even of the best and purest theology on earth, we are dependent, and that most essentially and vitally, on the conscientious and disinterested and well-principled exercise of its patronage. It is not enough that we have a good machinery—we must have good men for the working of it. Even when they had the worst of men, the reformers of other days, with a wisdom and discrimination which do them infinite honour, kept up the machinery ; and only after they had substituted the Protestant for the Popish doctrine, committed the working of it into other hands. What an emphatic condemnation is held out by their example, on the headlong reformers of the present day, who—without the provocative of a more corrupt or incompetent priesthood than heretofore, but in the face of a most palpable amelioration, and that in all the three kingdoms, on the general worth and devotedness and personal Christianity of the clergy,—would seize on this as the time for destroying, and so wresting from their hands, the most effective of all instruments for the religious education of our people. To speak of our own Scotland, there cannot be

imagined a wider contrast and dissimilarity than that which obtains between the long past and the now proposed reformation—the former made good by the resolves and the prayers, and at length sealed by the blood of their dying martyrs—who fought, not for the demolition of their kirks, but for the free use of Scripture, and the setting up of a pure ministry within their walls—the latter reformation, even that of the times in which we live, borne along, as if permitted to take effect it most assuredly would be, on a wild career of sweeping and destructive violence, and amid the hosannas of a multitude, as unlike, as east is distant from the west, to those holy worshippers—who, to hide them from their persecutors, assembled round their pastors in mountain solitudes, and sat down to their sacraments, under the naked canopy of heaven. Such were the reformers of these golden days; and they bear not one feature of resemblance to the reformers of the age in which we live—those impetuous and bustling agitators, in whose breasts politics have engrossed the place of piety; resolved at all hazards upon change; and prepared to welcome, with shouts of exultation, the overthrow of those altars which, in holier and better times, upheld the faith and devotion of our forefathers.

Though at the hazard of detaining you a great deal too long, I cannot resist the inclination I feel to crave from you the indulgence of ten minutes, while I read a few extracts from the writings of one, alike characterized by great power and great prejudices; who saw clearly how to distinguish, when treating of the Church of England, between the machine and the working of it—having at once the highest possible value for the one, and the worst possible opinion of the other. I speak of William Cobbett, whose shrewd discernment at least will be admitted by all; and who, speaking of the church as a machine or apparatus, expresses himself in the words that we subjoin.*

* “An Established Church, a church established upon Christian principles, is this—that it provides an edifice sufficiently spacious for the assembling of the people in every parish; that it provides a spot for the interment of the dead; that it provides a priest, or teacher of religion, to officiate in the edifice, to go to the houses of the inhabitants, to administer comfort to the distressed, to counsel the wayward, to teach the children their duty towards God, their parents, and their country; to perform the duties of marrying, baptizing, and burying, and *particularly*, to initiate children in the first principles of religion and morality; and to cause them to communicate, that is to say, by an outward act of theirs to become members of the spiritual church of Christ: all which things are to be provided for by those who are the proprietors of the houses and the lands of the parish; and, when so provided, are to be deemed the property or the uses belonging to the poorest man in the parish as well as to the richest.”

Our distinct object is to demonstrate the power and the properties which belong to a National Establishment of religion, viewed as a machine; and, in regard to the working of it, we may at least state, as our triumphant confidence, that, notwithstanding the exaggeration of its enemies, the evidence is every day growing, of its vast practical importance to the moral well-

Then follows his opinion of the actual working of this church in the hands of its actual clergymen, in which opinion I do not sympathize; and shall endeavour to qualify his conclusion, by a few closing sentences of my own.

"This is an Established Christian Church; and this you, the parsons, will tell the people that they actually have; and you will tell the people who have no house and land, that in calling for the abolition of tithes, they are in fact calling upon the rich to take from them, the poor, the only property that they have in the country. Alas! you will tell them this in vain. They know that the church is not this thing now to them; they know that you do not visit their houses and comfort them when they are sick, except in instances so very rare that they hardly ever hear of them; they know that you do not teach their children, and that, though the churchwardens annually certify the bishop that the children *communicate*, hardly a workman in the kingdom ever saw or heard of such a thing being done; they know that you are frequently on the bench, perched up as justices of the peace; they know that you frequently sentence them to punishment without trial by jury, and sentence to transportation, for what is called poaching. This is the capacity in which they now know you; and to induce them to stir hand, foot, or tongue, in defence of this establishment, is no more possible than it is to induce a Jew to give up a farthing of his interest."—"I was a sincere Churchman"—"because it was reasonable and just, that those who had neither house nor land, and who were the millions of the country, and who performed all its useful labours, should have a church, a churchyard, a minister of religion, and all religious services performed for them, at the expense of those who did possess the houses and the land. In a word, in the church and its possessions, I saw the patrimony of the working people, who had neither house nor land of their own private property. For these reasons I was a friend, and a very sincere friend, and able to be a very powerful friend of the Church Establishment.

"But," &c.—*Cobbett's Political Register*, December 21st, 1833.

"Ought we to have any Establishment at all? In answering which for ourselves, it is our own opinion, that this nation has been much more religious and happy under the influence of the Protestant Established Church, than it is ever likely to be in case that church were abolished. To make the question still more close, let it be this, *whether it be reasonable that any one should be called upon to contribute towards the maintenance of a church, the tenets of which he dissents from?* This is making the question as home as it can well be. And we do not hesitate to say, that there is to us nothing so outrageously unreasonable in the idea. One thing is certain, that if *all* are not to remain liable to pay for the church, it is no established, or at least no *national* church. Reasons are not wanting to show the benefits of a national religion, or a mode of worship, or some religious establishment, the peculiarities of which are under the especial patronage and peculiar favour of the government. In judging of such a matter, we can only be guided by experience; and experience is not less wisdom here than in all other things."—"It does not follow that because an institution has been abused it should be done away with, if the institution itself be necessary or beneficial. Even kings may require now and then to be driven from their thrones; but that does not prove the necessity of doing away with the throne."—"If it be allowed (and we think it ought to be) that an establishment is desirable for such a purpose, the dissenters cannot well object to paying the clergy of a different persuasion. An establishment cannot consist of *all* creeds, or the Quakers themselves would have a right to form a part of it. As

being of our nation. If it be an undoubted truth, that there is a distinct and a decided improvement in the *personnel* of the Church of Scotland; if in England, the mighty instrument is passing into the hands of a more efficient clergy than before; if in Ireland, persecution, with its wonted influence, is begetting a reso-

we have before said, the church is not *national* unless *all* be taxed towards its support; and for the sake alone of preserving decency for religion, it appears to us to be no more unjust than it is impolitic towards the community in general, to require the aid of *all* in maintaining that in which *all* are equally interested."—*Cobbett's Political Register*, April 20th, 1833.

"But then come the just and charitable principles of the Christian religion; and they say this to the owners of the land and the houses, 'The land and the houses are yours, but not in such absolute right as to exclude your working and poorer brethren from all share. There shall be a church in each parish, and a priest for the teaching of religion; there shall be a churchyard for the burial of the dead; there shall be sermons and prayers and marriages and baptisms—and these shall form the possessions of the inhabitants, the property of those who labour.'"—*Cobbett's Political Register*, September 14th, 1833.

"Go upon a hill, if you can find one, in Suffolk or Norfolk; and you can find plenty in Hampshire and Devonshire and Wiltshire; look to the church steeples, one in about every four square miles at the most on an average—imagine a man, of small learning at the least, to be living in a genteel and commodious house, by the side of every one of these steeples, almost always with a wife and family; always with servants, natives of the parish, gardener, groom at the least, and all other servants. A large farm-yard, barns, stables, threshers, a carter or two, more or less of glebe and of farming. Imagine this gentleman having an interest, an immediate and pressing interest in the productiveness of every field in his parish—being probably the largest corn-seller in the parish, and the largest rate-payer—more deeply interested than any other man can possibly be in the happiness, harmony, morals, industry, and sobriety of the people in his parish. Imagine his innumerable occasions for doing acts of kindness; his immense power in preventing the strong from oppressing the weak; his salutary influence coming between the hard farmer, if there be one in his parish, and the feeble or simple-minded labourer. Imagine all this to exist close alongside of every one of these steeples, and you will at once say to yourself, hurricanes and earthquakes must destroy the island before that church can be overthrown. And when you add to all this, that this gentleman, besides the example of good manners, of mildness, and of justice, that his life and conversation are constantly keeping before the eye of his parishioners—when you add to all this, that one day in every week he has them assembled together to sit in silence; to receive his advice, his admonitions, his interpretation of the will of God as applicable to their conduct and their affairs; and that, too, in an edifice rendered sacred in their eyes, from their knowing that their forefathers assembled there in ages passed, and from its being surrounded by the graves of their kindred—when this is added, and when it is recollected that the children pass through his hands at their baptism, that it is he alone who celebrates the marriages, and performs the last sad service over the graves of the dead—when you think of all this, it is too much to believe that such a church can fall. Yet fall it will," &c.

"This settles the matter as to the church as it now stands; and then the next question is, *Can it be restored to what it ought to be?* If it could be, that is the thing that ought to be done—because, though people in great towns do not perceive it, it is a serious change to the country—a serious change to the 465 parishes of Devonshire, for instance, to the 629 parishes of Lincoln, the 731 parishes of Norfolk, the 411 parishes of Kent—a serious change to take away one little gentleman out of every one of these parishes."—*Cobbett's Political Register*, February 22d, 1834.

lute and high-toned spirituality in the devoted ministers of that deeply-injured hierarchy—is this, we ask, the time to wrest from the hold of its now more faithful and energetic agency, that engine which would enable them to operate with tenfold effect on the families of the land? The work of reformation was prosecuted more wisely in other days; when, notwithstanding the provocative of a grossly immoral and tyrannic priesthood, they but changed the agency and preserved the engine. And with our present agency, I trust we shall, by the blessing of Heaven, be enabled, not only to preserve but to perfect the engine; and that, with enough of energy and conscientiousness and devoted zeal on the part of their ministers, all the menace and agitation by which they are surrounded will only rivet the three churches more firmly on their bases, and rally more closely around their common cause, the wise and the good of our nation.

LECTURE II.

VINDICATION OF A RELIGIOUS NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT, IN OPPOSITION TO THE REASONINGS AND VIEWS OF THE ECONOMISTS.

BEFORE entering on the positive and direct argument in favour of a National Establishment of religion, I endeavoured in my last lecture to do away this initial objection, or rather this initial prejudice against it—as if the connexion between Church and State which is implied by it, implied also a secularization of Christianity, to which it is not equally exposed under all other methods either for extending or maintaining the gospel in the world. In these days of fierce partisanship, we cannot expect much of cool and clear discrimination—when men are borne along as if by a sort of gregarious impulse, and under the influence of a popular and prevailing cry. In Edinburgh a few years ago, at one of those public meetings, where the connexion between Church and State is no sooner spoken of than it lights up an instant and sensitive antipathy in the hearts of assembled thousands, there was a speech delivered by an American clergyman of the Presbyterian denomination, who happened to be an acquaintance of my own. The multitude whom he addressed were every one of them enraptured at hearing from his lips, that the idea of any such connexion was held in perfect abomination

all over America. I afterwards ventured to make the whole controversy a subject of conversation with him ; and my first question was, whether if a Christian philanthropist, seized with a strong affection for a district in Maryland, were to bequeath ten thousand pounds for the erection of a church and ministerial dwelling-place, and for the maintenance of a clergyman, providing at the same time that this clergyman should be of the Presbyterian denomination, and that in things ecclesiastical he should be wholly under the control of his own Presbyterian judicatories in America—whether such an endowment would be rejected by their General Assembly or Supreme Court of Management, as an unscriptural and unchristian thing, or be accepted by the body as an accession to the means of religious usefulness. There could be but one answer to this question, which was that an endowment thus destined, and thus placed under the guardianship of what he deemed to be a pure scriptural church, would be welcomed and encouraged to the uttermost. I then asked whether, if these endowments were so multiplied as that the whole State of Maryland should be covered with them—still adhering to the supposition that the theology of all these Maryland clergymen was in no subordination whatever to the will of the testators, but only to the will of their ecclesiastical superiors, the Presbyteries and Synods and General Assembly of America,—whether such an arrangement, admitted by him to be desirable and good in reference to one small territory, whether the character and effect would be at all changed, if the benefit of it were multiplied several hundred times, and spread over the whole of Maryland. It of course was most readily admitted, that just as one apple, multiplied by 750, does not land you in 750 oranges, but in 750 apples—so one moral and religious benefit, multiplied by the same number, does not land in 750 evils, but in 750 most unquestionable and most desirable benefits. After this the transition was not a difficult one, from the single State of Maryland to the whole United States of America ; and then the only adjustment betwixt us which remained to be made was, whether such a great and general endowment that would have so delighted all their hearts, if coming from the hands of so many thousand generous individuals, whether, if it had come down to them as the fruit of an endowment that had been instituted many hundred years ago, and was therefore so firmly based on a separate and proprietary right of its own, that no one individual could honestly affirm of himself, that he was in-

jured by its existence in anything that belonged to him—whether, as he and his brethren would rejoice in the coming on of such an endowment, whether they would willingly consent to the taking of it off at the clamorous outcry of men who represented it not only as a bane and a burden on the commonwealth, but as an unchristian abomination in the midst of their land. The rejoinder upon this was a very memorable one. If all you mean by an Establishment is an organized provision for a clergy, we should rejoice in it. If this be the whole amount of the connexion between Church and State—if maintenance and nothing else come from one quarter, and an unfettered theology from the other, without contamination from the authority of man, but subject only to an ecclesiastical judgment, grounded on a principle of deference to the word of God—a simple arrangement of this sort is truly a different thing from what we understand by a religious Establishment. The thing we deprecate is the authority of the civil magistrate in matters of religion; but we should be thankful to him or to any one else for giving us what he termed an organized provision for clergymen. Now this organized provision is truly all that we contend for. It is just, in other words, a legal provision for the support of a Christian ministry—an arrangement which might truly be gone into, and which actually is gone into, without the slightest infringement on the spiritual prerogatives of the church, or on the ecclesiastical independence of her clergymen. It is obvious from all this, that the indignation of our transatlantic friend was directed against a wrong object; and that he failed in making the requisite distinction between the act of a government in giving food and raiment to ministers, and the act of a government in assuming a lordship over the creed and consciences of ministers. But it is not amid the din and uproar of public acclamations that men can be expected to distinguish very clearly between the things which differ. When an orator denounces the connexion between Church and State, the effect is instantaneous on all those who, without logic and without discrimination, are carried along by the deafening outcries, and no less deafening plaudits of an assembly, amid the noise and excitement of which the still small voice of truth is overborne.

But we must now pass on to the proper subject of this lecture, which is the vindication of a religious National Establishment in opposition to the reasonings and views of the economists.

1. By the system of a free trade in commerce, its various ex-

changes are left to the pure operation of demand and supply ; and the two, it is thought, should be permitted without interference to regulate and to qualify each other. When the demand for any particular commodity increases, it will be the interest of the dealers to provide it in larger quantity than before ; or, when the demand is lessened, it will be their care to reduce the supply accordingly—so as that the market shall not be overstocked with any article, beyond the extent to which it is sought after. It admits, we hold, of the clearest demonstration, that it is unwise to interfere with this law of action and reaction—or, as it may be termed, with this natural law of political economy. The supply rises and falls just as the demand rises and falls. Government should make no attempt to restrain the supply beneath this point by means of a prohibition, or to encourage it above this point by means of a bounty. Such an interference is an offence to all wise and enlightened economists ; and resented by them as a disturbing force, that would violate the harmonies of a beautiful and well-going mechanism.

2. This prepares us to understand what is meant by the system of a free trade in Christianity. Under its hands the article of religious instruction is left to the same treatment, and to the operation of the same laws, with an article of ordinary merchandise—according to which, Christian instruction should be provided for a community, to a greater or less degree, just as there is a demand for it ; or, in other words, is left to be regulated by the laws, and of course to be limited by the extent of the market. At this rate the supply, whether as respects its amount upon the whole, or the proportion of it in various places, will be made to suit the taste of the customers. It will betake itself to those places where there is, what economists term, an effective demand for it—that is, where there is wealth enough and will enough, to insure a remunerating price for the expense of its preparation. A free trade in commerce only seeks to those places where it can make out a gainful trade ; but it is sure to avoid or to abandon those places where, whether from the languor of the demand, or the poverty of the inhabitants, it would be exposed to a losing trade. By a free trade in Christianity, let the lessons of the gospel follow the same law of movement ; and these lessons will cease to be taught in every place where there is either not enough of liking for the thing, or not enough of money for the purchase of it ; or that religion, the great and primary characteristic of which was, that it should be preached unto the poor,

must be withheld from those people who are unable by poverty to provide a maintenance for its teachers. And the teachers of this religion, whose office it is, after the example of its great Founder, to seek and to save those who are lost, must make no attempt to awaken from their slumbers those who have no value, and will, therefore, give no price for their ministrations, because lost in the apathy of a deep and settled unconcern, and sunk in the indifference of spiritual death.

3. This brief and bare statement, one might think, of the effects of a free trade in Christianity, should be enough to condemn a system which seems to carry its own signal refutation along with it. But we ought to understand what the precise distinction is between Commerce and Christianity, which calls for such a difference of treatment between the two as that for which we are contending—so that, while the one prospers to the uttermost under the system of free trade, and reaches by its means the greatest possible diffusion of its blessings and benefits through the world, the other, under the same system, would shrink into narrower dimensions, and be limited to a small fraction of the human species. If there be a diversity in the two cases, there must be a reason for it, which admits of being distinctly stated, and which may be distinctly apprehended. When Turgot and Smith and others proposed to assimilate the one to the other, so as to leave them both to the pure operation of demand and supply; and without the artificial encouragement, whether of bounties or endowments—if there be error in the proposition of these economists, they must have been misled by the light of some false analogy, which surely is capable of being exposed. In other words, there must be some intelligible principle capable of being propounded and put into language, and on which the system of free trade, so applicable to the one case, is not alike applicable to the other also.

4. The following then is our explanation. Generally speaking, there is, by the very constitution of our nature, a sufficient intensity of desire, and consequently of demand, for the articles which commerce deals in, and so as to call forth an adequate supply of these articles, or a supply commensurate to all the exigencies of human society. There is no such intensity of desire or of demand for the article of Christian instruction. When it is affirmed, in regard to the goods of ordinary merchandise, that they might, with all safety, be left to the operation of demand and supply, it is always presupposed of the one

element, that it is sufficiently strong to stimulate and call forth the other. And so it usually is. The longer a man is in want of food, the keener will become his appetency of hunger, till at length he would give any price, or make any sacrifice, in order to obtain it. And so it is of other sensations, which impel him to seek after other necessities of existence—as the cold, which makes it indispensable to his comfort that he should be clothed and lodged, as well as fed. Even when the necessities of life are refined into exquisite and high-wrought luxuries, there is a sufficiently spontaneous and wide-spread desire after these to insure a sufficient demand for them, in the physical sense of taste and the vanity of man, or his natural love of distinction—the one disposing him to the gratifications of the table—the other, though at the expense of all he can give away, to the decorations of his person and equipage and household establishment. Man's natural liking for these things affords a powerful enough guarantee either for that part of his labour which he is willing to put forth, or for that part of his wealth which he is willing to give up, in order to acquire them. Between the love of gain on the one hand, and the love of enjoyment on the other, there is no danger but the wheels of commerce will move with velocity enough, and in the very direction, too, that is most suited both for the needs of customers and the prosperity of dealers. It seeks no other aid at the hands of the legislature than the enforcement of justice between man and man. The bounties wherewith a misjudging government would seek to encourage it, but serve to displace or to embarrass its movements, which, by the voice of all experience and all philosophy, might be left with the utmost safety, and the best possible advantage, to a self-going mechanism of its own.

5. Now the very reverse of all this holds of Christianity, or rather of Christian instruction, viewed as an article which is beneficial to man, and which should therefore be distributed, to all the extent that is good or desirable to mankind, throughout the mass of society. It is not with man's intellectual, or his moral, as it is with his animal nature. Although it be true that the longer he has been without food the more hungry he is, or the greater and more urgent is his desire of food, yet the more ignorant a man is, not the greater, but generally speaking, the less is his desire of knowledge; and this converse proposition is still more manifestly true of his moral than of his intellectual wants. The more immersed a man is in vice or in voluptuous-

ness, not most certainly the greater, but beyond all doubt the less, is his desire of virtue or his desire of holiness. There is no natural hungering or thirsting after righteousness, and before man will seek that the want should be supplied, the appetite must first be created. The less a man has, whether of religion or righteousness, the less does he care for them, and the less will he seek after them. It is thus that nature does not go forth in quest of Christianity—but Christianity must go forth in quest of nature. It is, on the one hand, the strength of the physical appetency, and, on the other hand, the languor of the spiritual, the moral, or the intellectual appetency, which makes all the difference. The law of our moral and intellectual is not the same, but reverse or contrary to the law of our physical wants. With the physical, the intensity of the desire is directly proportional to the want; with the intellectual and moral, it is inversely proportional, or the less he has of these the less he cares for them. The strength of man's natural craving guarantees an effectual demand for food or raiment, or all that might contribute to the shelter and convenience of the house that is over his head, which, rather than want, he will go if he can to the most distant market, and with the full price in his hand for them. But though we may trust to his natural longing for the goods which are to be had in a market, there is no such natural or universal longing for the good to be had in a church, or in a college, or even in a school. And never, therefore, was there a more unfortunate generalization than that by which our economists have placed on the same footing the articles of ordinary merchandise with the articles whether of common or Christian education; or by which, because they have demonstrated of bounties for the one that they were unnecessary or even mischievous, they therefore contended against endowments for the other, as being, in their operation, alike mischievous or alike unnecessary.*

* As far back as 1817, I had occasion to publish a sermon which I preached on the death of the Princess Charlotte, wherein I adverted to the want of churches in Glasgow, and subjoined an appendix, in which there occurs my first exposition of this argument. The following is a brief extract:—

“ Dr. Adam Smith, in his Treatise on the Wealth of Nations, argues against religious establishments, on the ground that the article of religious instruction should be left to the pure operation of demand and supply, like any article of ordinary merchandise. He seems to have overlooked one most material circumstance of distinction. The native and untaught propensities of the human constitution will always of themselves secure a demand for the commodities of trade, sufficiently effective to bring forward a supply equal to the real needs of the population, and to their power of purchasing. But the appetite for religious instruction is neither so strong nor so universal as to secure such an effective demand for it. Had

6. These principles are in full accordance with the facts, both of past history and of present experience. With many, there is a confused imagination, that, previous to the establishment of Christianity, the whole ministry of the gospel was conducted on the system of free trade. On a closer view, however, and a proper discrimination of the things which differ, it will be found, that what actually took place was the very reverse of this. It is true that in all ages, the lessons of the gospel behoved to be paid for by some one, because the teachers of the gospel behoved to be maintained. But the whole system hinges upon this—who paid for these lessons? We know by whom it is, that, in the exchanges of ordinary business and on the principles of free trade, the payments are usually made. They are the customers or users of the commodity that is purchased, who, generally speaking, pay its price, and its whole price. It were in violation of the system of free trade, if government paid any part of that price in the shape of a bounty. And it were an equal violation of the same system, from whatever quarter that bounty should come—whe-

the people been left in this matter to themselves, there would, in point of fact, have been large tracts of country without a place of worship, and without a minister. The legislature have met the population half-way, by providing them with a church and a religious teacher in every little district of the land; and by this arrangement have increased, to a very great degree, the quantity of attendance and the quantity of actual ministration. In point of fact a much greater number of people do come to church, and do come within the application of Christian influence, when the church and the preacher are provided for them, than if they had been left to build a meeting-house, and to maintain a preacher themselves. There is a far surer and more abundant supply of this wholesome influence dealt out among the population under the former arrangement, than under the latter one; and it is this *excess* of moral and religious good which forms the only argument for a national establishment, that I shall now insist upon.

“The argument of Dr. Smith goes to demonstrate the folly of a national establishment, either of meal-sellers or of butchers, or of any national establishment for supplying the people with the necessaries and the comforts of life. But the peculiarity, already adverted to, renders it totally inapplicable to the question of a national establishment for supplying the people with the lessons of Christianity.”

This argument I have been incessantly repeating since, on numberless occasions, and in a variety of forms; but it strikingly marks the slow progress wherewith a principle before unheard-of makes way in society, that, for at least fifteen years, any testimony I could lift upon the subject was like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. It is now more familiar to Scotland since the extension of our Church, no longer a matter of mere speech or speculation, has become a living and practical concern. I believe that, in this part of the world, it is chiefly indebted for any currency it might have to the important circumstance of its having been adopted by Lord Brougham some years ago, who, in a speech in the House of Peers, made use of the very consideration, and propounded it, almost in the very words which I have now uttered in your hearing—after which it expanded into full notoriety, when this particular reason for an established church, instead of lying hid in so many paragraphs of obscure authorship, went forth over the whole length and breadth of England, under its far more influential title of the Lord Chancellor's argument.

ther from the state, or from any body of associated philanthropists, or from private individuals. It is the doctrine, and we hold it a sound one, of the economists, that an article should no longer be brought to market, if the price which purchasers are willing to pay for it, do not remunerate the cost of its preparation; or if, to help out that price, advances must be made by any party distinct from the purchasers themselves. For in this case it were a losing trade; and so much of the capital of the country, it is argued, would be thrown away on a profitless or hurtful investment. And one of the foremost articles in our modern, and, as we think, enlightened creed, is that the supply of all those goods should cease, for which there is not an effective demand, that would cover the whole expense of bringing them to market—that the whole matter of demand and supply in fact, should be left to find its own adjustment in the free choice of the two parties concerned in it; or should be made to hinge exclusively on the price which the one party are willing to give, and the profit which the other party are willing to receive. Let these two elements act and re-act at will on each other, and so as to make out between them a self-going mechanism, that would only be put out of order, as if by the violence of a disturbing force—should the intervention of any third party be admitted, for the purpose either of help or of hindrance. In other words, the economists contend, and with our entire acquiescence, for the establishment of a perfect freedom in the world of trade, as being the condition of things, in which the best and most beneficial result, the greatest good or maximum of commercial prosperity, is realized—when dealers on the one hand are most profited, and customers on the other are most pleased.

7. Now let us consider whether this is the footing on which the world ever is or ever can be supplied with its Christianity, or rather with its christian instruction, in the way that is best for the moral interests of our species. It was not so at the first introduction of Christianity, in virtue, not of a movement from earth to heaven, but of a movement from heaven to earth; and the expenses of which, throughout the infancy and boyhood of the Saviour, were certainly not defrayed by those for whose welfare the mission was undertaken. It was not so during the time of His public ministry, when three or four women ministered to Him of their substance, as He travelled from place to place over the land of Judea; and so He was maintained at the cost of the few for the benefit of the many. It was not so in the journeyings of His

disciples, two by two, among their countrymen—who, when they entered a city, fixed their residence in some particular house, and were supported by the hospitality of one individual for the good of the general population. It was not so when the apostles went forth after the resurrection, and received their maintenance from such as Simon the tanner, or Lydia the seller of purple, or Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus, and others of those Scripture worthies who harboured and entertained the men of God, while they held out the bread of life, without money and without price, to the multitude at large. It was not so when the last, but not the least of the apostles, provided with his own hand for his own necessities; and the wages of Paul the tent-maker enabled Paul the apostle to labour in his sacred vocation without wages. It was not so when he received from other and distinct churches, that, in the church of Corinth, the gospel might not be chargeable to any; and he would suffer no man to strip him of this boasting in the regions of Achaia. And, to come down from the age of the New Testament, it generally could not have been so, that the extension of Christianity was carried forward during the first three centuries. The men who were not yet Christians did not, in those days, send to the apostolic college for men who might give them the lessons of the gospel; but by a reverse process, teachers went forth among the yet benighted countries of the earth; and their expenses, at least in the first instance, behoved to be borne, not in the shape of a price by those who received the benefit, but in the shape of a bounty by those who dispensed it. In all these instances, contrary to every law or character of pure trade, the expense was borne either totally or partially by one party, and that for the good of another party. It was not as in the ordinary exchanges of commerce. The receivers were not the purchasers; and what they did receive was not a thing by them bought, but a thing to them given. It is an utter misconception that when Constantine set up in his dominions a national establishment of Christianity, he made the first infringement on that system of free trade by which the prosperity of this religion had been heretofore upholden; for from its very outset, Christianity stood indebted, for almost every footstep of its progress, to a system and a policy directly the opposite of this. When he came forth with his great imperial bounty or benefaction, he only did on the large scale what thousands of benefactors had previously, and for hundreds of years, done on a small scale before him. When he became the friend and

nursing-father of the church, he did for the whole territory of which he was the sovereign, what, times and ways without number, the friends of the church had already done, each for the little district in which he himself resided, or for the introduction and the maintenance of Christian worship in some chosen locality of his own. With his great national endowment, he but followed in the track of those private and particular endowments which, sometimes temporary and sometimes perpetual, had multiplied beyond all reckoning, during the preceding ages of Christianity; and in virtue of which it was, that churches innumerable were raised, and congregations were formed; but chiefly in the large and flourishing cities of the Roman empire. The peasants, or they who lived in the country and villages, inhabitants of the pagi, and hence called Pagans, were, in the great bulk of them, still unconverted—insomuch that Paganism in those days became synonymous with heathenism; or, in other words, the great majority of the rustics or countrymen of that period, notwithstanding the strenuous and apostolic exertion of many thousands of Christian missionaries for about three centuries together, were still adherents to the old superstition and idolatry of their forefathers. The universal endowment, by which a ministry was provided for every little section of the territory, or the whole was broken into parishes, opened a way to the moral fastnesses that were still held and occupied by the countless millions whom all the efforts of by-gone generations had not reached; and so brought a whole host of gospel labourers into contact with the wide and plenteous harvest of the general population.

8. But, instead of looking to the distant past, of which the history is far from perfect, the same lesson might be drawn from the observation of present or modern times. Certain it is, that the introduction of Christianity into any new land proceeds by a very different method from the introduction therinto of any of the goods of ordinary merchandise. The commercial adventurers look for the remuneration of their expenses, to the price or equivalent given by the natives themselves. The missionary adventurers are upheld in their expenses, not by a price, but generally in whole, and almost always in part, by a bounty—the bounty of those who employ and send them forth, in full equipment for their high enterprise of charity. In this process, that law of equal and reciprocal barter, between them who bestow and them who receive the benefit, which the advocates of a free trade contend for, is altogether unknown. Rather than want the teas of

China, the families of Britain do, in effect, send for them along half the circumference of the globe, and defray the whole cost of the expensive and distant voyage by which they are brought to our shores. But who paid for the outfit and all the other charges of that first missionary vessel which first wafted the gospel to the remote island of Otaheite? Not the natives themselves who should have wanted the blessings of Christianity for ever, had we waited for their effective demand; or not moved but in the expectation of a safe and profitable return from their hands, for the cost of this great undertaking. The undertaking originated with us; and was defrayed to the last farthing, out of a missionary fund raised from the benevolent of our own land. It is generally thus that all missionary work is upholden—paid and provided for, not by the receivers of Christianity, but by its dispensers, or rather by those who maintain the dispensers. So that, at least in the extension of Christianity, we do not sell the gospel, but offer it: we do not calculate on a price, as in the operations of commerce, but have recourse to a bounty, that dread and deprecation of all the economists—without which, whatever the effect might be on the continuance of Christianity in old countries, the propagation of it, at least in new countries, were altogether hopeless. Some may contend that, on the principles of free trade, Christianity could be perpetuated wherever it is already planted; but few will have the hardihood to affirm that, on these principles, its first settlement could have been effected in any land.

9. But though Christianity were indebted to the operation of a bounty for every footstep of its progress from one region to another, this is far from being decisive of the controversy. For properly the question relates not to the methods by which Christianity is introduced, but to the methods by which it might be maintained in any land. It might be very true that the taste, and consequently the demand, for this religion must first be created among those people to whom it is at present unknown; and that therefore anterior to this, instead of waiting till it be sought after, it must be offered to their acceptance, or be carried to their doors, and taught to their families, not at their own expense, but at the expense of others beside themselves. It is even thus that commerce sometimes obtains a footing for itself in particular countries. Before the natives can have a liking for certain of its articles, they must first have a sight and a trial of them; and so instances can be given where dealers have

adventured their goods into places, where, instead of finding a market, they had first to form one—at their own hazard, therefore, or even expense in the first instance, and not at the expense of customers. But though it was thus at the commencement of the trade, it could not possibly be thus that we can explain the continuance of the trade. The same people who would not send for the commodity at the first, might, when once made to know and to relish it, rather than want, be abundantly willing to pay for it afterwards. And might not Christianity be sped in like manner? Though introduced at the expense of others, might it not, when the appetite for its lessons is excited, be maintained by themselves afterwards; and that not by certain of the nation for the benefit of the rest, but entirely and exclusively by those who receive the benefit? It might be very true that missionaries, at the charge and bidding of those who are Christians, must be employed for the conversion of those who are not Christians; but may it not also be true that, after their conversion has been effected, then a native demand will be set agoing; and ministers be employed at their own charge and their own bidding, for keeping up this religion from generation to generation?

10. There is a great semblance of probability for this, in much that might be seen, both throughout our own land and in various countries of Christendom. In Britain, there are many hundreds of large and flourishing congregations, where all the expenses of the service are defrayed by the hearers themselves. These are pure instances of free trade, and of an interchange as complete and equal as any which ever takes place between the buyers and the sellers of a market—where Christian instruction is rendered by the one party, and where its price, its whole price, is rendered by the other party—where there is not one farthing of endowment to help out the maintenance of the clergyman; and a remuneration for his labour, often adequate and respectable, is fully made good to him by those who enjoy the fruits of it. This operation of demand and supply is often exemplified both within and without the Church of England, in many a successful chapel and many a prosperous meeting-house—where, in virtue of a large or a wealthy attendance, the produce of the seat-rents is sufficient both for the payment of the minister, and for all the other expenses of the concern. And, most assuredly, we have no quarrel with institutes like these—provided only that a pure gospel is delivered, and that Christian good is done

by them. In whatever way Christ is faithfully and efficiently preached, it is the part of every honest disciple therein to rejoice; and no one can question the undoubted contributions made to the cause of religion, in the proprietary chapels of such churchmen as Newton and Cecil and Howel and Daniel Wilson, or of such dissenters as Watts and Doddridge and Andrew Fuller and Robert Hall. But it follows not, that, because there is a fitness in such as these to supplement the establishment, there is also a sufficiency in them to supersede the establishment; or that the economy which is found to succeed within the limits of many a select and separate assemblage of worshippers, is the proper type of that larger economy, the object of which is to extend the blessings of Christian knowledge over the whole length and breadth of a land.

11. And, on viewing more specifically and attentively the state of these unendowed chapels, it will be found that, on the strict principles of a reciprocal trade, a very large proportion of them could not possibly be sustained. In very many instances, the seat-rents of the occupiers, aided even by their voluntary offerings, are inadequate to the yearly expenses of the undertaking: and so subscriptions have to be instituted, which are carried beyond the hearers themselves; or collections are advertised for the benefit of the chapel funds, to which the public at large are invited; or creditors, whether by constraint or generosity, have to transmute their loan into a gift, by the abandonment of their claims altogether; or journeys have to be undertaken, that money might be raised in various ways to help on the building of chapels in progress, or to extricate those already built from their sore embarrassments: and the innumerable other shifts and difficulties of these heavily indebted concerns, familiar to those who are vested with the management, all serve to demonstrate that, unlike to the other articles which are brought into a market, and of which the supply is continued only because of an adequately remunerating price—unlike to these, the returns for the article of Christian instruction are very often beneath the prime cost incurred in the preparation of it. In thousands of instances, we might venture to say, the inadequacy of the whole sum obtained from the seat-rents must be made up by a liberality or a bounty obtained from other quarters; or, which is the same thing, they who receive the whole benefit of the ministration do not pay the whole price of it—and the deficiency is covered by certain others who have no share in

the benefit. In this transaction between the minister and his people, what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, do not stand to each other as the equivalents of a mercantile exchange. The payment for his services consists of two ingredients—one in the character of a price, but the other in the character of a present, which coming from the hands of individuals might be termed a benevolence, and would be termed an endowment did it come from the hands of the State.

12. But the strongest argument remains behind, for the necessity either of such a benevolence being raised from the Christian public, or of such an endowment being obtained from the State. We may find, though a very few, of those wealthy congregations, which, in virtue of a revenue made up of golden seat-rents, can support their clergymen in affluence—and of course the highest in the scale, as may be seen at a glance on the face of the assemblage within, or as may be collected at the proper hour by the passing traveller without, from the throng and splendour of the many vehicles which beset the chapel doors. And, descending from such, there may perhaps be some hundreds more of independent or self-subsisting congregations in our land, which at the end of the year can exhibit their favourable balance, and be appealed to as so many examples of the prosperous working of the system of free trade in Christianity—where wealthy merchants, even substantial tradesmen, and at times, though rarely, a certain but small proportion of the best-conditioned among the working classes in the cheapest or outskirt pews, make up a body of worshippers, of whom it may justly be said that they pay to the full and without help from any foreign quarter, for the spiritual provision both of themselves and of their families. Over and above these, we have as many thousands of those places of worship, which, but for the aid either of private or public benevolence, would have turned out to be so many failures—indebted for their perpetuity to helps which are perfectly honourable to both parties, but which, as being departures from the system of free trade, serve at least to demonstrate its insufficiency for the supply of any land with the lessons of the gospel. And, accordingly, we find that in such congregations it falls short of maintaining them; and that because congregations of altogether a more plebeian cast and composition than those which we have just specified—planted, it may be, in some poorer districts of the country; or admitting, if in town, a larger proportion of artisans and labourers. The system of free trade does

something for these congregations, but does not and cannot do all. It should be accredited with the sum of all the prices fetched, in the shape of seat-rents, from those who are hearers. But these, in violation of that free trade system which repudiates all bounties, have to be supplemented by presents fetched from those who are not hearers. These, therefore, are not specimens of the sufficiency of this system. The difficulties under which they labour, their struggles to keep themselves afloat, the many shifts and difficulties which they must resort to, in the shape of drafts on the charity both of individuals and of the public, may all be appealed to as evidences, that,—however commerce may thrive on the native power of her own articles to summon the attendance of customers, and call forth a full equivalent at their hands,—it is not thus that Christianity can be so sped and carried forward, or can ever become commensurate to the whole length and breadth of a country's population.

13. But, as we have already said, the strongest argument of all remains behind. We have accompanied the progress of these unendowed chapels so far down in the scale of society; and have found, in the greatest majority of those which we come to last, that, on the mere footing of a commercial speculation, they could not be upholden. They in all probability would never have been built, but for the prospect of an addition from some other source than the market-price of sittings; and certain it is, that without such addition they would never have been maintained. When thus pushed to their extreme limit, and then examined as to the rank and quality of those who repair to them, it will be found that they serve chiefly for the accommodation of those who may be designated the lower of the middle class; and these mingled, to a certain extent, with household servants, and the better-conditioned of the working classes in society. But the decisive fact is, that beyond this limit, across which our chapel undertakers have never ventured—and that because, from the ulterior on the other side of it, there is the certainty of a dead loss to scare them away—on this untrodden vastness there do exist thousands and thousands more, comprising often the great mass and majority of the common people, whom a deficient Establishment on the one hand has necessarily left out; and whom all the energies of dissent upon the other, with all which the system of free trade can do, and all which Christian benevolence does into the bargain, have not overtaken. They cannot, it would appear, be allured as customers into those houses

which dissenters have provided ; and there are no houses provided by the Establishment to take them in as commoners—and that, because the Establishment has fallen short of its proper design, which is to hold forth Christianity without charge to the poor, or as a common good and benefit for all the families of all the population. And so it will be found that, in this surplus territory, whether it be met with in town or country, the great bulk and body of our ordinary workmen are neither church goers nor chapel goers. It is a question of statistics, and admits of being determined arithmetically and experimentally. Our assertion is borne out by every ecclesiastical survey that has been made in those places where the church is greatly short of the population, and where the free-trade system has put forth all its energies to supplement the deficiency. And, accordingly, there are eighty thousand human beings in Glasgow, who should be the regular attendants on Divine worship, and who yet go regularly and habitually nowhere ; and fifty thousand in Edinburgh ; and at the very least half a million in London ; and untold myriads in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire. The thing admits of being brought decisively to the test of observation. It is at the choice of any single inquirer to verify it on his own account. Let him go forth on any district, whether of town or country, if the same or similarly conditioned with the places which we have now specified, and it be chiefly inhabited by men of handicraft and hard labour—let him fix at random on some contiguous thousand of a population made up of such materials, and he will often find that, where at least one half should be every Sabbath in the house of God, not one hundred, or a tenth of the whole, much oftener not a hundred and twenty-five, or one-eighth of the whole, very seldom indeed one hundred and fifty, or between a sixth and seventh of the whole, that have sittings in any place of worship, whether in the parish church or in meeting-houses of all denominations. On the field of his investigation, the population may have doubled or tripled, or perhaps even be assembled on a territory where, within its limits a century before, there was not a single human habitation. It is most interesting to know what free trade does, and what it leaves undone, in such new and increasing settlements as these. And it will invariably be found, that while shops and markets, and the number of victuallers or clothiers, keep full pace with the increasing population and their increasing demand for food and raiment—the churches and the

chapels, even the schools, and of course the number of teachers whether for religion or learning, have notoriously fallen short and not kept pace with them. The dealers in those things which are necessary to life ever maintain an equal proportion with the growing number of the families. The dealers in those things which are necessary to godliness fall behind this proportion, very often to one-fifth, not unfrequently to one-tenth, some times so low or even lower than one-twentieth—leaving a vast moral wilderness in all those places where the people have been left to multiply, and at the same time left to themselves. Dealers, of course, accommodate their wares to the taste and inclination of their customers; and it were a transgression on the principle and philosophy of free trade to interfere with this process. And true it is, that to its single operation may be confided, with all safety, the supply of the physical wants of our nature. Let a bazaar be instituted for the sale of provisions; and at the powerful and ever-recurring call of hunger, the multitude with one accord will flock daily to its portals, and with such a price in their hands too as will remunerate all the expenses of the establishment. Let the institute be a church, for distribution amongst them of the bread of life, or for the supply of their moral and religious wants; and its presence in the midst of them, with the weekly invitations of its Sabbath-bell, will fail to attract beyond the veriest handful of the surrounding population to this house of prayer—and more especially, if the market-price for the accommodation and the service be expected at their hands. It may, or it may not be filled to an overflow by hearers from all distances, who have both the wealth and the will to pay for their attendance. But hundreds often are the families in the precincts of this temple of piety, so near that the voice of its psalms may enter their dwellings, yet not awaken them from the insensibility of their spiritual death. In the midst of besetting opportunities do they abide in their fastnesses; and just because left, as the system of free trade leaves every one, to their own inclinations—are there thousands, nay millions, in our land, who, abandoned to themselves, and voluntary aliens from the light of the gospel, are left to live in guilt, and die in grossest darkness.

14. Such is the melancholy upshot of those rash and unfortunate generalizations, which the philosopher often indulges in his closet; and which have sometimes, to the great curse of the nation on whom they are inflicted, found their way into the

cabinet, and been carried into effect by those vain and misguided statesmen who, themselves the erring worshippers of science and ambitious of its honours, have drunk, but not deeply, at the Pierian spring. It may be well in commerce, that markets should be left to find their own spontaneous level; and that the two elements of demand and supply should be suffered, without interference, to come to their own mutual adjustment of themselves. But it is not well that matters should thus be left in Christianity—else no attempt will be made either to instruct the poor or to reclaim the profligate; and men, left to their own native indifference in spiritual things, will lapse into a habit of irreligion, will rather never be raised or liberated therefrom. The benefits which commerce confers upon the world are all provided at the expense, not of the dispensers, but of the recipients. Let this be the footing on which the benefits of Christianity are provided also; and in what possible way shall we reach either the depraved or the destitute?—those who have no will for its moral and spiritual blessings, or those who have no wealth to purchase them? In truth, there is no enlightened philanthropist bent on the highest interests of humanity, and no enlightened patriot or statesman bent on the chief good of his own land, who would not prize it as a most gainful as well as glorious achievement, if the great bulk of the people in these realms would but consent to take the lessons of Christianity for nothing; and be taught in the doctrine and morality of the gospel at the expense of others, and without one farthing of the purchase-money being advanced by themselves. This sacred theme—the education of the people, more especially when the education of principle—has been utterly vulgarized by the computations of a cold and secular utilitarianism. Never was there a wider departure from all principle and truth, than when proposed to liken this highest good of the community to the goods of ordinary merchandise—whether viewed as an error of speculation by the *savant*, or as the crude imagination of the prosperous citizen, who appeals to the snug prosperity of his own thriving chapel, which, because filled to the door by wealthy seat-payers like himself, he would therefore hold forth as the representative and type of that system, by which the religion of a whole country should be provided for. The best and greatest interests of human society must not be so trifled with. And, after all, there is not only false sentiment but even false arithmetic in the view of these gross and mercantile calculators. The

universal scholarship for which we are contending would, if carried into effect, be indeed the cheapest defence of our nation—whether its expenses shall be defrayed in the form of a liberality by the hands of private individuals, or from the public treasury in the form of an endowment.

15. We have not yet, however, made good the conclusion, that a National Establishment is the best and fittest expedient for providing our general population with the lessons of Christianity, although we trust it may now appear, that it is not on the free-trade principle, which is the principle of let alone, that we can most effectually secure this high interest. We may have scored off this from the list of expedients; yet other expedients for the religious education of the people may remain to be disposed of, besides that of an Establishment—and having now delivered our views on the scheme of the economists, we shall proceed in our next lecture to expound and to give our estimate of another scheme, which, though generally held to be identical with the former, is in some material respects distinct from it;—we mean the scheme of the voluntaries.

LECTURE III.

VINDICATION OF A NATIONAL RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT, IN OPPOSITION TO THE VIEWS OF THOSE WHO ALLEGE THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE.

THE Voluntary Principle is partly in unison with the doctrine of a free trade in Christianity, but far from being altogether so; though thus generally imagined by our indiscriminating adversaries, who, in the management of this controversy, have so confounded the things which differ, as to assail the system of endowments sometimes under the former argument and sometimes under the latter—unconscious all the while of such an occasional conflict and contrariety between the two reasons which themselves employ, that the one reason often completely neutralizes the other. We should, in fact, have taken up the anti-establishment expression of the Voluntary Principle sooner—had it not been that the other, or the principle of a free trade in Christianity, though not so current in the vocabulary of the general public on this question, is now the favourite expression of our senators and

economists; and more embodies that conception in their minds, on which many of them do hold a National Establishment of Christianity to be uncalled for. Under this title it carries more the air of science or of profound and enlightened statesmanship; is recommended by such names as those of Smith and Turgot and others of the high *savans* both in France and in England; and altogether has such a character or pretension of philosophy about it, as to prove greatly more seducing to minds enamoured of those generalizations, in which a lofty and comprehensive intellect delights to indulge. It is by a slow and laborious process, and after many a severe encounter with the prejudices of the age, that the original speculations of the closet, however sound, come to have their practical effect and development in the hall of legislation. It has been said that it took half a century ere the enlightened political economy of Dr. Smith found its way into the statute-book. But a great and unfortunate error has been implicated with a theory otherwise unexceptionable; and will it take another half century ere the proper discrimination be made, and that error be discharged from the minds of those legislators, who have imbibed the whole system and philosophy of this great master in economical science? And meanwhile, because the doctrine of a free trade in commerce has now become an article of the popular and prevailing creed, must we be doomed to hear for the whole of that period of the doctrine of a free trade in Christianity also? Never truly did two distinct questions stand more widely apart from each other, or had less of a common principle to rest upon; and should, in consequence of the two being resolved alike, our Religious Establishments be abrogated,—then will the best and greatest of our national institutes have been offered up in sacrifice to the wizard power of a phantom—to the mere deceit and sorcery of a name.

We now come to the proper subject of this day's lecture.

1. When men tell us in argument of the *Voluntary Principle*, they are not aware of a certain ambiguity in the phrase, which, though not generally noticed by controversialists, would, if fully exposed and done away, go far to simplify if not to settle the whole controversy. When we ask our antagonists what substitute they would propose for a national establishment of religion, we shall at one time hear of a free trade in Christianity; and at another of the Voluntary Principle—and that from the mouth of one and the same reasoner. Yet in one sense of the Voluntary

Principle, there is an utter discrepancy between it and the system of free trade ; and it is only in the other sense of it that the two are analogous or rather identical, the one with the other. If this matter were perfectly cleared up, we think it would chase away a certain mistiness which overhangs this whole question—insomuch that the agitation of it has in many instances been a combat in the dark. It has often been found to terminate an intellectual warfare, when the champions on each side of it have been made to understand both each other and themselves.

2. There now seems on all hands a strong practical sense, if not an explicit and avowed one, of the insufficiency of the free trade system, for the supply of the world with the lessons of Christianity. This has long been acknowledged, or at least acted upon in the business of foreign missions, or in the business of supplying foreign parts with the knowledge of the gospel. Instead of waiting till the demand for Christianity comes of its own accord, from men ready with an indemnifying or remunerating price to cover all the expenses of bringing it to their shore—the dispensers of Christianity go forth on their missionary voyage in quest of men to whom they might offer this pearl of greatest value, and on whom to urge the acceptance of it without money and without price. Instead of discerning in this process any of the methods of ordinary trade, there is here a reversal of all its principles ; and what comes near to the point at issue, there is a like reversal of them in the home as in the foreign missionary enterprise. And accordingly we have the one institute as well as the other. We have the Home Missionary Society, that would never have been thought of, but for the experimental feeling of a destitution and depravity at our own doors, which required the very same treatment with the heathenism of distant lands—and this society composed of the very men, too, who, while they give evidence by their own doings of the insufficiency of the free-trade system, can yet talk of this as the grand specific, on the strength of which they might dispense with a national establishment of religion altogether. There is, in truth, no analogy between their operation and those of commerce on the system of free trade, or of commerce alike unfostered and unfettered by any artificial regulations. The agents of this society, the men who labour under them, in the streets of our city or the villages of our country population, are not maintained on the principles of a market—do not receive

their necessary hire in the shape of equivalents from those who are benefited by them ; but in the shape of a bounty from those who employ them. We say that all they who have become parties in such an institution, stand committed, if not in favour of a National Establishment, at least against one of the favourite substitutes by which it is proposed to replace the want of one—against the system of a free trade in Christianity. They tell us emphatically by their own conduct, that something else, something additional must be tried, beside the mere operation of demand and supply as in ordinary merchandise ; which, however sufficient for the upper and middle classes—who, if they have got the will, have also the wealth to purchase the lessons of the gospel for themselves—has long proved itself to be glaringly insufficient for the great mass of the common people, for that mighty host of immortal and accountable beings who compose the great bulk and body of every commonwealth.

3. Still we may have cancelled or disposed of the free-trade system, and made effectual demonstration of the necessity for its being supplemented if not set aside, by the adoption of some other expedient for the Christian instruction of the people ; and yet not made it out, that this expedient should be a legal and sure provision for the maintenance of an established clergy. The doctrine of an establishment may have other rivals, or other antagonists to contend with, beside the system of free trade ; and accordingly such an antagonist has been conjured up within these few years, under the name of the Voluntary Principle—which, though identified in the imagination of our opponents with a free trade in Christianity, is yet not throughout all its extent identical therewith. Had it been perfectly the same, we should have viewed it as having been already fought against, and placed *hors de combat*. But the two are in certain respects distinct, and each requires a distinct argumentation—although confounded together by the undistinguishing advocates of the Voluntary Principle, who thus prove themselves alike insensible to the strength and the weakness of their own cause.

4. There are two sorts then of the Voluntary Principle, which are almost never adverted to ; but which it is of the utmost argumentative importance to discriminate the one from the other. A man, then, may either make a voluntary return, in the shape of a price or equivalent, for those Christian ministrations which are rendered to himself or his family ; or he may make a voluntary offering in the shape of a donation, to set agoing or to sup-

port a Christian ministration for others beside himself, or for other families than his own. The one may be altogether as voluntary a payment as the other. He may not have been more willing to make remuneration for his own share of the article of Christian instruction to himself—than he is willing to make a contribution that others may share it along with him. Both of these exercises, however different in their effect and object, have been referred to the Voluntary Principle; and the result has been, that, to a great extent, it has darkened or bewildered the whole controversy. Two things so different in their nature, ought to be signalized and set apart from each other by different names. When a congregation, therefore, do from their own contributions, whether formed by seat-rents or otherwise, support their own minister—we shall put it down to the account of internal voluntarism; and that because the members of the congregation raise within themselves a sufficiency for all their expenses. In so far as they have been helped to accomplish this by the contributions of others, not members of the congregation, we shall put it down to the account of external voluntarism—as coming from the people without the limits of the congregation. In other words, the one is voluntarism *ab intra*; the other voluntarism *ab extra*. We regret the scholastic character of these designations; but we can find no others more expressive than these.

5. It will now be seen how far the Voluntary Principle is coincident, and how far it is in conflict, with the system of free trade in Christianity. It must be obvious of internal voluntarism, that it is just another name for this system; and must therefore share in all the defects and all the impotency, under which we have proved it to labour. On the principle of a free trade, or of a trade unforced and unfostered by any bounty, each congregation is left, out of its own resources, to pay the expenses of its own ministry,—a principle of which we have already demonstrated, that it leaves millions and millions more of our British population—all in fact who have neither the wealth nor the will to purchase a Christian education for themselves—in a state of heathenism. But any shortcoming in the price which these are willing to give for their religious instruction, may be supplemented by the contributions which others from abroad are willing to advance, so as to make out such a remuneration as may be essential to keep the chapel and its services agoing. Now whatever comes from this source, comes from the willing-

ness of the people to give, who have no benefit from these services; or, in other words, is the produce of external voluntarism. But this lands us in what, to all intents and purposes, is a bounty; for the moment you draw upon external voluntarism, you make a practical acknowledgment of the insufficiency of the free-trade system, for the supply of a population with the lessons of the gospel. We hear of the sufficiency of the Voluntary Principle for the supply of all the moral and religious wants of a population; but if ever, to make this out, the internal voluntarism draw upon the external, in order to supplement its own deficiencies, let us at least hear no more of the sufficiency of the free-trade system: neither let us hear any more of the same objection to bounties in Christianity, which the disciples of our modern and enlightened school in Political Economy prefer against bounties in commerce. If ever the internal need to be helped by the external voluntarism, what becomes of the sufficiency of the free-trade principle? And, on the other hand, if the offerings of the external be thankfully received by the voluntaries themselves, when involved in the struggles and barassed by the shortcomings of their internal voluntarism—what becomes of the economical argument against a national establishment of Christianity? When the Voluntary Principle in all its extent, or as comprehensive of the internal and external, becomes your specific for the Christianization of a country—then the free-trade system ceases to be that specific, for it is set aside, whenever the internal requires the aid of the external; or, to express it differently, whenever a bounty has to be given for the purpose of repairing the deficiencies of the market price. At all events, let us no longer hear of the Voluntary Principle, and the principle of a free trade in Christianity, put into the same category; or so confounded, as if the one were tantamount to the other—when, in truth, the Voluntary Principle, in that branch of it which we have denominated voluntarism *ab extra*, offers as great a violence to the system of the economists in this matter, as does the doctrine of a national establishment, or of a certain legal provision for the support of a Christian ministry in a land. The free trade in Christianity, and external voluntarism, are as distinct from each other in the ecclesiastical question, as a market price and a bounty are in the economical question.

6. Let us now, after these various explanations, understand the real state of the controversy. Our antagonists, who think that a national establishment of Christianity ought to be super-

seded, tell us of the sufficiency of the Voluntary Principle. But this cannot be the sufficiency of internal voluntaryism, which is but the system of free trade under another denomination; and the shortcomings of which have been made abundantly manifest. To make up for these shortcomings, to provide a gospel ministration for the millions and the millions more whom the system of free trade or of internal voluntaryism does not overtake, were an achievement worthy of the highest efforts of philanthropy and patriotism. But viewed as a deed of patriotism, it is the proper work of statesmen, or of the government whose affairs these statesmen administer—thus landing us at once in a legal, or national, religious establishment. But this is resisted, and still, as heretofore, on the alleged sufficiency of the Voluntary Principle—not surely of the voluntary principle *ab intra*, this being already disposed of; but of the voluntary principle *ab extra*, or on the sufficiency of the external voluntaryism to compensate all the defects of the internal. Perhaps viewed as a deed of philanthropy, they regard it, not only as the proper but as the exclusive work of philanthropists, and in which the government ought to have no share. At all events, the question is now brought within a narrower compass than before. We presume it to be agreed on both sides, that the outcast millions ought to be reclaimed from the ignorance and irreligion of heathenism. The only difference relates to the party at whose expense this great achievement ought to be perfected—whether by private Christians, under the impulse of a religious benevolence; or by an enlightened government under the impulse of a paternal regard for the highest weal of its subject population. We, the advocates of a National Establishment, hold it the duty and wisdom of every state, thus to undertake for the education of the great family under its charge, and to provide the requisite funds for the fulfilment of the enterprise—and this without prejudice, but the contrary, to the liberality of those individuals, who might choose of their own means to build more churches, and maintain more ministers—thus adding to the amount of Christian instruction in the land. Our antagonists on the other hand hold this to be only the fitting work of individuals, whether acting separately or in associated bodies—to be their concern, and theirs exclusively; and that the government of a country should have nothing to do with it.

7. We do not object to these supplemental efforts of private Christians, and by which the shortcomings of an establishment

might in a greater or less degree be repaired. But ere we confide the religion of our people to the growth and multiplication of their churches, we should like to know in how far they have filled up those blank spaces, which, in the course of an increasing population, our national churches have left behind them. In the deficiency of our existing apparatus, the Voluntary Principle has had an ample field for the trial of its energies; and we desire to understand, whether, in virtue of those spontaneous and expansive properties which have been ascribed to it, the mighty surplus of our unprovided millions has indeed been overtaken. In this land of perfect toleration, there has been no want of liberty for the great experiment; and now, at the end of at least a century, since chapels may without let or hinderance have been planted in each vacant portion of the territory, let us be told, whether all the national and all the voluntary churches together be commensurate to the exigencies of our augmented population. When reckoning the outcast multitude in our land who congregate nowhere, and that because there were no cheap and accessible places of worship which could take them in, we at that time appealed to them as evidence of the insufficiency of a free trade in religion. But in truth they afford evidence of more than this. This system of free trade is tantamount only to the system of internal voluntarism. But the existing number of our voluntary chapels represents all that has been done, not by the internal only, but by the internal and external voluntarism together. Over and above those places of worship which are wholly sustained by the seat-rents of the congregations assembled in them, it comprehends not only those which are wholly sustained, but that still greater number who are partially helped by the liberalities of Christian benevolence. The unprovided millions of the British population furnish a measure, not for the deficiency of the free-trade system or the voluntary principle *ab intra*, but for the deficiency of that system after all the additions which have been made to it by the voluntary principle *ab extra*. They let us know that, after both have done their uttermost, there is a task of first-rate social and national importance, even the Christian education of thousands and thousands more of our British families, which remains undone. These tell us a great deal more than the impotency of the great economical specific, even that of free trade in Christianity. They further tell of the impotency of the great sectarian specific, or of the voluntary principle. If such be the filling

and the fertilizing power of voluntaryism, whence those mighty wastes of barrenness and moral desolation which meet the eye, in all the over-crowded towns and all the recent and still churchless villages of our empire? How comes it that, while shops and markets for the supply of their physical necessities keep full pace with the tide of advancing population, chapels and churches for the supply of their spiritual necessities should fall so immeasurably short of it—bespeaking not only the languor of the spontaneous demand, among those people who should be willing to pay for Christian instruction to themselves; but bespeaking the languor of Christian charity, among those people who should be willing to give it on behalf of others without money and without price? We confess a greater value for experience than for experiments; and when, in spite of all the talent and energy of our dissenting brethren, we witness on the outfield of our National Establishment, open now to their enterprise for several generations, such a spectacle of defects and difficulties and grievous destitution, with the myriads of unreclaimed wanderers whom they have never reached, and far less overtaken—we do apprehend, that, on the overthrow of this venerable institute, the same evils, now so largely exhibited on all the unprovided remnants of the country, would be realized and multiplied over the whole length and breadth of the land. We must first behold the moral triumphs of voluntaryism, in the many hundreds of surplus localities which are before our eyes, ere we can consent to give up the whole territory into their hands; and do think that men who have evinced so little their power to rebuild, should be somewhat less fiery and precipitate in their zeal to destroy.

8. If, on taking the moral statistics of a land, we found that, after all the voluntary efforts both of individuals and societies for the spread of education, a large proportion of the peasantry were destitute of all good scholarship, we should not feel it to be incongruous, but in perfect keeping with our idea of a government in the exercise of its best and highest functions, should we look to the advance of funds from the National Treasury, for the erection of schools and the requisite endowment of teachers, in every little section of the territory; or, in other words, for a commensurate scholastic establishment at the expense of the state. And what is true of common, we hold to be alike true of Christian education. If, in spite of all the strenuousness and zeal of our religious philanthropists, we behold millions and

millions more destitute of virtue as well as knowledge; with as little sense of immortality as the beasts that perish; and, reckless alike of their obligations to God and man, living in that guilty abandonment of all principle, which is at once ruinous to their own everlasting prospects and hazardous to the peace and order of the commonwealth—then, if competent for the rulers of a state to provide against the nuisance of a population untaught in letters, it is still more competent, we should say still more imperatively binding, to provide against the still more hurtful and intolerable nuisance of a population untaught in morality and religion. If it be lawful and incumbent on the civil magistrate to achieve the one object by means of National Schools and schoolmasters—where lies the objection to his achievement of the other by means of National Churches and clergymen? In other words, we can discern no greater reason in a Scholastic than in an Ecclesiastical Establishment, or rather a more emphatic call for the latter than the former. What is true of the smaller family of a household, holds true of the greater family in an empire. If both the parent in the one case, and the governor in the other, be chargeable with a guilty indifference, who should suffer their respective families to remain unschooled—there is guilt of a deeper dye, if, by the indifference or neglect of either, they are suffered to remain unchristianized.

9. We are sensible both of a feeling and a theory in our day, which are strongly and strangely adverse to this conclusion. It is extremely difficult to describe the antipathy, either in the nature or in the grounds of it; but the fact is undoubted, of a certain sensitive notion that is now generally afloat, as if a government overstepped the limit of its own proper and legitimate functions, by charging itself in any way with the religion of the people. On the contrary, it is reckoned to be in the magistrate the very perfection of enlightened patriotism on this subject, when like Gallio he cares for none of these things. And thus it is held, by the disciples of a certain cold and metaphysical utilitarianism, as one of the chief proprieties of a government, that it should be quite unconcerned, nay unconscious of the religion of its subjects—as if, bereft of all vitality and sentiment, it were reduced to a sort of mechanical automaton which had other functions to perform; and to go beyond which, more especially for the education of the people in the faith and principles of any theological system, were an utter confusion of the characteristics and the species of things. Such is one of the

theories of our day—in conforming to which a government should, as a government, be lifeless of all regard to things sacred; and, maintaining a calm and philosophic indifference to all the modes and varieties of religious belief, should refuse to entertain the question, in which of these varieties the people ought to be trained—or, rather, make it wholly the affair of the people themselves, with which they have no business to intermeddle in any form, whether or not they are to have any religion at all.

10. Now we protest altogether against this view of a government—against what may be termed this artificial inversion of its idea. We plead for its moral prerogatives; nor can we forget the human principles and human feelings of the individuals who compose it—whether it be the humanity which glows in the breast of the king upon the throne, or the humanity that tells on the sensibilities, and also does and ought to tell on the votes of a parliament. A righteous and religious monarch, or righteous and religious senators, must impress their character on their acts; nor can we understand the distinction, or rather the disjunction, which is spoken of in these days, between Christian governors and a Christian government. We have no such notion of the moral that we have of the physical chemistry, in the compounds of which, the properties of the ingredients may be changed or disappear. The corporation of a state cannot be thus denaturalized, or reduced to a sort of *caput mortuum*, discharged of all soul and all sentiment—as if by a process of constitution-making in the crucibles of a laboratory. The cold metaphysical abstraction that is thereby engendered, may exist in the region of the ideal; but it does not exist in the region of the actual, nor even in the region of the possible; for men, though convened within the hall of a legislative assembly, will not, therefore, forget that they are men; or think that they must renounce all care for the highest wellbeing of families, when called to deliberate on the wellbeing of a nation.

11. And accordingly we find that, unchecked by any freezing limitation of this sort, a Parliament or National Assembly does collectively give way to the very principles, or tastes, or feelings, by which the men who compose it are separately and individually actuated. For example, they have the desire, that at least plain and popular learning should be diffused throughout the mass of the community; and so, without let or hinderance, will they vote away the nation's money, and that for the support and establish-

ment of schools, and for the sake of a general scholarship throughout the nation. Or, with a still loftier cast of intellect, they are bent on the encouragement of science; and so, with like freedom, will they grant of the funds of the nation for literary societies, and universities, and museums, and botanic gardens—and all for the sake of a loftier learning, or for the philosophy of the nation. Or, in their love and value for the arts, will they, from the same source still, that is, from the nation's revenue, the product of hard taxation, purchase and throw open a magnificent park for the health and recreation of the public—or a gallery of choice pictures, and that for the improvement of a nation's taste. Or, with the very impulse which enters into the heart of the humblest individual, will they listen to some tale of suffering, and not from their own funds, but from the funds of the state, undertake the charge of relieving it, as when they provided for the destitution of the Highlands, or resolved, at the expense of the nation, on a voyage of benevolence for the discovery and rescue of the missing ships detained through the winter in Greenland, and this in obedience to the call of the nation's humanity. Now we have yet to learn, in the midst and with a multitude of such proceedings as these, why an assembly of legislators, having in themselves a sense and principle of religion, or bent on the moral and Christian education of society at large, or lastly, in obedience to the call of the nation's piety, why they might not, and for the accomplishment of this high end, ordain, and from the means of the nation, an establishment of national churches—even as, for the accomplishment of other ends, they ordain national schools and national universities, and public or national institutes of various sorts and descriptions. We cannot but imagine our antagonists reduced to a difficulty, who would leave a government free to provide for the health, or the scholarship, or the taste, or even the amusement of the people, and yet would tie up their hands against any provision for the moral wants of the community, or for training the families of our land in that best and highest of all education—the education of principle and piety.

12. And so far from any speciality of argument against such a destination, all the sound reasoning, we apprehend, is a reasoning *a fortiori* in favour of it. To establish our conclusion, it does not even require, however desirable it might be on other grounds, that we should have a Parliament of spiritual men; for let them be utilitarians only, and that too in the coarsest or

merely material sense of the term, and it were a mighty advancement of all their objects that the people should be trained in the principles and habits of religion. Neither the taste of the nation, nor the scholarship of the nation, can so facilitate the business, or so prodigiously lessen the expenditure of a government, as would the Christianity of the nation. It is this latter education of which Burke's celebrated aphorism holds most emphatically true, that it were the cheap defence of the commonwealth. A universal Christianity would annihilate crime; and though even then the poor should still be with us, or there should still be poverty in the land, it would at least annihilate pauperism. And what a universal Christianity could accomplish in full, would be accomplished in great part by a universal Christian education, which might not annihilate, but would at least indefinitely reduce, both of these great and expensive evils. It were an incalculable saving of the wealth, and still more a saving to the happiness of the nation, that there should be the prevention of crime rather than its punishment. And it were a like saving, that there should be the prevention of pauperism rather than a positive administration to relieve its necessities, or to meet its exactions, which at one time in England amounted to three times the revenue of the National Church. It could be made an affair of numerical computation, and an argument might be raised from it to suit the understanding even of the most arithmetical of our statesmen. The outlays on our civil and criminal jurisprudence, the still more enormous outlay of our parochial expenditure, and, what we have not yet noticed, the outlays on the maintenance both of the military and constabulary forces, to overcome an untrained, and therefore a turbulent community, exceed, and more than in a tenfold ratio, all the outlays which would be required for a system of religious discipline, by which to form a manageable population of peaceful, and industrious, and well-ordered families; and which last outlays, after all, should not be viewed in the light of an expenditure which the Voluntaries want to save, but as the present destination of a long-established property which the Voluntaries want to seize upon. But without remarking further on this injustice—had we only yet been at the commencement of the work—had we still to institute a new, or to extend a deficient establishment—and could the object be provided for only by a grant from the Treasury—such an application of the public money might be vindicated, we contend, not alone on the high ground of religious principle, but

even on the infinitely lower ground that is taken by those who merely view it as a question of polity and economics. The main object of the Christian who desires an establishment is the godliness of the people, and that they may secure the promise of the life which is to come; but to provide such an establishment is also the wisdom of the statesman, even though his main or only object should be the interest of the life that now is. When a Christian labours for an establishment of churches, it is, first and foremost, for the kingdom of God and His righteousness; but the patriot and the statesman should also labour for an establishment of churches, though only for the sake of the "all other things which are added" to them.

13. It will now be seen that there is a harmony not previously seen, perhaps not even suspected before, between the doctrine of a national establishment, and at least one great branch of the Voluntary principle. It is no doubt at utter antipodes with the maxim, that each man should pay his own minister, which, if raised into a universal and unexcepted category on this subject, would not only exclude a payment by the state, but even the contributions of private benevolence, either for the erection of churches or the maintenance of clergymen. But this total abandonment of the great mass of the people to themselves—this assertion of the sufficiency of internal voluntarism for the supply of the country with religious instruction, is pretty well now given up, at least in practice, and by sectarians of all denominations as well as churchmen. Innumerable are the appeals made by the Voluntaries themselves to the generosity of the public in behalf of their labouring congregations; and the call is responded to by thousands, who feel that to give for the religious education of the people is the best and most productive of all benevolence; and their contributions, whether from an impulse of piety or of patriotism, are not more willingly made by the one party than they are welcomed by the other. It is not very discriminating, we think, thus to hail the liberalities of private individuals, and to refuse or regard them as incompetent and wrong, when they are congregated in the form of one great liberality from the state; for, in truth, the very spirit which prompts the individual gifts needs only to be strong enough and general enough to call forth a gift from the treasury. This were but one of the many examples in which the voice of a country is found to have an influential control over the acts of a government. Let the sentiment prevail, that it is good to pay for the Christian instruction of those

who either cannot or will not pay for it themselves; and a government, when adding its own great national subscription to those of the many individuals who have preceded and pointed the way to it, is not thwarting the sentiment by which they were actuated, but only giving further expression, or larger and more lasting effect to it. There is no fear lest a popular government like ours will award a grant for the erection or the endowment of churches, till they anticipate a virtual ratification of the deed by a preponderance of feeling in its favour from without; or till encouraged to the measure, if not by the numerical majority of tax-payers, at least by that class of them whose larger payments constitute the vast majority of by far the larger part of the revenue of our nation. In as far then as they are concerned, we behold in an ecclesiastical provision by the state, an example of external voluntaryism, or a willing public contributing of their wealth to the Christian instruction of the common people, through the medium of a willing government. It only differs from a separate or a personal contribution, by the channel of conveyance through which it passes, or as a mite given by the hand to some individual object of charity differs from a mite cast into a treasury that has been opened for the relief of this and of all similar objects. When, instead of local establishments for the good of so many special districts raised by the munificence of individuals, we behold a great national establishment for the good of the whole country, and raised by an endowment from the state, we only see the final development of an anterior tendency, which operated in the minds of many thousands of private Christians; or their collective mind finding its outlet, and its ultimate expression or effect, in the act of a government. A Parliamentary vote then in aid of religious education is, both in principle and effect, but an example of the Voluntary principle *ab extra*. And you will now perhaps see that, on this subject, there was room for a distinction between the things which differ, but which are apt to be confounded, even though you may have disliked the scholastic and somewhat repulsive terms which we have employed for the expression of it. It is but internal voluntaryism, or rather the assertion of its sufficiency, which comes into conflict with the principle of a national establishment. On the moment that the internal draws upon or seeks for help from external voluntaryism—which it does in fact all over the kingdom—our cause is practically and substantially gained; for this external voluntaryism, so far from being in conflict with the

principle of a national establishment, is in perfect and precise coincidence therewith.

14. We have had a recent illustration of all this in the doings of Scotland. It is but a moderate estimate of the ecclesiastical destitution which obtains there, when we affirm that at least half a million of inhabitants who ought to be church-goers, have no right of occupancy in any place of worship—whether in the established church or the dissenting meeting-houses. The population had greatly outgrown the provision originally instituted for supplying them with the lessons of the gospel—having increased since the days of John Knox from one million to two millions and a half. Till within these four years it was left chiefly to the energies and the efforts of internal voluntaryism, to meet and make provision for this enormous deficiency; and the result is that certainly not more than one-third of the out-field population has been thereby overtaken. At all events there remains as great a number to be provided for as corresponds to the gross population of a million, and these, it is to be remarked, consisting mainly of the common people—the most helpless, because the least able, and when once the habit of irreligion is formed, also the least willing to help themselves. For it cannot be too much insisted on, that they are not the poorest in the community who attend the meeting-houses, but of a higher grade than these—though in greater part perhaps, and of course with many exceptions, of the lower of the middle class, as shopkeepers and master tradesmen, and in certain places a considerable number of husbandmen, with doubtless a small proportion of the better-conditioned among our artisans and even labourers. It is upon these last that the evils of our ecclesiastical destitution have principally fallen. They are the working classes and families of the working classes, who have been laid in consequence under the burden of a great moral calamity. It is for their relief, for their enlargement, that the scheme of church extension has been formed; and whereas we have been represented as seeking a boon for the church, the true spirit and design of our enterprise is to obtain, at the hands of the public and the hands of the government together, a boon for the common people.

15. In the prosecution of this enterprise, we, in the first instance, have been drawing largely upon external voluntaryism. In virtue of our repeated appeals and applications to the Christian benevolence of the land, we have undertaken the erection

of 180 churches—greatly more than half of which are now in progress of building; and nearly one-half of which are completed, and indeed opened for the regular service of the sanctuary. It was highly instructive to us, when our friends the Voluntaries, at the outset of this great operation, thought they saw in it the triumph of their own cause—saying that we had at length given in to their principle, and become Voluntaries ourselves. Now it is very true, that, in defect of their internal voluntaryism, in utter defect of their free-trade system, which, after a century of perfect freedom for the enterprise and the utmost strenuousness in the prosecution of it, left without the blessings of a gospel ministration half a million who ought to have been church goers, and a whole million of general population—it is very true, that in these circumstances we are attempting, by the liberality of others, to do for our unprovided thousands and tens of thousands, that which their own poverty and their own listlessness together have prevented their doing for themselves. We are glad to understand that the Voluntaries approve of this; or that in anything there is a community of sentiment betwixt us. We can bear to be told that we too, in our endeavours to repair the deficiencies of our church, have had recourse to the voluntary principle—for, as far as our share of it is concerned, we hold it to be a very sound one. Nay, we should have rejoiced most heartily, had their internal voluntaryism sufficed for the moral and religious wants of our countrymen; and would bid it God speed to the whole extent of its capabilities and efforts. It is only because these have fallen short of the object, that we have taken an onward step to external voluntaryism; and should furthermore rejoice if, in the tried sufficiency of this expedient, we found that no additional exertion was called for. But this is not our experience; and therefore we do take another step onward; and having drawn all we can from a pious or philanthropic public, are now endeavouring to draw as much as we can from a patriotic or paternal government. We are not sensible of any incongruity between these two applications. They are not conflicting but conspiring movements; or the consequential following up of one step by another, along a line of continuity. After having obtained from the good-will of our countrymen the sum of two hundred thousand pounds for the erection of places of worship, and that in behalf of a people unable to build churches of themselves,—we now knock at the door of our rulers, in the hope of propitiating their good-will to

a grant, and that too in behalf of the same people, quite as unable of themselves to maintain their clergymen. We stand before the ministers of the crown, not so much in the attitude of supplicants—for we ask nothing for our own personal advantage—but rather in the attitude of donors, telling them what is our contribution and asking what is theirs, to the religious education of the community—a cause dear to us as Christians, and which should be as dear to them as statesmen. We have traversed no one view for which we ever contended upon this subject; and whereas our friends and most vigilant guardians, the Voluntaries of Scotland, allege of us, because of this our appeal to the liberality of the Christian public, that we have come over to their principle,—they, from the first moment of preferring the same appeal themselves; and when they sought, which they have ever done, from the generosity of contributors what they could not make good from the seat-rents of their own congregations,—from that moment, in truth, did they abandon their own and come over to our principle. And we cannot blame them for this—believing, as we do, that but for a benevolence from without, the Christian instruction of the people never has and perhaps never will be provided for. Meanwhile we maintain that there is no conflict, no contrariety, but the utmost harmony of principle between the legal and voluntary parts of our conjunct operation. We have been gifted with one sum by a willing Christian community in Scotland; and we expect, sooner or later, to be gifted with another by a willing House of Commons in London; and after having obtained the willing support of both these parties, our pugnacious opponents will be quite welcome to call us Voluntaries if they please. Only we hope that it will serve to rectify their conceptions, after they have made the discovery that even the Voluntary Principle, which they have hitherto imagined to be all against our cause, if viewed comprehensively enough, and in all its bearings, is actually on the side of a National Establishment for the Christian education of the people.

16. So little have we any doubt of the perfect harmony between a contribution from external voluntarism and a grant from the State—that the one, we have every confidence, will at length prove a stepping-stone to the other; and in the very proportion that we enlarge the first, do we strengthen and multiply our claims, and add a greater momentum to all our appliances for the second. So thoroughly indeed is this our conviction,

that the discouragement we have lately received at the hands of our rulers, will only redouble our exertions in the country; believing, as we do, that if the voice of 180 congregations fall short of the requisite force to carry an endowment, the voice of 250 or 300 will at least come nearer to it; and furthermore resolved, as we are, not to desist till we have done our uttermost for the families of the working classes, and so enlisted in favour of the great design the friendly and approving suffrages of the great mass of the commonalty in Scotland. Yet this, we are told, is but the cry of the unfranchised population, of men who have no suffrages, and are therefore of no weight in the senate-house. We believe, on the contrary, that the cause of the unprotected and the poor, whenever it comes to be thoroughly understood, is of mighty influence there. And besides, we not only began our enterprise under the countenance and support of the highest orders in the country; but even in that class which supplies the greatest numbers to the constituency of Scotland, the ten pounders and a little upwards, whose prejudices were strongest against us at the first, we are every year making sensible progress; and have no doubt that, if we only persevere, and are adequately upborne by the contributions of the liberal, we shall be enabled to lift up a still louder appeal than heretofore; so that with the authentic demonstration of a continued, or rather a greatly augmenting interest in our cause, on the part of the British public, the British Legislature will at length give way.

17. We trust that this will both explain and justify the efforts which the friends of our church, most of them clergymen from Scotland, are now making in London—not merely to recruit our exhausted treasury, but if possible, by that most authentic of all demonstrations, the names and the sums of those who shall have enlisted their testimony in favour of our object, to make palpable exhibition in the eyes of Government—soon to hear a fresh representation on the subject, of the growing strength and popularity of our cause. The best recommendation I can give of their errand, is to state the class or description of persons for whom they are labouring—and who are now shut out from the benefits of moral and religious instruction, in virtue of the numbers in our land having increased, and the Establishment not having increased along with them. On whom is it that the burden of this calamity principally lights; and of what description in society are those sufferers who are left without a church to humanize and elevate their spirits—without a clergyman who

might be at once the friend and adviser of their families? They are the men who, finding no provision within the Church, are either not able or not willing to provide a ministration for themselves. The two requisite elements for this are the wealth and the will; and they who want either of these, or most generally both of them together, form the great class of our unhappy exiles from the habits and observances of a Christian land. In other words, they are the depraved and the destitute, whom we seek to reclaim; and it is in their cause, or for the relief of their moral necessities, that we labour to interest the Government of these lands, in the enlargement and further endowment of the Church of Scotland. There is not one of our actual clergymen who will be benefited by the measure. We seek by it no increase to any of our livings; and as we have no pluralities, each of our new churches must be occupied by a distinct and additional ecclesiastic. Let the Government themselves determine what his revenue ought to be; and then, for every shilling which they contribute thereto, by a grant from the treasury, let that shilling go, not in augmentation to him, but in deduction from the seat-rents, which we are at present forced to demand from the general population. We repeat then, that the *terminus ad quem* of our proposition is, not any personal object of our own, but the public object of a cheap Christian education to the community at large. We knock at the door of Government, not in the crouching attitude of supplicants for ourselves—but in the firm and high attitude of donors—with two hundred thousand pounds, or a hundred and eighty new churches, as an offering to a cause of highest patriotism; and saying, “This is our contribution; what is yours?” It is not true, as represented, that we stand before them as so many fawning and pampered ecclesiastics, bent on the further aggrandizement of ourselves or of our order. We appear for the families of our peasants and our artisans, and our men of handicraft and hard labour. We are the tribunes of the people, the representatives of that class to whom the law has given no other representatives of their own—of the unfranchised multitude who are without a vote and without a voice in the House of Commons. Our sacred object is the moral wellbeing of that mighty host who swarm and overspread the ground-floor of the fabric of our commonwealth; and, after the mists of prejudice and misconception have cleared away, our ultimate hope of success, under Heaven, is in the inherent and essential popularity of our cause.

You will not therefore be surprised if we look for the countenance of those who esteem the moral wellbeing of the poor as the highest boon which can possibly be conferred upon them ; and also of those who look upon our present contest as being, in fact, a contest between a higher and a lower element in society—and who, along with all the better and finer spirits of our nation, are anxiously bent that the higher of the two elements should carry it. For you cannot but remark, that there is a certain coarse utilitarianism making way even in our high places, and which threatens to vilify and vulgarize the whole system of our affairs ; a growing distrust in the efficacy of moral expedients, and the substitution of palpable, or material, or merely economical expedients, in their room ; a dealing with but the grosser principles of our nature, as if mind and conscience, and the higher faculties were too shadowy and ethereal things for a legislature to work upon ; and so a harsh and stinted parsimony in providing even for the common, but still more for the Christian education of the working classes—a universal cry for cheapness, and thus perhaps an immediate saving of money, but with the sacrifice, let it be remembered, of the money's worth—and ultimately with a tenfold greater cost that might have been prevented by a timely expenditure. The memorable aphorism of Burke, that “Education was the cheap defence of nations,” has now become obsolete and old-fashioned, in this headlong and scrambling demand for all other sorts of cheapness. It seems to have been forgotten how much cheaper it is, that we should have to do with an intelligent and well-trained peasantry, than with a population adrift from the restraints of principle ; each generation, from the growing numbers of the community, more unprovided with the means of instruction than the preceding ; and so rising up in still more reckless defiance to all the duties of life, and to all its decencies. This misleading and miscalculating economy will be disappointed of its own object, and be at length filled with the fruit of its own ways. Unless the emollients of Christian kindness and Christian instruction be brought to bear on the turbulence of the popular mind, a smouldering fire, which now lies at the bottom of the social and political edifice, will at length burst forth and explode it into fragments. And a day of fearful recompense for the moral wrongs of a long-neglected population will be the sure result or reaction of that process, by which our rulers shall have conducted us onwards, step by step, in the path of deterioration, till

we have landed in the veriest dregs and degeneracy of an iron age.

LECTURE IV.

ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH DETERMINE A GOVERNMENT TO SELECT ONE
DENOMINATION OF CHRISTIANITY FOR THE NATIONAL RELIGION.

1. IT seems a very clear and indisputable axiom, that there can be nothing better for a nation, than when a common sentiment on the side of what is good is shared between the rulers and the people; or, when one and the same principle, and that a right one, is found to harmonize and actuate them both. A certain amount of agreement between these two parties is at all times indispensable to the internal tranquillity of a state; and there do occur periods in history, when this unanimity becomes so strong and cordial and sympathetic, that it has given rise to a general and wide-spread enthusiasm—a kind of moral jubilee in the land, when high and low rejoiced together; and the heart of the king upon the throne beat in unison with the acclamations of the multitude. On such occasions the distinction between the legal and the voluntary is forgotten; and both are often blended together in one common offering at the altar, whether of charity, or of patriotism, or lastly of religion—as when the hostile Armada made its approaches to the shores of England, and the appeal of the sovereign to the people was responded to not by the willing services alone, but the willing contributions of all the orders in the land: or as when, in recompense to the family of a public benefactor, not only is a grant from the Treasury welcomed by the public approval, but followed up by the public subscriptions, in testimony of departed worth or departed patriotism: or, as happened more than once within the remembrance of us all, when famine, or pestilence, or some signal calamity, has involved thousands of families, the same pathetic representation which opened the hearts and purses of the wealthy, also unlocked the coffers of the state. And there have occurred many other passages in the annals of our nation, where the governors and the governed, had money been called for towards the attainment of their common object, would have trampled under foot that line of demarcation, which, but for the wretched controversy of the present day, might never have been heard of.

This union of now warring elements might have been exemplified, even in the days of that cruel and capricious despot who first broke off from the spiritual tyranny of Rome—still more under the brief and gentle sway of his religious successor—and still more when the imprisoned bishops, those venerable Fathers of the English Church, who could have laid down their lives in defence of the pure faith and the sacred rights of conscience, were met, on their egress from confinement, by the loud and rapturous acclaims of a then liberated nation. It is from such evolutions—brief, while brilliant, though they are—that we catch, as it were, the transient glimpse of a community in its best and happiest mood—when one simultaneous feeling pervades all classes; and, in the pulsations of one mighty heart, the breath of one actuating and reigning spirit, the wealth and efforts of all are consecrated to one common object, and all jealousies are forgotten.

2. And it has happened not unfrequently in the history of nations, that religion has been the theme of this generous and wide-spread exultation—as on the restoration, in the days of the Old Testament, of its long-forgotten ordinances—or, in modern times, on the celebration of some achieved triumph, whether of truth or liberty. These form the brightest and sunniest periods in the otherwise dark history of the kings of Israel—when the monarch met in convocation with his people, and both rejoiced together in the re-establishment of the worship of their forefathers. There was no conflict between the legal and the voluntary in those days; when, under the authority of the one, the people dutiously and faithfully rendered their tithes; and, under the impulse of the other, added their free-will offerings—when the king made his levies or issued his munificent grants from the royal treasury; and at the same time the people cast abundantly, and with unsparing hand, into the treasury of the temple. There is now, it would appear, a war of extermination between these two principles—as if the one were destructive of the other, and there was not room for their contemporaneous operation. Under the best of the Jewish monarchs, and in the best periods of the Jewish history, they acted and reacted to each other's hands; and we need only cast an eye over the reigns of David and Solomon, and Joash and Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah and Josiah, to be convinced that that was the happiest state of the commonwealth when there was the harmonious working of both.

3. But these were Jewish kings who lived, in common with their subjects, under a palpable and declared theocracy—who had prophets, with the credentials of Heaven's authority, to guide and to correct them; and the book of God's law, which had ordained a priesthood, and prescribed a maintenance for the support of their families. There was, during the subsistence of this older economy, a clear and express sanction for an established religion. But the question now respects Christian kings and Christian communities; and, in the absence of that distinct and definite authority for an established church in the New, which stands forth so unequivocally in almost every book of the Old Testament, we have to inquire what the circumstances were which, under our present dispensation, brought on, and as we think justified, an enactment for the provision of a national clergy, who might teach the lessons of the gospel, and conduct its services among the people at large.

4. The causes, as far as they are known to us, which led to the first establishment of Christianity as a national religion, might be stated in a few words. For centuries after the original promulgation of the gospel, it was not only an unprotected but a persecuted faith. Under this severe regimen it was nurtured into strength; and from year to year took deeper and firmer root—as if cradled by the storms, in the midst of which it grew into maturity; and it was only fed and fostered the more by every new edict that was framed for its extirpation—till converts were so multiplied, and the public mind was so far carried in its favour, as to leave it doubtful whether it was the piety of Constantine, or the policy of Constantine, which led to his espousal of Christianity, and determined him to throw the shield not only of his imperial protection, but of his imperial patronage over it. If the former explanation be the true one—if the change of his profession originated in the power of truth and principle, then he but did upon his throne what a Christian parent does in his family. The one carried into effect the wishes of a Christianized heart over a larger, as the other does over a smaller sphere of operation. Each, by the arrangements of Providence, obtained a certain measure of ascendancy over other minds and other consciences than their own; and gifted as the one was with influence over an empire, and the other with influence over a household, we behold in each the example of a gift consecrated to the honour of Him who is the Universal Giver; and whom they now believed to be the author of that

Christianity sent down from heaven on purpose to rule and to regenerate the world. In compliance with this great duty, and as fellow-workers with God, the one did for his subjects what the other does for his children—provided them with a Christian education, as the best boon which a religious monarch can confer upon his people. On the supposition of the monarch being himself a Christian, such is the account, and such also we deem to be the vindication of that procedure by which he awarded a maintenance to the teachers of the gospel, and bade them, in return, carry the lessons and services of the gospel throughout his population. But he may have been no Christian; and policy, not principle, may after all be the key for the explanation of his conduct. He must, then, be tried by a different standard; and if he cannot be vindicated as a religious, he may at least be vindicated as a wise governor; and that not because he conceded to the religion of the majority, but because he consented to place his subjects under the best moral regimen, for the formation of a virtuous and well-ordered commonwealth. If even the heathen of these days could say of Christians, Behold how they love each other!—if so palpable was the exhibition of their superiority, that by general acknowledgment they made the best citizens and the best soldiers in the empire—Constantine may have seen that, by the establishment of a universal Christian education, he best consulted both for the economic wellbeing of his people, and for the prosperous administration of his own civil and political affairs. If we cannot speak to the sincerity of his principle as a man, we may at least speak to the soundness of his policy as a monarch; and although this vindication leaves the blemish of ungodliness and of political hypocrisy on the memory of Constantine, it lays no blemish on the compliance of the other party in this great transaction—we mean of the Church, in having complied with the overtures which he made to them. We read of the earth helping the woman. But we nowhere read that it is the duty of the woman to refuse this help, or to refrain from the facilities which are opened up to her by the hand of Providence, for the multiplication of her converts. He who can make the wrath of man to praise Him, can make the ambition of monarchs subserve the honour and extension of His own spiritual kingdom in the world; and the Church, in prosecuting this subserviency, and labouring to make the most of it for the salvation of human souls, is but following the bequeathed duty of preaching the gospel to every

creature—is but doing good unto all men, as she has the opportunity.

5. The first example then which we have quoted, of a government having made selection of a faith, to be by them signalized and supported as the national religion—is that of Constantine, who evinced all the greater strength of motive and determination in the act of doing so, that, in setting up this new establishment, he superseded or overthrew an old one. It is all the more favourable to the exhibition whether of sentiment or policy; it manifests with a so much greater force, and therefore distinctness, the inducement which led to this measure, that, in the adoption of it, the prejudices on the side of an ancient and hereditary worship had to be overcome—the very circumstance of a struggle and a strenuous resistance having to be encountered in effecting the movement, bringing out more palpably into view some one, if not all of the many influences under which it was carried. The second example of anything similar to this in history took place at the Reformation, when a change was accomplished in the national establishments of several countries in Europe—not a change, as before, from paganism to Christianity, but a change from Popery to Protestantism, or from one denomination of Christianity to another. There was the assumption of one kind of faith for the national church, made all the more striking and noticeable by the rejection of another—affording therefore so much a better chance of our being able to detect the principle of so great a revolution. Nor is it difficult to find it, in the history of a period so much nearer to ourselves. There may have been other reasons besides those which can be alleged in vindication of this great movement resolvable neither into conscience nor patriotism, as those which actuated the bosom of our capricious and tyrannical Henry. But we speak not of the reasons which explain—only of those which justify the change; and perhaps the best historical example which can be given of them, will be found in the Elector of Saxony, who established the Protestant religion in his kingdom, under the impulse of the Protestant faith, or of a sincere Protestant feeling in his own heart. The faith of the monarch justified the part which he took in it—or the proposal of such a change; and it was the faith of his subjects which justified the part which they took in it—or their acquiescence in the change. Without both these ingredients, it may have been attempted by the monarch, but not been accomplished by him—as by James, who, for attempting to im-

pose the national establishment of his own faith on an adverse and reluctant kingdom, was hurled from his throne. We shall not stop at present to inquire, whether the conviction was right or wrong, or take up the time, which at present we cannot afford, with the demonstration, though we hold it to be impregnable—that wherever there is access to the light and the opportunities of our present day, and there be notwithstanding a wrong belief in religion, some element of moral evil might be detected in the process which led to it. But, without tracing our way so far backward, grant the sincerity of the potentate—of James, for example, in his Catholicism; of Charles in his Episcopacy: and the Elector of Saxony, in his Lutheran Protestantism—it may be said, both of him who succeeded and of those who failed in the establishment of their own doctrine as the national faith, that all three in the attempts which they made were alike conscientious, and this might serve for the vindication of the men—even as it would serve for the vindication of five hundred men, if the power, instead of being concentrated in one individual, were lodged in such an assembly, and they gave forth their collective voice in favour of an establishment which coincided with the faith of the majority. The only other reason we can sustain in vindication is one of patriotism, as the former was one of piety; or which had respect to the temporal, as the other had respect to the spiritual wellbeing of the people. We can imagine a monarch without the principle of religion, but of sound enlightened policy—we mean the policy which has for its object, not the maintenance or the increase of his own power, but the prosperity of his kingdom and the present welfare of its families. The one is a justifiable motive on a heavenly, the other is a justifiable motive on an earthly standard. Both influences, the religious and the philanthropic as they may be termed, may have acted at the same time on the mind of the Elector of Saxony. He may have felt, and with a deep sense of sacredness, the truth of Protestantism; and he may have been alive also to its secular blessings—to the virtue, and the intelligence, and the industrious habits, which its education and its principles carried in their train. The act of setting up a Protestant Establishment in his dominions may have been at once the act of a sincere Christian and of a sound patriot.

6. We may now carry our views onward in history—nay down as far as from what has been done by governments in former ages, to what might or should be done by governments in the

present day. And at this moment, there is no legislative body in Europe who are more called upon to be ripe and ready on the principles of this great question, than the parliament of England. There is a loud and instant call upon them for a wise and righteous decision. We cannot imagine a heavier misfortune to our beloved land, than that a measure, so pregnant with consequences both to the present and future generations, should cast up at random; or in the eddying whirl of party and political movements, instead of coming forth as an unfettered, but withal well-weighed deliverance, on the part of intelligent and high-principled men—best of all if done on the greatest, and which should be the first consideration of, What is truth? but, if not disposed to entertain this question, next best, when done on the consideration of, What is the most effectual regimen for training the successive generations of a country in the virtues of good citizenship, and so as shall be likeliest to insure for the commonwealth the blessings of a moral and religious population? On either consideration we should not fear for our own Protestantism; for, though the two considerations be distinct from each other, in practice and fulfilment there is a real harmony between them. For the determination of the one question, the lights of conscience and erudition ought to suffice in every well-principled and well-educated assembly: for the determination of the other, it will be enough to consult the lights of history and of economic science.

7. It is well that there should be two principles, altogether right and legitimate, on either of which the question of a religious establishment might be hinged; so that, whatever the incapacity of senators might be to decide on the first of these principles, that is, on the theological truth of any given system of belief—there might remain the other, the moral and economic principle, on which to ground their determination, that is, on the fitness of any system, by the influence and the lessons of its discipleship, to humanize a population, and impart such habits as are best both for the comfort and the virtue of families. And yet we can see no incongruity, no extravagance, but the contrary, in the supposition of its being quite competent for an assembly of legislators to decide on the former of these principles; or to give their suffrages for the maintenance of a certain national creed, as well on the ground of that divine authority which has prescribed the lessons of our education for heaven, as on the ground of that human judgment or experience, which tells of the best education

for the virtues of good citizenship on earth. We are aware of the summary and contemptuous rejection to which this proposition is liable—as if it would transform the senate-house into an arena of theological conflict; and senators into wrangling polemics, who, to be accomplished for their task, would need to grapple with whole libraries, with the tomes of the mighty controversialists in former ages, or at least, it may be thought, to be deep read, both in the Fathers of the Christian Church, and in the Fathers of our own Reformation.

8. Now this is exaggeration. It would have been truth had the proposition been to devolve upon civil rulers, or to devolve upon a parliament the office of settling and of filling up the national creed, even to its minutest articles; or of framing the whole polity of a church, from the highest to the lowest of its office-bearers, from the most solemn ordinances of its ritual to the most inconsiderable observances of its ceremonial and its forms. The settlement of these is the proper work of ecclesiastics. But the great and general question between Protestantism and Popery does not hinge upon these—a question to which the public mind in many countries of Europe, and particularly in our own, was all awake, and, we may add, intelligent also; and to which the representative mind in the body of legislators was alike sensible, and ought surely to have been, nay actually was, alike intelligent. This was not a question which could only be resolved in an assembly of priests or of scholastics; but a question that might be rightly entertained, and rightly decided also, in any assembly of well-educated Englishmen. We could not imagine a more testing evidence of an incompetent and vulgarized parliament, than that it should not be qualified to decide the question between the merits of Protestantism and Popery—or which of the two systems, not in respect of policy but in respect of absolute truth and of sacred obligation, is the most worthy of being upholden as the national faith of these realms. This is neither a minute nor is it a manifold controversy, but one great and simple question, on which too there shine the broadest lights both of moral and historical evidence: and that is, whether the Scriptures, as being of Divine authority, be the only rule of faith and practice in religion—or whether, co-ordinate therewith, the decisions of any councils or governors in the church, after the days of the apostles, should be admitted to an equal or superior lordship over the consciences of men. This, of all the countries in Europe, is not the land where it should be

difficult to find hundreds or even thousands of the upper and middle classes in society, with information enough and scholarship enough to pronounce intelligently upon this question—the richest of Christendom in that literature, and accessible too to all readers, the literature of the Christian evidences—the land of the Stillingfleets and the Clarkes and the Butlers and the Lardners and the Paleys—or if any shall recoil from these ecclesiastical names, the land of deepest reasoners in philosophy, of Bacon and Newton and Milton and Locke and Boyle and Sir Gilbert West and Lord Lyttleton, all of whom have done profoundest homage to Christianity, and many of them have told, and with irresistible weight of argument, that the voice in the Scriptures is a voice which speaketh to us from heaven. In this nation, of all others, there is none with the ordinary schooling of a gentleman, who could not thoroughly inform himself, and by the reading of a few weeks, on this great question, so as to decide between the authority of the Bible and the authority of Rome's apostolic church; between the miracles of the gospel performed in the face of the then civilized world and the mummeries of the Papal superstition, transmitted to us in barbarous legends, those products of the cells and the convents which overspread Europe through the dark and dreary millennium of the Middle Ages. We owe it to its church and its universities together, that this knowledge is so rife in England—familiar as household words in so many of its accomplished circles, so many of its ancestral halls—and that, not because of any professional interest in theology as a science, but in virtue alone of a full and finished education. It is thus that we have abundant materials for a parliament that could decide the question on its high and proper merits. We only need a parliament of England's best-principled and best-educated men. But should we not be so fortunate; should the disaster ever befall us, of vulgar and upstart politicians to be lords of the ascendant; should an infidel or demi-infidel government wield for a season the destinies of this mighty empire, and be willing, at the shrine of their own wretched partisanship, to make sacrifice of those great and hallowed institutions, which were consecrated by our ancestors to the maintenance of religious truth and religious liberty; should, in particular, the monstrous proposition ever be entertained not to tolerate (for that is quite as it should be) but to endow Popery—not perhaps to abolish, but at least to abridge the legal funds for the support of Protestantism, and at all events to uphold

an antiscriptural, and with this exaggeration, that it should be at the expense and with the diminution of a scriptural faith—let us hope that there is still enough, not of fiery zeal but of calm, resolute, and withal enlightened principle in the land to resent the outrage—enough of energy and reaction, in the revolted sense of this great country, to meet and overbear it.*

9. But let us imagine for a moment the concession made, though we think it neither a right nor a necessary concession, that it were too theological for a parliament to decide between the two religions of Popery and Protestantism, on the ground of the argument which respects their truth—there remains another argument, which it is surely competent for the most secular

* "Speaking of the competency of men not ecclesiastical to decide a question which hinges on the evidence and authority of the Bible, there is, we have long apprehended, a striking contrast between the lay mind of France and that of England in this respect; and one of its most remarkable displays is, when Voltaire, in the examples which he has quoted of the aberrations of the human understanding—along with the case of Roger Bacon having written upon witchcraft—brings forward also that of Sir Isaac Newton having, in his declining years, written a commentary on the Book of Revelation. Now, as to our great philosopher, who transferred his mighty intellect from the study of the works of God to the study of His Word, this may have taken place at the decline of his years, but not, most certainly, at the decline of his understanding. The truth is, that he felt a kindredness between his old and his new contemplations; that, after having seen further than all who went before him into the godlike harmonies of the world, he was tempted to search, and at length did behold the traces of a wisdom no less marvellous in the godlike harmonies of the word; that after having looked, and with steadfastness, for years on the mazy face of heaven, and evolved thencefrom the magnificent cycles of astronomy, he then turned him to Scripture, and found, in the midst of its now unravelled obscurities, that its cycles of prophecy were equally magnificent: and, whether he cast his regards on the Book of Revelation or on the Book of Daniel, who, placed on the eminence of a sublime antiquity, looked through the vista of many descending ages, and eyed from afar the structure and the society of modern Europe—he whose capacious mind had so long been conversant with the orbits and the periods of the natural economy, could not but acknowledge the footsteps of the same presiding Divinity in the still higher orbits of that spiritual economy which is unfolded in the Bible. And while we cannot but lament the deadly mischief which the second-rate philosophy of infidels has done to the inferior spirits of our world, we feel it almost a proud thing for Christianity, that all the giants and the men of might in other days—the Newtons, and the Boyles, and the Lockes, and the Bacons of high England, have worshipped so profoundly at its shrine. But chief of these is our great Sir Isaac, who, throned although he be by universal suffrage as the very prince of philosophers, is still the most attractive specimen of humanity which the world ever saw—and just because the meekness of his Christian worth so softens while it irradiates the majesty of his genius. Never was there realized in the character of man so rare and so beauteous a harmony, that he who stands forth to a wondering species of loftiest achievement in science, should nevertheless move so gently and so gracefully among his fellow-men—not more revered for the glory he won on the field of discovery, than loved by all for the milder glories of his name—his being the modest, the unpretending graces of a childlike nature—his being the pious simplicity of a cottage patriarch."—See "Lectures on the Romans," (Select Works,) vol. ii. p. 230.

assembly on earth to entertain ; and that is the argument grounded on the palpable and glaring experience that tells us, and with an evidence too plain to be resisted, under which of the two regimens it is that we can best provide for the moral and economic wellbeing of a population. I will not speak of the impolicy of France in their expulsion of the Huguenots, who carried into other countries the arts and the habits by which they might have enriched their own. I will not speak of the contrast which strikes the eye of every traveller between the Catholic and Protestant cantons of Switzerland. I will not speak of the moral and industrious population of the United Provinces, or tell of their immeasurable superiority in virtue and freedom, and all that makes for the superiority or wellbeing of a nation over the people of Spain, that land at once of superstition and despotism—the land of their proud oppressors, against whom they nobly revolted, and as nobly triumphed. The lesson may be learned by us nearer home. Literally, he who runs may read it in Ireland ; and that on a cursory glance, and in the course of a few days' rapid travelling. It is patent as the light of day, that the same geography which marks off the distinction between the two faiths, also marks off the distinction between, on the one hand, a land of industry and peace, with a population of thriving families, and, on the other, a land teeming with all moral and all political disorders—a land of mendicancy and midnight tumults, where violence is abroad in their streets and their highways ; and at home, in their wretched hovels, where are found, and almost invariably, the filth and the squalid destitution of perhaps the worst-conditioned peasantry in Europe. Let us have but the names of the Popish and Protestant counties, and we could learn from the map which is the region of grievous and general distress, of unequalled turbulence, of fierce and incessant agitation ; and which the region of prosperous industry, of peaceful and orderly habits, and of decent respectable sufficiency, even down to the lowest labourers of the soil. The truth is open to us through many channels and by various statistics—as the amount of crime and number of commitments in the province of Ulster, when compared with the rest of Ireland—the proportion of military required in these two great departments to protect from outrage, and maintain the authority of government—the vagrancy that meets us everywhere in the one territory, and is comparatively rare in the other. These all speak for themselves ; and if our statesmen

are afraid of the theological question, we ask them to take it up as a question of polity, and tell us in the name of all that is dear to patriotism, whether it were better to have a nation of Papists or a nation of Protestants in that unhappy land. We are aware of an utter heartlessness in the negotiations of national policy, when ambassadors meet, and if the balance of power required it, would barter away or bargain for the faith of whole countries, just as they would barter away or bargain for the protection and encouragement of their commerce. And there is, too, a balance of power to be adjusted at home, as well as on the great theatre of the politics of Europe; and what takes place in the war of States, may also take place in the war of parties—when the temptation to make the same unprincipled sacrifice may occur; and when, for the ambition of place, the moral interest of a whole nation is disregarded, and both the comfort and character of its families are given to the wind. If anything can add to this atrocity, it is when perpetrated, not by the simple adoption of that which is evil, but by the transmutation of the good into evil—when done in the face of possessory rights; and the proposal is, not merely to plant a corrupt establishment, but to change a better establishment for a worse—in other words, to clear out the Protestantism, and so make room for the Popery; or at least to abridge the one, and follow it up by such institutions, whether of an ecclesiastical or scholastic nature, as will surely extend and perpetuate the other. We can imagine nothing that would so mark the utter absence and abjuration of all public virtue in public men, than, with their eyes open—not, you will observe, to persist in what is bad, but greatly worse—to retrograde into what is bad; and lavish the resources of the nation on the maintenance of a faith, which, if the sacred consideration of immortality must be kept out of the question, all history and experience tell, is, of every form and variety of religion, the most fitted to blind and vitiate a population.

10. But, when considering the movement by the state in the days of Constantine, we made a reference to the clergy; and then observed that, without the forfeiture of principle, but rather in compliance with the dictates both of the most sound principle and of the soundest and most upright policy, they could accept of a national provision, and undertake in return for the Christian education of the people. And in like manner would we speak of the part which belongs to the clergy of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland. They virtually did undertake the Chris-

tian education of the families in their respective parishes ; and, I will speak only of the generations that are past, they have not acquitted themselves of that undertaking. It is in the spirit of an even-handed justice that we would make this avowal ; for though it never can vindicate, it at least explains, and perhaps in some degree palliates the indifference, nay, in some instances we believe, the hostility even unto death of many of our statesmen to the church of our sister kingdom. It cannot be disguised that, with many illustrious and honourable exceptions, the clergy as a body, have not, during the whole of the last century, done what they might, or done what they ought, for the cultivation of the vineyard made over by the State to their care ; and which, in return for their maintenance, they should by this time have put into right order, and now been keeping in order. But we must not lose sight of the goodness of a machine in the badness of the working of it. We must see where the failure lies—not in the magnitude of those revenues, which the wayward politicians of our day are now labouring so hard to reduce, if not to annihilate—not in the number of those Protestant labourers, whom, with a strange inversion of all sound policy, they are now doing their uttermost to diminish—not in things pertaining to the framework of the Establishment, wherewith they are now tampering by all sorts of paltry economical reform. The whole evil, in the great bulk and essence of it, has been, that the Church in former times was carelessly and corruptly patronized. The Church itself, viewed as a machine, is well fitted for its work, provided only that it be well supplied with good and able workmen. A few hundreds of these, with the spirit and apostolic zeal of good Bishop Bedell, could, in the multitude of their converts and the great moral change effected in their respective neighbourhoods, have made this as manifest as day. Had this establishment been what it ought to have been—a great home mission, with its ministers acting the part of devoted missionaries, we should by this time of day have been rid of all our embarrassments. There would have been no Catholic question to perplex—and that because there might have been few or no Catholics. But matters there have not been so ordered. We need not speak of their pluralities, and their sinecures, and of all the evils of their clerical absenteeism. These are the more patent corruptions of the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland, and perhaps the only ones that strike the public observation. But over and above this, there was a mistaken policy, maintained

and avowed even by their best clergymen, in the form of an honest though still of a grievously mistaken principle—as if they went beyond their legitimate province if they at all meddled with the Catholic population ; at which rate the primitive Christians went beyond their legitimate province, when they meddled with the Pagans of the Roman empire. Even the most venerated of their prelates, as Bishop Jebb, proclaims this in his published letters, as if it were one of the categories or proprieties of a Protestant minister in Ireland. We do not say that the maxim has been universally acted on, but it has been greatly too general, that to attempt the conversion of a Papist was to enter another man's field ; and that, in kind at least, if not in degree, there was somewhat of the same sort of irregularity or even of delinquency in this, as in making invasion on another man's property. In virtue of this false principle, or false delicacy, the cause of truth suffered, even in the hands of conscientious ministers ; and when to this we add the number of ministers corrupt, or incompetent, or utterly negligent of their charges, we need not wonder at the stationary Protestantism, or the yet almost entire and unbroken Popery of Ireland. We now inherit the consequences of the misgovernment and the profligacy of former generations. They may be traced to the want of principle and public virtue in the men of a bygone age. Those reckless statesmen who made the patronage of the Irish Church a mere instrument of subservience to the low game of politics—those regardless clergymen who held the parishes as sinecures, and lived in lordly indifference to the state and interests of the people—these are the parties who, even after making full allowance for the share which belongs to the demagogues and agitators of the day, are still the most deeply responsible for the miseries and the crimes of that unhappy land.

11. But here the distinction again recurs, which has been so often insisted on, between the goodness of a machine and the goodness of its working. If the latter have been in fault, that is no reason why the former should be condemned or given up to destruction. The remedy is not to abolish the Protestant Establishment of Ireland, but rightly to patronize it ; nor can I imagine a wider contrast, than between the wise and the temperate reformers from Popery of 300 years back, who, despite the enormities of that system, let alone the material apparatus of its establishment, and only committed it to other and better hands—and the reformers of the present day, who have abridged

and would destroy the Protestant church, and that too in the face of a manifest revival in the zeal, in the character, in the devoted and missionary spirit of its clergymen; who, unlike to those predecessors for whose errors, I should say for whose crimes, they are not responsible, consecrate their whole time, and talent, and unrequited labour to the moral interests of their country—the martyrs of its now misplaced and excited violence, yet we trust the agents of its coming regeneration. The truth is, that, among the established churches of our empire, that of Ireland, in the vital and spiritual sense of the term, is the most prosperous of the three. “While its outward man perisheth, its inward man is renewed day by day.” The hand of power may strip it of its temporalities; but we trust that its indomitable spirit in the cause of a pure and scriptural faith, will not so easily be quelled. Though despoiled of their rights, they will not abandon their duties. Like the Christians before the days of Constantine, they may perhaps have to win the ground over again—when the Church, purified by the discipline of adversity, will again arise in its strength; and, repeating the conquest of truth over the errors of a degrading superstition, will add another victory to the triumphs of former generations.

12. But though such be the economy of things under which we live, that often the greatest good—moral and spiritual good—comes out of evil, that is no reason why we should do the evil that the good may come. Better if the injustice were not perpetrated, of that spoliation that would abridge or would abolish the Protestant establishment of Ireland. Better that the ministrations of a scriptural church should be upheld, than that they should be suspended, even in the hope of a great and consequent revival; and that the present generation should not be made to suffer, or be offered up in sacrifice, for the sake of the ages that are to follow. The hidden purposes of God do not form the measure by which to estimate the plain duties and obligations of man, whose part it is to proceed, not on that which is hidden, but on that which is revealed—to shun all which is palpably and at present evil, and to do all the good for which he has a present opportunity. There is nothing more instructive in the philosophy of public affairs, than to observe, that in those seasons when the government is weak, and the spirit of the country is wayward and strong, so that the pressure from without carries it over the will or the principle within—in those seasons, when the governors and the governed may be said to change places—

there is nothing more instructive, or from which a sounder lesson of political wisdom may be gathered, than to observe the almost constant misdirection of the popular zeal ; and so the misuse of that power, wherewith for a time the people may be said to be invested. However good the institutions of a country may be, that the country may have the full good of them, it is indispensable that they should be placed in the hands of able and upright functionaries—for if not, they may have proved to be the instruments of evil, not however because the machinery, but because the men are in fault. In these circumstances, what, we ask in the name of common sense, is the desirable reform ? and what is the right object for reformers to set their hearts upon ? —Whether—it may be thought strange to ask—whether on the destruction of the machine, or on the appointment of right men for the working of it ? There may be energy, there may be irresistible momentum, there may be the impulse of a good feeling, of a good and honest design ; but there is no discrimination in the masses. With what salutary effect, one is apt to think, their influence might be brought to bear upon rulers, so as to compel a virtuous exercise of their patronage ; and then every good institution of the country, and its churches among the rest, would be placed in fair circumstances for the development of their properties and their power. But this is almost never the use to which the popular will is turned—and so when let loose upon the commonwealth, unfit either to purify or guide, it is found powerful only to destroy.

LECTURE V.

ON A TERRITORIAL ESTABLISHMENT, AND THE REASONS OF ITS EFFICACY.

1. BUT it may well be thought, that it is easier to state the grounds of preference on which Protestantism should be adopted rather than Popery, even in those cases where, as in Ireland, it is not yet the national faith, as being the worthier of the two for a national provision, and that not merely for the sake of its maintenance, but also of its propagation in the land ; that it is an easier task to select the one and pass over the other, from the very wide and palpable distinction which there is both in principle and effect between them, than it were to select and single

out, from among the numerous sectarian varieties of Evangelical Protestantism, that one denomination, which is most entitled to the privileges and honours of an establishment; for, substantially speaking, they have all one and the same theology—and we may add, that, experimentally speaking, they have all made their respective contributions to the sound education of the people in the habits and principles of Christianity. Who can question, for example, the wholesome effect of the active and widely-extended ministrations which have been rendered by the Wesleyan Methodists; and that, too, among the families of that very class which stands most in need of those cheap or gratuitous services which it is one great object of an establishment to afford—even the families of those poor men and labourers, who can, with the least safety, or with the greatest risk, be left to take their chance, or be abandoned to that most frail and fluctuating of all securities,—we mean the operation of the Voluntary principle. And we cannot deny the pure and effective ministrations of Baptists, and Congregationalists, and Presbyterians, and many other sectaries—all varying circumstantially from the Church of England, and each other—yet all, in essence and effect, teaching the same Christianity. It were, in our estimation, a grievous outrage not on charity alone, but on truth, to deny that the education given in many of our dissenting chapels is a good education for heaven, and that in both countries we stand indebted to their co-operation for much of the religion of our families. But does not this make it all the more puzzling, to assign any ground on which they should be excluded, we do not say from the honours, but from the substantial benefits of an establishment; or why a national provision should be withheld from the ministers of those Protestant denominations, more than from the Protestant Episcopalians of England? It may be easy to say why we should keep out Popery and let in Protestantism; but it does not appear easy to fix on the proper reason why, when there is so little to discriminate between them, we should let in one species of Protestantism, and keep out all the rest. The closer their modes of faith approximate to each other, it does—it may well be thought—aggravate the task of selection, and make it all the harder to specify, why it is that the monopoly of the emoluments of a great national institute should have been vested in one alone; or why its favoured disciples should have been admitted into the bowers of the establishment, while all the rest have been left on the outfields of unendowed sectarianism.

2. These, at first sight, may appear to be formidable questions, and all the more so the more nearly the sectarians approach in doctrine to the Church, or the more insignificant the points of difference are between them. Now we happen to think that, where there is a substantial agreement and only a circumstantial variation, the adjustment of this matter, instead of becoming more difficult, becomes on that very account all the more easy; and though the principle on which we would let in Protestantism and keep out Popery, is not that on which we would let in the Episcopalians and keep out the Presbyterians, and all other denominations, from the Establishment in England—or, what might look strange, let in one set of Presbyterians, and keep out all the other sects and sectaries, nay, even the Episcopalians of the Southern Establishment from the Northern Establishment of this our land—still we think that there is a substantial principle on which to vindicate these seeming anomalies of the ecclesiastical system under which we at present live, or to leave them untouched. But ere we proceed further in this undertaking, we must interpose in the form of a lemma, or as a stepping-stone to the argument which follows, a proposition which has been mainly overlooked by all the parties in this controversy, or at least the importance of which to the decision of it has not been perceived—we mean the immense good of a religious establishment being formed on the territorial principle—the meaning and efficacy of which principle it will require a whole lecture to explain.

3. And first, as to what is meant by a territorial establishment: The circumstance of its being an establishment, involves in it a legal provision for the clergyman. But, over and above this, suppose that, in return for this provision, the clergyman has a certain geographical district, whether in town or country, assigned to him, and that he is expected to take an ecclesiastical cognizance of all the families within its limits. To perfect this arrangement, they must stand so related to his church as to have a right of preference over all extra-parochial* families to the occupation of its sittings; and he, on the other hand, should be so related to his parish, as, if not to have a right of entry into all the houses, at least to be bound in point of duty to make a tender to every householder who is willing to receive him, of such ecclesiastical attentions and services as his time will permit him to bestow, and which might be conducive to the Christian

* That is, all families who reside without the limits of the parish in question.

good of himself and of his family. In other words, he is bound to superadd, as far as the people will let him, week-day and household to his Sabbath-day and pulpit ministrations. He is the minister not of a congregation only, as far the greater number of our unendowed ministers are, but he is the minister both of a congregation and of a parish.

4. To illustrate this distinction between parochial and merely congregational ministers the more, we may point to those few instances, which exemplify what we have defined to be the essence or principle of an establishment, without at the same time that establishment being territorial. There is a legal provision to a certain amount, in the shape of a *regium donum* for the Presbyterian ministers in the north of Ireland—who are helped in consequence to congregate their hearers at lower seat rents than would otherwise have been possible; but without any definite section of a territory being assigned to them, within the limits of which they might exert an ecclesiastical surveillance or guardianship over one and all of the families. The minister is thus enabled to surmount in so far the barrier in the way of his ministrations, which lies in the want of wealth on the part of the people; but there is no guarantee secured under such an arrangement for surmounting that other barrier which lies in their want of will. He has to do with his hearers; but there is nothing in such an economy which at all necessitates him to do with those who are not his hearers. They may choose to attend him if they so like; but if they do not choose they may accumulate in any numbers without the sphere of his observation, or at least without the sphere of his moral influence and control. If they do not come to him, there is nothing in this congregational, even though endowed system, which insures that he should go to them; and at this rate it is obvious, that whole masses of heathenism might be formed out of contiguous families, lapsing into their own native earthliness, and infecting each other with habits of irreligion. We can see how possible it is that, in such a state of things, the people should sink into a rapid and fearful degeneracy—while there are no forces in a system so imperfect by which to recall them. The same economy obtained at one time in the United States of America—only, instead of the legal provision being confined to one sect, it extended to all that were in sufficient force to muster one or more congregations. But neither here does it appear that any ministers had the charge and superintendence of all the families

within a given district. They preached to those who came ; but there was no understanding on the part of the state, from whom they received their maintenance, of any obligation on their part to take any cognizance, or go in quest of all within the limits of a certain assigned territory who did not come. The Presbyterian establishment in Ireland is sectarian, but not territorial. In the Northern States of America, so long as it subsisted, it extended to a congeries of sects, and may therefore perhaps on this account be not regarded as sectarian—yet neither was it territorial. In the Presbyterian Establishment of Scotland, the Episcopalian of England, and, we believe, all the religious establishments in Europe, the ministers have to do with parishes as well as congregations, and therefore they are both sectarian and territorial.

5. Now our object at present is to demonstrate that it is in the territorial principle where the great strength of an establishment lies ; and that, though by means of voluntarism, or of a merely congregational establishment, we may somewhat retard the progress of irreligion in a country—yet that it is only by a territorial establishment, and in virtue of the peculiar energies and adaptations which belong to its parochial system, that we can lay an arrest on this melancholy process ; and far more, it is only thus that we can recover a people from the moral degeneracy into which they have fallen.

6. It is well that both the reality of the disease, and the operation of our proposed remedy, can be ascertained by methods so strictly experimental—insomuch that henceforth we might almost dispense with any general reasoning to prove either the impotency of voluntarism on the one hand, or the efficacy of a well-worked territorial establishment on the other. We are not sure but that in the study of this important question, we might obtain a clearer and more impressive view of the truth by limiting our attention to but one locality—from the present state and the future treatment of which the whole principle and philosophy of the subject might be gathered.

7. In any large town, where the population has greatly outgrown the capacity of the established churches to hold them, you can be at no loss to find an apt specimen of ecclesiastical destitution, on which, after having experimentally ascertained the inadequacy of all the existing methods, the operation of our proposed remedy might then be exemplified. For this purpose, let there be assumed a plebeian district of not more than two

thousand people; and let a thorough investigation be made of the state and habit of the families—more especially as respects their church-going; and the number of sittings in chapels of all denominations, which, in defect of the legal provision, they have provided for themselves. The inquiry should first be made from door to door at the mouths of the householders; and their answers, when thoroughly sifted and subjected, if need be, to the corrections of various tests which it is needless to specify, will exhibit a melancholy proof of the impotency, the glaring impotency of that voluntarism, which, in the arrogancy of its boasted sufficiency, would supersede every other method but its own, for the spread of a Christian education throughout the community at large. A mighty field has lain open to its enterprises for several generations, and yet what has been the result? We do not need to guess, to speculate on the probabilities; for we can lay our immediate hand on the verities of the subject. Let the survey which we now recommend of one single locality, be at all accordant with the numerous surveys of other and similar localities which have been actually taken, and we shall be sure to find that, at the very most, not one in five or six—far more usually not one in eight—often not one in ten, and in some instances not one in twelve, fifteen, or twenty of the gross population, possess accommodation in any place of worship whatever, whether in churches or meeting-houses. Such is the languor of the demand when people are left to themselves. Such is the certain consequence of their being abandoned, either to the voluntary principle, or to the system of free trade in Christianity—a conclusion this, not excogitated by any theoretical speculation of ours on the laws of human nature, but a conclusion which might be verified by yourselves within less than half a mile of your own doors—resting on the firm basis of induction; or of that evidence which, in every other department of inquiry, is respected as far the most authoritative and the most accordant with the spirit and the philosophy of modern science.

8. Now the question is, How shall we reclaim this outlandish population to habits of church-going? In what way shall we propose to go about it? They reside, it will be recollected, within the bounds of one locality—an assemblage of contiguous householders, occupying in space not more than a few streets, alleys, or lanes. In their assumed gross number of two thousand souls, the likelihood, often realized in London and elsewhere, is, that not two hundred go to any place of worship whatever—im-

plying therefore a general population of sixteen hundred, or eight hundred human beings, the fit subjects for a public and regular ministration of the gospel, and who wait to be recovered from that habit of irreligion, which may not only have been confirmed by the practice of a whole lifetime, but into which the people of that district may have sunk and settled down for several generations. A voluntary chapel might be adventured in the midst of them, and be even filled to an overflow—not by them, however, let it well be remarked, but by hearers from all distances, who have a predisposition for the services of the sanctuary, and a power as well as a willingness to pay for them. Now the probability is that the people have not the power; and at all events, and which forms a still more material obstacle, the certainty is that they have not the willingness. A predisposition for the regularities of Sabbath attendance, either was never felt or has long been extinct among them; and there is nothing fitted to awaken it in the mere presence or juxtaposition of a chapel, whose minister has to do with hearers and hearers only, and who takes no charge of other families besides. And this impotency which attaches to the unendowed, attaches also in great part as a defect and blemish to the endowed minister—provided that no territorial charge has been assigned to him. He may be enabled, in virtue of his endowment, to minister to the people at low seat-rents, and thus be helped over the first barrier in the way of their attendance—the want of ability to pay for church accommodation: but this does not help him over the second, which is greatly the more insuperable of the two—their want of willingness. He may be attended by those who have the predisposition—that is, just like the other, by hearers scattered up and down from all parts of the city; but be nearly as little attended as the unendowed minister before him, by people in his own immediate vicinity, or in the immediate confines of his own place of worship. Now the specific business which we should like to put into the hands of a Christian minister is, not that he should fill his church anyhow—that he may do by the superior attractiveness of his preaching, at the expense of previous congregations, and without any movement in advance on the practical heathenism of the community; but what we want is, to place his church in the middle of such a territory as we have now specified, and to lay upon him a task, for the accomplishment of which we should allow him the labour and perseverance of a whole lifetime; not to fill his church anyhow, but

to fill his church out of that district. We should give him the charge over-head of one and all of its families; and tell him that, instead of seeking hearers from without, he should so shape and regulate his movements, that, as far as possible, his church-room might all be taken up by hearers from within. It is this peculiar relation between his church, and its contiguous households, all placed within certain geographical limits, that distinguishes him from the others as a territorial minister. And let the whole country be parcelled out into such districts and parishes, with an endowed clergyman so assigned to each, and each small enough to be overtaken by the attentions of one clergyman—we should thus, as far as its machinery is concerned, have the perfect example of a territorial establishment.

9. But good machinery, even the best in the world, can avail nothing of itself without the good working of it; and the all-important question remains, How are we to work the machinery of a territorial establishment? We shall study so to frame our reply to this question, as still to concentrate your regards on our supposed territory of two thousand inhabitants; and which, for the very purpose of making an *experimentum crucis*, we should like to be in the worst possible circumstances for such an achievement, that is, to be the section of a town, and that too, if you will, among the very deepest and most depraved recesses of the vast metropolis—where the present, the actual proportion of church-going is the lowest that is anywhere to be found—so that the object of our enterprise, you will observe, is not to retain a people in their attendance on the ordinances of the gospel, but far more difficult, to recover from non-attendance—not to perpetuate a good habit, but to change a bad one; and to restore a people, now sunk among the lowest depths in the abyss of irreligion, from the degeneracy into which they have fallen. The question is, How shall a territorial minister address himself to so stupendous a moral undertaking; and where lies the charm or efficacy of that territorial system on which we reckon for so stupendous a fulfilment?

10. He of course would begin with a very small attendance. Few, very few, would in the first instance be inclined to go to him on the Sabbath; and that is the precise reason why he should make the most of every opening and every opportunity for going to them through the week. Of these two parties, the minister and the people—on the unendowed, or even the endowed, if but the general and congregational system, the first movement is left

with the people ; and so with all those who have lost the taste and habit of waiting on the ordinances of the sanctuary, no such movement ever can be counted on : and the people, once become alienated from the services of the gospel, might, for any force that is brought to bear upon them, remain alienated for ever. There is no self-originating or spontaneous tendency to such an approximation ; and the families will abide in the dormancy of nature until they are operated upon by an influence from without. The minister will never, by his mere power of attraction, draw them to his church ; and he must therefore take another way of it—or, on the method of aggression, he must go forth upon their houses. In short, circumscribed though he is within a very limited sphere, he must fill it up, else he will never succeed in it, with the labours and the locomotion of a missionary. The movement never will begin with them ; and it must therefore begin with him, or there will be no movement at all. The first impulse lies in his general week-day attentions ; the final result, to be gradually come at, however, in a greater or less number of years, and perhaps not till after the patience and painstaking of a whole incumbency, will be their general Sabbath attendance.

11. But it will be asked, what reason, grounded either on experience or on our knowledge of human nature, have we for counting on so mighty a practical effect as this—even in the course of a whole generation ? We are quite sensible of a certain secular or shrewd incredulity, by which all our anticipations on this subject have been met and resisted ; of a very prevalent idea, that to think of operating with any sensible effect on such stubborn and unlikely materials as the families of the working class in a city population, is but a confident and overweening imagination which can never by any possibility be realized—that all sense and all observation reclaim against it ; and therefore, however much to be admired as a picture—the beautiful fancy picture of a sanguine high-coloured and most amiable Utopianism—we must not look for the living fulfilment of it in this our actual and every-day world. It is thus that our project of subdividing city parishes has been put into the same category with another benevolent project, the parallelograms of Mr. Owen ; or likened to one of those many schemes of fond, but withal visionary and speculative philanthropy, which pass in rapid succession before the eye of the public, have their day and are forgotten. It is, therefore, all the more incumbent on us to

demonstrate the likelihoods of our proposed undertaking—to show wherein it differs from a romance of Arcadia; and prove that it has no common quality with a mere painting or fiction of airy sentimentalism.

12. Our first experience, then, which we quote with the greater confidence that it is so general—we had almost said constant and unexcepted, and which it is in the power of any one to verify at pleasure, is the welcome and cordiality on the part of the householders, wherewith these visits of a Christian minister are received. This is the actual finding among all who make the attempt; and surely, after it has become their finding, it should no longer be stigmatized as our fancy. Whether in town or country, it makes no difference. There is an open door of admittance everywhere; and this forms a very great encouragement to at least the initial footsteps of our enterprise. From the immense overgrowth of our city parishes, the practice of household attentions, on the part of the clergymen, has got into desuetude: but now, when the thing is tried on little experimental slips of their huge territory, it universally happens that the manifested goodwill on one side draws forth the response of an honest and heartfelt gratitude on the other. In this respect human nature maintains a certain identity, which survives every change of situation or exposure—insomuch that ministers, when transplanted into cities from the most remote and rural parishes in the land, have been astonished to meet with the same respectful and kindly entertainment of their visits from the families of the manufacturing, which they were wont to experience from those of our cottage and agricultural population. And the human nature of England is the same with that of Scotland. In the year 1822, I made a small household survey in the worst part of the parish of St. Giles, in London, in company with Mr. Joseph Butterworth, who then lived in Russell Square, at the distance of little more than a stone-throw from the wretched hovels that were explored by us. Our ostensible errand was not a dispensation of money, but an inquiry into the state of education among their young: or, in other words, ours was not an object by which we laid hold of the sordid appetencies of the people, but of a higher and more generous part of their nature. There was not one exception, I will not say to the civility, but to the cordiality of our reception, which was no surprise to myself, for I had learned a good many years before with what perfect confidence, nay with what a

pleasurable exercise of the affections, one might enter the houses and hold converse with the families, even in the poorest and most outlandish districts of a city; while, on the other hand, Mr. Butterworth uttered the observation, that it was only within a few months since they had made the discovery that it was consistent with their personal safety thus to go forth among the people. In other words, such had been the ignorance among the rich and the poor of each other—such the barrier of suspicion or fear on the one side; and such most likely because most naturally the consequent distrust or defiance on the other—that when at last the one party broke their way over the moral distance by which they had been separated, it was to them altogether an unexpected novelty, when they found that the other party welcomed their advances, and could enter with the most warm and intelligent sympathy on those concerns which appertain to the brotherhood of our common nature. If this was indeed a discovery, it is a discovery which all of you have the opportunity of making for yourselves; and I shall be glad if this first experience should dispose you to wait, and be the willing disciples of any experiences which might follow—else it is possible that, while denouncing the theoretical imagination of others, you may be setting at nought the authority of facts, and so evincing yourselves to be the most unsound and precipitate of all theorists.

13. So far from its being a theory, we are not aware of a more felt and familiar experience than the power to conciliate and subdue human hearts, which lies not in the gifts, but in the mere attentions or offices of kindness, however trifling in themselves, if they but give the authentic manifestation of genuine unequivocal goodwill on the part of those who discharge them. It is not with a romance, but with a solid history, that we are dealing, when we read of the moral triumphs achieved in prisons by the philanthropy of Howard and Fry; and we are only carrying back their experience from prisons to parishes—we are only concluding from the more to the less marvellous when we affirm, that the same charity which effected such conquests in the malefactor's cell, and before which the desperadoes of the jail melted and gave way, will effectuate a still larger and more enduring conquest, when brought to bear, in their own dwelling-places, on the men and women of our actual and every-day world. If such be the might and mastery of Christian benevolence—such the omnipotence of its spell, even among the guilty outcasts of society, and that in the last stage of depravation—what might we

not anticipate from the working of the same engine in the earlier stages, when the man of God goes forth in the spirit of zeal and love, and, in the midst of their domestic groups, speaks out the earnestness of an affectionate heart to the fathers and mothers of families? But why make that a matter of inference, which should be, and which is, a matter of direct observation? Let a parish minister go forth on the walk of household visitation, and the kindness of his reception, especially among the families of the working classes, is all but universal. Let their unpractised rudeness, nay, even let their depravity be what it may, they almost never shut the door against him; and if he will but venture himself across their threshold, he may lay his account with a courteous, and, in far the greater number of instances, with a friendly entertainment at their hands, at the commencement of a new parish, when provided with its new church, specially destined for the accommodation of the people who have been assigned to him, it is his part in the first instance to move toward them, for they never, if left to themselves, will move toward him. And he can be at no loss for topics of introduction to these his parish families. The very announcement of himself as their minister, will secure, with the majority of the householders, a favourable outset; and there are so many ingratiating errands by which he might incorporate himself and his doings with the strongest and the tenderest affections of nature—as when he makes inquiry into the education of children, and can tell them of the schools which are visited by himself as their official guardian, and which are open for their reception—or as when his services are required for marriages, and baptisms, and funerals—or as when he volunteers the frequent entry of himself at the bedsides of the sick and the dying—or as when, with kind and judicious advice, he can make himself of use to them in their quarrels, or their misfortunes, or their difficulties—or as when a signal calamity befalls the household, and the sympathy of neighbours is awakened, he falls in with the epidemic feeling—and, on every such occasion of a common sentiment and common effort for the good of the unhappy sufferers, between himself and the parochial community over which he presides, he rivets and confirms still more his moral ascendancy over them. To denounce all this as Utopianism, is really to betray the utmost ignorance and inexperience of our common humanity. It is not a fairy-land that we are now employed in picturing and setting forth. We are but describing our own average and every-day

nature. We ask any man, possessing an ordinary sense or discernment of the feelings and the fellowships of social life—we ask him, not sanguinely to image, but soundly and soberly to estimate, the likelihoods of such an enterprise as we now set before him, when a Christian minister assumes to himself, in the heart of a crowded metropolis, a manageable vineyard, say of two thousand people, and turns it into a home-walk, where, day after day, he plies the attentions and charities which belong to his sacred office, and superadds to the personal influence which lies in the air and education of a gentleman, the weight of his personal character, and, still more resistless, the weight of that tried and manifested friendship which glows within his breast, and pours forth, as from a fountain, the most gracious and endearing cordialities on all who are around him. We do not ask for him the eloquence, or the talent, or the rare and surpassing brilliancy which distinguish the few; we but ask for him the principle, the worth, the kind and Christian affection, which, by the power of the Divine Word, and with the operation of the Divine Spirit, are diffusible among all. It is on the strength of high moral, and not of high mental qualifications, that we look for the result in question. If but gifted with these, he go forth on such a territory as we have ventured to chalk out for him, and, more especially, if he reside within or upon its confines, there is not a month will elapse before that, by his presence and his labours, he will light a moral sunshine throughout nearly all the habitations. We are not so extravagant, not so visionary, as to think that, as by the lifting up of a magical wand, he will obtain, by dint of his week-day attractions, even in the course of half an incumbency, their universal attendance on his Sabbath services. If he gather in but a hundred hearers from amongst them in the first twelvemonth of his labours, this were enough for us to indicate the germ of a most hopeful experiment, and at length a most triumphant consummation, when, without magic and without miracle, he shall have congregated the residents within his little domain into a parochial family, and, as the fruit of his sustained efforts, and assiduities, and prayers, he bequeaths them a now church-going and church-loving people to the minister of the next generation.

14. We would not overstate our prospects of success in this great enterprise. We know it to be a work of slowness and difficulty. We are quite sensible that, with those who have arrived at manhood, and lived all their days in a state of exile

from the ordinances of the gospel, that, with many of them, the obstinacy of their habits,—habits of neglect and non-attendance, is well-nigh irreclaimable. And therefore it is, that we count on a very gradual accession from the grown-up people of a newly allocated parish to its infant congregation. And yet all experience tells that, even of these, a goodly number may be confidently expected—beginning perhaps with a small fraction of the whole, who, a few at the first, draw others after them, till (the gregarious principle coming every year into fuller play) the regular, the respectful observance of church-going ripens at length into one of the established proprieties of that little vicinage, which has been selected as the field of this momentous experiment—the experiment, we think, of all others, fraught with deepest interest both to the church and to the commonwealth. Yet however confident of the final result, we demand time and patience for its successive footsteps. In the midst of all these bright anticipations, it is our melancholy conviction that many of the old and middle-aged of such a heretofore neglected population may never be reclaimed, even to the external decencies of Sabbath observation; and that the locality on which this apostolic enterprise is going forward, will be relieved from the profaneness or profligacy, not by their conversion, but by their death. Our best hopes, we confess, are associated with the coming up of another generation; and under a right treatment of the ductile and susceptible young, congregated in parish schools, and trained from earliest boyhood to a punctual attendance on the ministrations of the parish clergyman. He, if put in possession of a complete parochial economy, is on mighty vantage-ground—at all times of course a welcome visitor in those dependent seminaries which have been reared for the express convenience of his operations, forming part and parcel of the machinery that has been committed to his hands; and where, without charging himself with the executive details of their week-day education, he, nevertheless, by the encouragement of his presence, and the cognizance he takes of their presence and behaviour, might obtain the most wholesome ascendancy over the hearts and habits of his juvenile population. Over and above the juvenile influence, which, through the medium of their youth, he transplants into the bosom of families, these schools become the direct nurseries of the church,—the feeders, as it were, of that grand reservoir, which, in return, becomes the centre and the fountainhead of a rich moral dispen-

sation to the neighbourhood around it; and so more prolific of blessings every year, as it rises onwards from its first slender beginnings, till filled to an overflow, even before the expiry of the present, or commencement of the succeeding age.

15. But let us not lose sight of the influences for good which might thus be carried forward, not in the public schools only, but in the most private and retired dwelling-places of this appropriated vineyard. The most reckless, the most resolute in their moral hardihood, are not beyond the operation of these. Even let them carry it so far as to barricade their houses, even as their hearts are barricaded, against the approaches of this apostolic clergyman, and he need not yet give them up in despair. He has only to watch his opportunity, and Providence will work for him. The hand of death may at length open a door for him, even to the worst habitation of aliens in the parish. Let him be ever ready with his services, and, in the hour of family disaster or family bereavement, the most sullen and else impracticable of these outlaws from all the decencies and humanities, whether of Christian or civilized life, may at last give way. And when he makes good his entry, it will not be against their will, but with their will, softened and subdued under the power of that untired, that invincible charity, which they find it impossible any longer to withstand. The man who can achieve a victory like this, fully though it be within the likelihoods of nature and experience, has only to be disencumbered from the labours and cares of a general congregation, and, concentrating his efforts within a given territory, to operate with perseverance on its contiguous households, that he might build, by successive additions, from time to time, a local congregation out of them. And we have only to imagine the same repeated often enough from one manageable locality to another, or, in other words, we have only to imagine a sufficiently thick-set establishment in the hands of diligent and conscientious ministers, each working within his own domain on the territorial principle, in order to effectuate the moral transformation of a city, of a vast metropolis, of a widely-extended province; or finally, to carry it over the length and breadth of a whole empire.

16. It is true that though we can create the right machinery, we cannot create the right men; and that without these the machinery may either be ill worked or not worked at all—and so be the instrument of evil instead of good. This may be admitted, without, at the same time, destroying the importance, the

vast importance of the proposition—that there is a certain machinery, a certain system of moral and spiritual tactics, by which the Christian worth of one man might be made tenfold more available for the christianization of two thousand people than we ever find it under a random economy—and by which therefore the well-directed labour of five hundred zealous and devoted clergymen could be made to tell, with an efficacy far surpassing all that has yet been realized, on a population of a million human souls. The difficulty, we are quite sensible, lies in our want of men—but why not make them effective as far as we have them, as far as they will go? Why not provide them with the greatest possible facilities for the greatest possible result; and, could we only make good a few specimens of the power and the fruitfulness that lie in this territorial cultivation—would it not, along with the demonstration given by them to the worth of an Establishment, give a mighty impulse and direction towards a pure and well-principled exercise of the ecclesiastical patronage?

LECTURE VI.

CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH JUSTIFY A GOVERNMENT, THAT HAS ASSUMED ONE FROM AMONG THE SEVERAL DENOMINATIONS OF EVANGELICAL PROTESTANTISM FOR THE NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT, IN ABIDING BY THE SELECTION WHICH IT HAS MADE.

1. We trust that it will now appear of a territorial establishment, however rapid or imperfect our description of it, that it is the only one by which the mass of a community can be out and out pervaded. It is this pervading faculty, in fact, which constitutes its great and characteristic recommendation. It comprehends all; and if it do not enter into converse, it at least proposes converse with all. It may not introduce Christianity within the precincts of every family; but it brings the overtures of Christianity or of Christian instruction to the door of every family. The lessons of the gospel are brought by it to every door; and our experience is, that, when once brought thus far, in the vast majority of instances an entry is permitted—and so these lessons are carried by it across almost every threshold. It is our further experience, that, when this system of aggression

on the households of a newly assigned parish is kept up and perpetuated by the clergyman—not only does it secure a private ministration to the inmates on a week-day; but these inmates are at length evoked by it into the act, which in time ripens into the habit, of attendance on the public ministrations of the Sabbath. From a parish of aliens, they may in less than half a generation become generally and upon the whole a parish of church-goers; and, if not all converted to religion in the full life and power of it, almost all of them undergo a visible reformation of utmost importance to the wellbeing of society. If not all transformed into the citizens of heaven, they are bettered as citizens of earth; and, in respect to the courtesies and the proprieties and the companionable virtues of our present existence, almost all of them are greatly humanized.

2. And perhaps it will give in your eyes less of a Utopian, and more of an experimental character, to our anticipations of a result so general—if we ask you to consider the just observation of Mr. Wilberforce, on the effect of Christianity even beyond the circle of its own proper and genuine disciples. It elevates the general standard of morals, in every country or neighbourhood which it enters. Even though it should but spiritualize the few, it civilizes the many. Over and above its direct influence on those whom it converts, it has, through the medium of their example and their virtues, a reflex or secondary influence on the families of every little vicinity around them—insomuch that the sanctities and the extraordinary graces of a small number, with the influence of a purifying and preserving salt on the general mass, tell, by a certain overawing power, in restraining the profligacies, and so in raising the character for decency and morals of society at large. This will be remarkably seen in any parish that is under a reclaiming process from the out-fields of heathenism, if the experiment be but well and vigorously conducted. We do not say that the minister will Christianize all; or that he will introduce the worship of God, the voice of psalms, into every family. But the melody that is heard in the habitations of the righteous, will have a certain softening and subduing effect on the inmates of other habitations; and it will be found no romance, but in strict accordance with the realities of human nature, if—by means of his schools and of his other parochial institutes, and (of no small account either) if, by means of his own frequent and various intercourse with the people, and the dignifying effect upon all the householders of their personal

acquaintance with the clergyman, and of the personal cognizance which he takes of them and of their families—he mollifies, and to a very great degree, the general aspect of that parochial community over which he presides; and bequeaths to his successors a far blander and better generation, than he had to encounter himself at the outset of his great undertaking.

3. It will now be seen, that, for the accomplishment of these blessed ends, a territorial establishment is indispensable—an establishment that the people might be served with the ministrations of the gospel, either at no price at all, or at a price which they can afford; and that a territorial one, that, instead of being left to come to these ministrations of their own accord, the ministrations might in the first instance be brought to them, and with all that power to conciliate and draw forth, which lies in the frequent, the importunate, but withal the well-timed attentions, of a wise and benevolent clergyman. It will also be seen wherein it is that the secret of its great strength lies. It lies in the first movement being laid on the right party. The thing to be effected is, that the teacher and the taught shall be brought into juxtaposition with each other; and the question is, Which of these two shall begin the approximation? If we wait till the taught seek after the teacher, we shall have to wait for ever; for in reference to the great mass and majority of an alienated parish, there is no taste, no predisposition, for the lessons of the gospel; and nothing therefore to originate a right impulse among the people. The only thing which remains then is that the teacher shall seek after the taught—a movement to which he is or ought to be prompted, by a sense of official duty, and the actuating benevolence of the gospel. We shall look in vain for a spontaneous or primary movement, in a desire on the one part to receive the moral benefit. The spontaneous and the primary can only be looked for, in a desire on the other part to confer the moral benefit. In other words, the work of christianization, even onward to the stage of its last and minutest subdivision, is at all times and essentially a missionary work. The missionary spirit, or the missionary effort, is required for short as well as for long distances. It is needed to reclaim a parish, as well as to reclaim a continent; and never, but by a system of aggression on the households of any given territory, shall we ever be able to retain and far less to recover a parochial congregation.

4. The immense moral importance of this territorial method,

will now be palpable; nor can we imagine a higher object of true and enlightened patriotism, than the piecemeal application of it, one by one, to each district of a town and to each section of the country at large. But we ask you to conceive how impossible it is, to combine the full advantage and efficacy of this method with the endowment of different sects. For, in the first place, how upon this system shall we parcel out the territory so as to make sure of a thorough ecclesiastical surveillance—reaching overhead to all the families of any given portion of it? For shall we say first to the Baptist minister—You take charge of these contiguous streets in one part of the city, and of the two thousand people by whom they are occupied? Secondly to the Independent minister—Here is the outline of your vineyard, in another part of the city, comprehending so many of the courts, and lanes, and alleys which are to be found in it? Thirdly, to the Episcopalian—We assign to you this square with its various outlets, stretching onward till the families come up to such a number as you can still overtake? And, extending the same system from the town to the country, shall it in like manner be pieced out geographically—so as, along with the principle of a general endowment, by way of equal justice to all the sects, you may also secure the principle of a territorial operation, as being the only one by which to penetrate and pervade the mass of a community? At this rate, we shall have here a Presbyterian village; there a Methodist township; somewhere else a land-ward domain, marked off either by natural or artificial boundaries, and within which the business of the paid instructor will, just as it happens, be to make Baptists of all, or Methodists of all, or Episcopals of all, or Presbyterians of all. Each shade of opinion will have its own limits and its own localities; and, on the other hand, each locality, whether it be of town or country, will have its own theological designation. At this rate the fair face of our island would be like the skin of one of Jacob's cattle, spotted, speckled, ring-straked, with all the hues and varieties of sectarianism. At present the men of all parties can conveniently enough arrange themselves into congregations. But the government will not find it so convenient if, attempting to be even-handed with all sects, and at the same time to provide a Christian education for all the people, it shall make the further attempt of arranging them into parishes.

5. It is quite obvious that the people cannot thus be made over, at the arbitrary will either of civil or ecclesiastical superiors

—cannot thus be made over, in sections of contiguous households, to this one or that other denomination, just according to the locality in which they happen to reside. And if, to avoid this inconvenience, each shall be left to choose their own denomination, and government to endow all without respect to the territorial principle—then, on this system, all who choose to be Methodists may have their minister supported by the State; and all who choose to be Presbyterians may have theirs; and all who choose to be Episcopalians may have theirs; and all who choose to be Baptists or Independents, or of any other sect that is comprehended within the limits of scriptural and evangelical Protestantism, may have theirs. But what in the meantime becomes of that number who relinquish, or never acquired, the habits of church-going, and choose to be nothing at all—a number altogether left by this system without guardianship and without observation; and who are therefore sure to increase every year, and that either with or without an increase of population? There are no territorial ministers to look after these, or take any charge of them. Each minister is employed with the hearers of his own sect; and as to all others, he may presume that they belong to the minister of some other sect—and that, at all events, they lie without the scope of any care or cognizance on his part. It is obvious, both from the nature of the arrangement and from experience—the experience of America when it had its endowed ministers of various denominations; and of Britain, when its parishes became too populous to be made the subject of territorial cultivation—that the families were left to recede, and accordingly did recede in larger multitudes every year, to the out-fields of entire heathenism. They who choose to have Christian instruction may, under this economy, have some one or other of their own peculiar tenets, to whose ministrations they can repair; and they who choose not, abide outcasts from every ministration; and there is no certain provision by which to recall them. There is no counteractive force set up by which to make head against that bias of the human will, wherewith it gravitates, as if by a sort of constitutional necessity, towards the alienation and lethargy of nature. The system, in fact, is tainted throughout with the disease and impotency of voluntarism. Men are left by it, if they so incline, in voluntary exile from the ordinances of the gospel; and it wields no aggressive influence by which either to restrain or to recover them. There might be men labouring in every neighbourhood for the souls of those

who, in obedience to the summons of the weekly bell, repair to some one assembly or other of worshippers. But in every neighbourhood, there is an accumulating number of human beings who yield no such obedience; and there is no man, although they stand in pre-eminent need of such a moral superintendence, whose peculiar office it is to care for their souls. The only functionary suited to their special condition is a territorial minister; for they fall through, or fall between, into their own native irreligion among the congregational ministers who are labouring on every side of them. In these circumstances, the rapid degeneration of the community seems unavoidable; and the only adequate remedy is a well-worked territorial establishment. But government, on the one hand, cannot set this machine agoing in the complicated way of having to do with men of different bodies and different denominations—instead of providing for the Christian education of its people, through the medium of one correspondence, and with the simplicity of one management. Neither, on the other hand, can the people be made over in aggregates and geographical divisions—each to its own variety of those multiform sects into which Protestantism has severed. To avoid this double inconvenience, the attempt to combine the territorial principle with an equal treatment of all the denominations, must be given up as impracticable; and some one denomination must be singled out for an establishment, whose ministers are to be charged overhead with the Christian education of the whole country—and each in his own sphere to have an oversight and a certain responsibility laid upon him for the religious knowledge and habitudes of all the families.

6. It is a most rightful wish, on the part of a government, that its people should be placed under an effectual system of Christian education; and if this cannot be done but by means of a territorial establishment, then is it shut up unto the necessity of resolving on such an establishment, and that it shall be territorial. And again, if this cannot be well done but by a church of one given denomination, then is it further bound to select some one denomination, whose ministers it shall intrust with the high office, and maintain, in return for the great service of teaching morality and religion to the people of the land. Now it is at this point that the question is laid upon us—On what principle ought the selection to be made? We have already seen that the principle is a very obvious one; and respecting which even statesmen, if but men of large and liberal education,

should feel no difficulty on which to reject that church which would subordinate the authority of Scripture to the authority of man—or even place the decisions of their own sovereign pontiff on the same level with the declarations of the Bible. But there are other churches, other ecclesiastical bodies, that have all agreed in abjuring this corruption, and are alike free from any participation in it. Many, we should say the great majority, of our Protestant sects, hold the authority of Scripture paramount to all other authority; and are so far agreed in the interpretation of it as to hold the same fundamental tenets; and, while differing in circumstantialia, to be at one on all the great and essential articles of faith. The government may be at no loss for reasons to eject Popery; but it may be at great loss for reasons to determine its preference of one shade or variety of Protestantism over all the rest—and that too in very proportion to the nearness of their agreement with each other. The difficulty is enhanced when it comes to be regarded as a question of equity between sect and sect; nor is it readily seen, when there is a substantial unity of doctrine betwixt them, on what principle one should be admitted to the bowers of an establishment, while all others are suffered to abide outcasts from its emoluments and its honours.

7. Now this question, full of perplexity as it may seem, we think might be easily, and at the same time be rightly, and on a clear principle, disposed of. And our first observation is, that the great, the primary design of an establishment is wholly misunderstood by those who view it as a question of equity between sect and sect. The object of such an institution is not this, but wholly distinct from this, which is to provide a Christian education for the people. What does or what ought to move a government in the adoption of such an economy, is not that it may prefer one church or one order of clergymen over another; but that it may possess itself of a good and efficient organ, through which to distribute the lessons of sound morality and religion among the families of the land. Grant that either of two, or if you choose that any one of twelve sectaries, is equally accomplished for this great task—that may be a sufficient vindication for government taking any one it may choose into its employment; but no reason why government should alike employ them all. Nay, it is incumbent, morally incumbent, on the government to employ but one, if, in so doing, it retains the territorial principle, rather than employ all, if, in so doing, it

must give up that principle ; and so inflict the deepest injury on the population. There may be no very distinct ground of preference in the overpassing merits of any one of these rival competitors, on which to guide the selection that the government should make. It may be difficult to allege, and still more to vindicate, the superiority of any one of these denominations to all the rest ; in which case the government should not suspend, on the determination of this question, an immediate measure for a sound Christian education to the families of the commonwealth. In so doing, it singles out for the national establishment some one of these various denominations ; and this, of course, involves the exclusion of all the others. This, regarding it in one aspect, may be viewed in the light of an injury to them ; but, regarded in another aspect, it should be viewed in the light of a benefit to society. The so-called injury to the sects is a collateral effect, which forms no part of the wish, perhaps comes not within the contemplation, of the government at all. The benefit to the country at large is the moving principle of government, the object of its sole and single-hearted prosecution. It is not to be endured, that a great, nay, the greatest of all national objects, shall be thwarted and impeded, because minute differences in theology have arisen ; and theologians, with their respective followers, have chosen, upon these differences, to fall out among themselves. The moral wellbeing of the nation is not to stand at abeyance till an adjustment shall have been made among controversies not yet determined, and perhaps indeterminable. The government does right in resolving on a territorial establishment, and in selecting the ministers of one denomination to work it. Should it, because of this, incur the complaint of not doing equal justice to all the sectaries, it can allege, in its defence, the far higher consideration of doing equal justice to all the families of all the population, by so adapting the church which it pays and takes into its service—by so adapting it to the country, that it may reach all, and be comprehensive of all. It is neither for the exaltation of one sect, nor for infliction of a stigma on all the rest, that government confines its overtures to one only. It is because in this way the business of a general Christian education is most thoroughly done, and most fully overtaken. The government is not to be diverted from this object, of highest and most catholic policy, by the differences which have broken out in the Christian world. Notwithstanding of these, it does right in

keeping by the ministers of one certain denomination, provided they be vitally and essentially right ; though, in so doing, they pass over the ministers of other denominations, who, though vitally and essentially right also, have chosen to isolate their body into a separate communion, and to stand out on certain circumstantial peculiarities of their own. Nevertheless, the duty of government remains a stable and unaffected element, which is to ordain a right system of good and efficient education for their subjects ; and leave the sectaries to settle their differences as they may.

8. Of these two parties—the government on the one hand, who have established and endowed the right-thinking ministers of a certain denomination ; and the ministers of the denominations, as right-thinking it may be as the first, in all the leading articles of the faith and weightier matters of the law, and who may complain, that, while equally sound and scriptural with the clergy of the national church, they have been so unequally treated by the reigning power of the state—we say of these two parties, the state and the sectaries, the state should, in the question between them, be less at a loss for their own justification. It is true, that, for the sake of a great moral blessing to the community, they have selected one set of ministers, to whom they have made over, in sections or parishes, the Christian charge, and intrusted the Christian surveillance of all their population. In so doing, they may have left out, let us imagine, five other sets of ministers—all of them equally deserving of such preference ; and who may therefrom complain of the partiality. But the government cannot, for their sakes, break up the territorial principle, that great barrier against the inroads of heathenism ; and, on the other hand, we ask in the name of Christian charity, whether the existence of their minor differences forms a worthy or sufficient cause for the barrier being taken down ? Must the conveniences of an object so mighty as the Christian education of the people, be on this account trampled under foot ? and we ask, whether it would not be far more beautiful and good, that these distinctions between sect and sect should be offered up a sacrifice on the altar of one common faith, and for the wellbeing of our common and general humanity—than that a cause so dear, both to piety and patriotism, as a universal schooling in the lessons of sound principle for all the people of the land, should be given to the winds ? This were really straining out a gnat, and swallowing a camel.

9. We do not speak of the sin of schism in the abstract. There

is much said on this subject by certain domineering churchmen, who arrogate a mystic superiority to themselves, while they would consign all others beyond the pale of Christianity—where-with we cannot in the least sympathize. It is not on any pretension of this sort, that we would vindicate the establishment of the churches, either of Scotland or England. We do not feel it necessary for such a purpose, to depress immeasurably beneath us, either the creed or the government of other denominations. We most willingly concede of sectaries we could name, that they are at one with us in all which is vital, and only differ from us in certain minute and insignificant peculiarities; and yet the establishment, the single, the exclusive establishment, of our existing churches in their respective countries, might be made to rest, we think, on a firmer because a more rational basis—on a far clearer principle than is alleged by those, who claim for their ministers the immaculate descent of a pure and apostolic ordination. We disclaim all aid from any such factitious argument,—an argument which could have been of no avail against the popery that we rejected, and should be of as little avail against those denominations of Protestantism which have been left unendowed. We contend against Popery as unscriptural. We contend, not against all Protestant denominations beside our own as being unapostolical, but, which is truly a different thing, we contend against the endowment of more than one denomination for one country as incommodious, and not fitted to the great object for which an endowment is desirable—and that is the general Christian education of the people of the land. In reasoning against Popery, the more erroneous, or the wider the difference from us, the more easily their case is disposed of. In reasoning, not we repeat against the Protestant sectaries, but against the endowment of them all save one—the less erroneous, or the nearer they are to ourselves, the more easily their case is disposed of. If people will but attend to the distinction between one thing and another, they will find that there is no paradox here. It was on theological principles that we stripped Popery of her endowments. It is on the principles of a right fiscal, or a right economical arrangement—that, while recognising the substantial unity of two, three, or more of the Protestant bodies, we but endow one of them and leave out the rest. To the question by which it was thought they would have gravelled us, When the difference is so insignificant between the church and the sectaries, why treat them so unequally?—our reply is, When the difference

is so insignificant, why keep up that difference at all?—Why do sectaries keep aloof from the church, on considerations which are confessedly insignificant and paltry? We hear of their common faith, that is, of their agreement with the church on all vital and essential topics; and this, in opposition to the bigots within the establishment, we heartily accord to the great majority of the dissenters in both parts of the island. But if they agree in all that is essential, what is the character of the topics on which they differ? There can be no other reply to this, than that they must be the non-essentials of Christianity—the *nugæ triviales* if not the *nugæ difficiles* of doctrine or government—the caprices, or whimsical peculiarities, in which, through the very wantonness of freedom in this land of perfect toleration, men have chosen to besport themselves, and so broken forth into their parti-coloured varieties; each having a creed, or rather I would say (for substantially speaking nine-tenths of the people in Britain have all the same creed,) each having a costume and a designation of their own. Meanwhile, if of the four, five, or six denominations it be granted—which we do most cordially, such being the character of their variations—that mainly and substantially speaking they all of them are right—The government, after having done what was theologically right in rejecting Popery, would still be theologically right in transferring the endowment of the national church to any one of these denominations. And if theologically right in fixing upon some one, then on another ground—that is, for the sake of the territorial principle, with all its mighty benefits to the population, it would be fiscally or economically right in keeping by that one. We see no way of escaping from this conclusion, but by unchristianizing the Church of England; or the bigots without the establishment becoming as outrageous in their way, as are those bigots within the establishment who would unchristianize the dissenters. Enough for government, that it has taken a scriptural church into its service; and vindication enough for its not taking more, that its work can be better done by one such servant than by several. To the remonstrance of the excluded sects, Why, when we differ so little, do you not take us in? it may well be replied, Why, when you differ so little, do you keep yourselves out? Truly it is not for government to make the adjustment here; nor is there another way of bringing the adjustment about, but by means of a larger intelligence and a larger charity both in the church and among the sectaries themselves.

10. We trust it is now palpable—that whereas, in proportion to the nearness which obtains between the endowed church and the unendowed sectaries, it has been thought all the more difficult to justify the selection of the one and exclusion of all the rest, it in very truth is all the other way. Let us overlook for a moment their circumstantial peculiarities, and grant them to be all equally well fitted for tutoring the families of our population in the lessons of a sound and scriptural Christianity—the government theologically could not be wrong in adopting any one of them for the national establishment; but government fiscally and economically would be wrong in thus adopting more than one—for it would embarrass thereby the operation of the territorial principle, and so endanger the great object of a universal Christian education. If you tell me of twenty sectaries, that they are all very near right—this is just telling me that government, in having taken one of these into its employment for the services of a national church, is not very far wrong. You may thus reduce it to a question of insignificance which of them it shall be—while there is no insignificance, but the weightiest and most momentous of all national interests involved, in some one or other of them having this distinction conferred on it. Government, after having made the preference, and so standing acquitted of the greatest duty it owes to the commonwealth, leaves the whole charge of insignificance and folly to rest upon those who, for the sake of paltry and insignificant differences, will thus quarrel and fall out among themselves.

11. It is no purpose of ours to wound the feelings of our dissenting brethren, whose services in the cause of our common Christianity cannot be too highly estimated. It is true that we venerate the Church of England as a Christian church; but, so far therefore from laying a stigma on the sectaries, there are several, and these comprising a very large majority of the Non-conformists throughout England, who, in our apprehension, are so near in theology to the Establishment, that, for ourselves, we cannot make out a principle in any of the differences on which they continue to stand without its pale. Yet we refuse not the credit of principle to themselves; and not because we hold them in error, but because we desire an effective Christian surveillance for all the families in the nation—which can never be accomplished without the responsibility and the charge being laid, not on the ministers of all, but on the ministers only of some one, and that at the same time a scriptural and right denomination:

—it is on this account, and on this account alone, that we contend for the endowment of one and of one only. On this subject we are altogether at one with the dissenters of a former age, as Baxter and many others, who would have felt the abandonment of a national support for the clergy to have been a national abandonment of Christianity; and who, without ever once dreaming of such a support for themselves, demanded no more, and would have been fully satisfied with liberty and toleration.

12. I will not relinquish the hope of a consummation to all these differences; and that some high achievement of charity, a great and noble sacrifice at the shrine of true Christian patriotism, is still awaiting us. When once the habit of the Christian world is to think more on their articles of agreement, and less on their articles of difference; or, in other words, when they come to think more on that which is great, and less on that which is little—when principles on the one hand, and points on the other, shall hold their just relative proportion and place in the estimations of men—then will the gravitating power which unites bodies to a common centre, prevail over the repulsions which are almost all associated with the now rapidly fading, and we trust soon to be forgotten, wrongs of former generations. When once the Church of England shall have come down from all that is transcendental or mysterious in her pretensions; and, quitting the plea of her apostolical derivation, shall rest more upon that wherein the real greatness of her strength lies—the purity of her doctrines—her deeds of high prowess and championship in the battles of the faith—the noble contributions which have been rendered by her scholars and her sons to that Christian literature which is at once the glory and the defence of Protestantism—the ready-made apparatus of her churches and parishes—the unbroken hold which, as an establishment, she still retains on the mass of society—and her unforfeited possessory right to be reckoned and deferred to as an establishment still—When these, the true elements of her legitimacy and her power, come to be better understood; in that proportion will she be recognised as the great standard and rallying-post for all those who would unite their efforts and their sacrifices in that mighty cause, the object of which is to send throughout our families, in more plentiful supply, those waters of life which can alone avail for the healing of the nation. But the best and highest sacrifice of all were by the Dissenters of England, those representatives and descendants of the excellent ones of the earth

—the Owens, and Flavels, and Howes, and Baxters, and Henrys of a bygone age—who rejoiced to hear of all the Christianity which there was in the Church, and to see all which the Church did, if but done for the Christian good of the people. We speak not of the sin of schism, of which we have sometimes heard in language far too strong for any sympathy or even comprehension of ours. But we speak of the blessings of unity; and we confess how greatly more it is endeared to us since made to perceive that, only by an undivided church, only by the ministers of one denomination, can a community be out and out pervaded, or a territory be filled up and thoroughly overtaken with the lessons of the gospel. Tell, whether it is of greater consequence that minor differences be upholden, or that the universal Christian education of our families shall be provided for. But, in truth, these minor differences may coexist with the operations of an effective establishment. We want not to overbear the consciences of dissenters; but, if possible, disarm their hostility to an institute, of which we honestly believe that its overthrow were tantamount to the surrender, in its great bulk and body, of the Christianity of our nation.

13. The question which has so long engaged us, is not one of justice between sect and sect; but, of a far higher character than this, a question of justice to the population. It is ever to be deplored, when a greater question is transmuted into a lesser; and the moral interests of the community should thus be suspended on the adjustment of a matter which affects but the personal feeling or the secular advantage of some one or more orders of ecclesiastics. It is thus, we fear, that the great boon of a parochial system of education has been so long withheld from the people of England. Is it right, or seemly, that the difficulties of a harmonious settlement between Churchmen and Dissenters should stand in the way of a great national blessing to the families of the working classes? We trust that the legislature is now awakening to the truth, that no popular education can be of avail for the wellbeing of the community, which is not based upon religion. And then on the question of, What religion? we have not to speak over again the argument of principle which leads to the preference of Protestantism over Popery. And neither should we have to repeat that other argument, not of principle but of convenience and effect, which leads to the selection of one denomination of Protestantism, and not to the employment of all, for the territorial charge, whether of the

Sabbath or week-day education of the people. In as far as parochial schools are laid under an ecclesiastical superintendence, it should be the superintendence of the ministers of the ecclesiastical establishment—while open to all the population. In Scotland there is little or no resistance to this arrangement; and, while there is enough of jealousy and adverse feeling between the Church and the sectaries, there is, on the whole, a general and practical acquiescence in our scholastic economy. Our schools have been the nurseries of Christianity; but not that we are aware, have they ever been complained of as giving an undue advantage to the Established Church—nor, although it be the general practice of our Dissenters to send their children to these parish seminaries, have we ever heard them spoken of as the nurseries of a proselytism that was all on one side, while injurious to every other denomination. Must religion, on the one hand, be excluded from education for the sake of harmony; or must education, on the other, be kept in abeyance for the sake of those minor differences, which separate the Church, and at least nine-tenths of the Protestant sectaries from each other? Let us hope that Christian philanthropy will prevail over all these difficulties; and that we shall soon have a sufficiently thick-set establishment of schools for the families of England—Protestant, in deference to the high behests of principle and truth—Parochial, and therefore connected with the Church,—that education, as well as religion, might have the full benefit of the territorial principle. The attempt to harmonize Catholics with Protestants in a common habit of attendance on unscriptural schools, and that in the vain hope of a great moral regeneration to ensue from the experiment, proceeds on an entire reversal of the apostolic order—it is an attempt to be first peaceable, and then pure. The attempt to harmonize the Churchmen with the Dissenters of England, in a common habit of attendance on schools where the theology of the Establishment is taught, is in the direct footsteps of that order—it being “first pure, and then peaceable.”

CHURCH EXTENSION.

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PREFACE.

WE preface this Treatise by a brief sketch of Church Extension in Scotland until 1840.

At its commencement in 1834, there had only been added 66 unendowed places of worship during the whole of the past and present century. These generally were built at the expense of their respective congregations, who, so long as the original cost was unpaid, had to defray the interest of the debt in the form of a higher seat-rent.

The benefit of the new erections from 1834 is that they are raised by gratuitous subscription, so as that their expense forms no charge on the seat-rent, which, in virtue of being somewhat lower than before, admits of a lower descent, among a more destitute and hitherto neglected population.

It is obvious that we shall not by this expedient alone be enabled to overtake all or even the greater part of our outcast families. Beside the want of churches, there is a distinct and additional and withal most urgent want, which, even on the supposition that the architecture of all the fabrics were completed, would continue unprovided for. Our great aim in these gratuitous erections is, that the people may, *pro tanto*, be relieved of the price they should otherwise be compelled to pay for their church accommodation—yet the whole amount of this relief, averagely speaking, would not exceed one shilling on each individual sitting, leaving still, in the maintenance of the clergyman and other annual expenses, the necessity of a rent far too high and heavy for the circumstances of the general population. After that we have overcome one obstacle by the erection of a church in any given neighbourhood, we feel as if brought into nearer contact with another and more formidable obstacle which

stands behind it ; and that till this is removed, we have scarcely made any sensible advance towards the great end of a universal Christian education for the common people. What we aim at is not accommodation only, but cheap accommodation—so cheap as to congregate the lower orders in the house of God, not by individuals only, but to congregate them in families, that the men of handicraft and hard labour, instead of being scarcely, as now, in circumstances for attending singly, may be enabled to possess themselves of whole pews, both for themselves and for their children. We shall never be able to achieve this while the produce of the seat-rents forms the only fund out of which to support the clergyman ; and unless this be helped at least from some other quarter than the means of the people themselves, we despair of ever conducting our Establishment back again to that state of efficiency which it had in other days, when it found its way into the bosom of every household, and opened its solemn assemblies to all the population. To provide churches is but the commencement of our enterprise, the first and I would say the shortest step towards a full and right accommodation for the working classes of society. The next and greatest step is to relieve the people of the annual charges which are necessarily attendant on the service of the churches. The first, we hope, may be done by private exertion. For the second we look to the more powerful hand of a Christian and paternal government—a government that will regard the prevention of disorder and crime as an object worthier of its price, than is the punishment of these ; or rather that looks upon the spread of intelligence and virtue among the people as the highest aim of true patriotism, and altogether worthy of the fostering care of the rulers of the commonwealth.

When conducting our investigation into the wants of any given neighbourhood, we, in addition to the two questions generally put, and which are confined to the two elements of the population and the church-room, made further inquiries, both as to the distance of large bodies of householders from their places of worship ; and, most important of all, in its application to large towns, the proportion in given localities between the number of the people and the number of seat-holders among them *of all denominations*, in and out of the Establishment. With these two articles of information, we are enabled effectually to expose the egregious fallacy of those who reason against the extension of our church, because of superfluous church-room or unlet sit-

tings, whether in the Establishment or among the Dissenters. For, first, when the people are too distant from church, it is of no earthly consequence to be told that there is superfluous accommodation twenty miles off from them. Theirs at least is a case of unambiguous necessity; and we are not so ravenously set on more churches as to desire the erection of one in any particular instance, save when the real and practical destitution of the families in that, as in every other instance, is clearly and unequivocally made out. And, in like manner, when in some plebeian district of a town we have ascertained that there are but a hundred seat-holders *of all denominations* among a thousand people, we hold it an empty consolation to be told of the pews unrented and the pews unoccupied, whether in the churches or meeting-houses of its own immediate vicinity. We shall find in every example of such a melancholy disproportion between the number of people and the number of church-goers, that there is the operation of one or other or both of these two causes—first, a higher seat-rent than is suited to the circumstances of the families; and, secondly, a want, due in most cases to the impossibility, of an adequate pastoral superintendence. The number of people who should go to a place of worship, yet go nowhere, does not indicate the number, be it great or small, of sittings which have been provided, or the amount of good that in this way has been done for the families. But it distinctly indicates, what alone is of importance to our object, the amount of good that has been left undone; and which, we add, will never be accomplished while the two causes now specified remain in operation. In other words, we shall never make head against the accumulating profligacy and irreligion of our cities, but with seat-rents low enough for the admission of the working classes; and with parishes small enough to allow a thorough visitation of each assigned locality by the minister and his coadjutors in the eldership, whose frequent assiduities may at length earn for them a moral ascendancy over the now alienated families—being, on the one hand, the very facilities which it is the great design of an establishment to provide; and, on the other, the very forces which a territorial establishment alone can bring to bear upon them. These household surveys form the best weapons by which to fight the question of a religious establishment, and to carry it. They, in the first instance, give now ample demonstration of the impotency of the voluntary system, which, after having put forth its unfettered energies for several generations, has left

in every town of greatly increased population the vast majority of the working classes unprovided for. Let us hope that, afterwards, they will, in consequence of our well-filled plebeian churches, these unfailing accompaniments of our well-cultivated districts, give alike ample demonstration of the efficiency of an Establishment.

We have already said, that, by our scheme of Church Extension, the work is partitioned between the church or country, and the government—the former party providing the fabrics; the latter solicited, and we hope at length prevailed upon, to grant an endowment for the maintenance of the clergymen. There is a disposition, we fear too prevalent, on the part even of the Church's best friends, to do nothing for her extension until they see what government is to do. This we hold, both in respect of principle and of sound policy, to be a sad inversion of the right process. At this rate it were altogether at the decision of any Government, however careless or contemptuous of religion it might be, whether the measures of the Church for advancing the kingdom and the gospel of Jesus Christ, should be permitted to go forward or have an arrest laid upon them. Hers is the sacred, the paramount duty, and no earthly power can cancel it, to preach the gospel to every creature, or to be instant, in season and out of season, that the means should be provided of so preaching it. This is the undoubted principle of the question; and as it will ever be found in the long-run, that sound principle and sound policy are at one, so in regard to the present case, we can have no doubt, that if the Church, in the first instance, will do all they can, government in the second will do all they ought. Every new erection is, *pro tanto*, a contribution to the great object, and we repeat that the multiplication of these will prove the patent way to the endowment of them. If the Church will but do what she might, the cause must gather in strength and in public support every day, and, in the momentum of its progress, will carry the general mind of society, and with this will carry the government, then relieved of perplexity, along with it. Let us even hope that the enemies of the Church will abate of their virulence; nor can we look upon the approximations that are now making, without reading in them the symptoms of that great consummation when men who are now at one in their theology, or at one in their doctrine, will become one in communion and in spirit also. Would to Heaven, that in the establishment of a universal concord, these warring elements were at length har-

monized,—and that the church, comprehensive of all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, were, under the fostering countenance of a Christian and paternal government which cared for these things, enabled to give of her lessons to the poorest of the land, and so to deal forth the bread of life to all the population.

But it is easier to calculate the way of a planet in the firmament, than of a particle of water when borne downward in a running stream, or set adrift among the waves and currents of the restless ocean. This arises from the greater complexity as well as uncertainty of the forces which are concerned in the one movement than in the other; and it is of importance to remark that, in attempting to calculate the events and the movements which take place in the moral world, we feel ourselves more placed among the difficulties of the former than of the latter investigation, owing to the innumerable and unseen forces which operate throughout the mass of human society. This is nowhere so forcibly exemplified as in the busy metropolis, that awful vortex, where the passions and the prejudices, and the various partisanships of a whole empire are concentrated, and form into an eddying whirl in which alike both rulers and subjects seem as if borne helplessly along. Nothing can be fancied more baffling to all human prescience than the future and final results of this mighty agitation—this conflict of many men and many minds, with the countless diversity of views and interests and feelings by which they are actuated. But it should at once humble and comfort us to recollect that, while so little can be foreseen by man, all is foreseen and directed by God—whose promise and whose prophecy it is, that the indestructible Church of Christ, like the ark borne aloft in safety and triumph among the waters of the deluge, will survive all the storms which might be raised for its overthrow. But the prophecies which have come down to us from heaven do not supersede, they ought to guide and to stimulate, the prayers which ascend to it from earth. There are difficulties which no human wisdom can surmount; but there are none from which we might not find a refuge in the confidence and in the exercises of piety. He who is Governor among the nations—He who stilleth the tumults of the people—He in whose hand the heart of the king is as rivers of water, and He turneth it whithersoever He will—He who reigns paramount in the moral as in the material universe—can, in virtue of His sovereign command over the springs of a mechanism to

us inscrutable, make all things work together for good to those who love and who trust in Him.

In the first year of Church Extension in Scotland, or from May 1834 to May 1835, the sums raised both local and general exceeded £60,000. In the second year the revenue fell to about £32,000. This did not discourage us, for we counted on the effect that might arise from the subsidence of novelty. And at all events, our hopes could not fail to be recovered by the result of the third year, which enabled us to report to the Assembly of 1837 an income for the preceding twelvemonth of £59,311, 6s.; and a total subscription of £159,997, 0s., 5½d. from the commencement of the scheme.

This statement of facts ought to silence the contemptuous imputation that has sometimes been preferred against us, as if ours too were one of this age's passing novelties—a fond and sanguine dream of enthusiasm—one of those magical illusions which charm the eye of the public for a season, but at length would, at the bidding of wise and sober experience, be consigned, with the other splendid deceits which have gone before it, to its own place in the land of Utopia. If this, indeed, be a vain enterprise, there are yet no symptoms of its speedy dissipation. Were it but one of the follies or the phantoms of an idle speculation, the men of our shrewd utilitarian age would by this time have found it out; nor would they continue to give, and to give so increasingly, in support of it. A mere imagination would not have called forth such costly and substantial offerings; and to our mind it enhances this conclusion, when we look to the superiority of the local over the general contributions in support of our cause. It is not to a magnificent and high-sounding generality that our countrymen are doing all this homage. With the great majority of our subscribers it is not even the good of the nation which is present to their thoughts, but the good of their own little vicinity, all whose wants and whose statistics have been thoroughly ascertained. It is not for Church Extension in Scotland that their liberality is drawn out, but for a church in their own destitute village, or in the city district of some few plebeian streets, teeming with the families of a heretofore neglected population. In other words, it is not any seducing or sublime generalization which operates on the fancies of these men; it is a near and besetting reality at their very doors, which has operated so powerfully on their senses; and what they give is given under the impression of a practical acknowledged specific and home-felt necessity, that

forces itself on their distinct and daily observation. It is true that our cause has now attained a national magnitude, and earned a place for itself in the councils and in the deliberations of the empire. But this result universal has only been come at, first by a laborious verification, and then by a summation of particulars. If we now carry along with us the voice of the kingdom, it is the fruit of anterior and hard-won achievements, done separately and in detail, in so many of our parishes. The philanthropy for which we plead is based on materials as solid as is the experimental philosophy of modern times. We have not descended from any hypothetical or *a priori* altitude, and then gone forth with a detail of marvels among the people; but we have collected the findings of the people from all quarters of the land, and, reducing these to one summary expression, we can now tell the legislature of a nation's wants and a nation's prayers—not the utterance of a hasty excogitation, but of a patient progressive and piece-meal experience. Ours is not the enterprise of rash and romantic projectors, but throughout of firm staple; and, accredited by the substantial testimonies, and still more by the substantial offerings of a Christian public, it holds no common quality with the visions of an extravagant imagination; nor does it seek being indebted for one footstep of its progress, either to the impulse of a popular mania, or to the jugglery of a name.

But here a question may be interposed. We draw on the benevolence of the public for the erection of these churches. Why not draw on the same benevolence for the endowment of them also? Why obtrude on government an application for the latter object, any more than for the former? We have appealed to the generosity of individuals for one of these objects; why not make an appeal to them for both, or press on our rulers that Extension of the Church, which ought to be provided for in all its parts, by the free-will offerings of the good and the wealthy within its own bosom?

To this we reply, *First*, that it is in defect of the aid of government on whom the obligation lies of providing all which is necessary for the Christian instruction of the people, that we now call for the contributions of private individuals—*Secondly*, that, even though individual benevolence could achieve the whole, the necessary independence of the clergyman might be impaired, were his support to be devolved upon this quarter—*Thirdly*, but that there is a limit to the efforts of Christian philanthropy,

hitherto far short of even a very sensible fraction of what is requisite for the thorough accomplishment of the object,—and, *Fourthly*, that in admitting the charities of the well-disposed to a share in this great work, we select the object which makes these far more prolific and available, when we propose for them the erection of new churches rather than their endowment; for here lies the distinction between the two cases—between the erection of new churches for which we are now soliciting their aid, and the endowment of them, for which we make application to the government. It is a great and grievous miscalculation that, because the erection of the churches may be accomplished by the free-will offerings of private liberality, these should also suffice for the endowment of them. There is an entire disparity between these two objects, which, if attended to, will explain how it is, that, while the united generousities of a neighbourhood may achieve the one, they should utterly fall short of the other. In the case of a building, there is speedily realized a full and definite and satisfactory return for the sums which have been raised. There is the whole money's worth for the whole money given—a something which at once pleases the eye, and interests the fancy, and presents an adequate result to the mind, in a visible product of tasteful and stately architecture, standing forth in the character of a public good, and dignifying or giving additional importance to the locality within which it has been reared. There are no such influences at play to stimulate the subscription for an endowment. We cannot in this way build up a capital for an annual interest as the only immediate return; and still less can we secure (though by one great impulse we may have succeeded in raising the church) by a repetition of impulses, the regular payment of an adequate yearly allowance for the clergyman—difficult, as it is ever found, so to sustain the zeal of subscribers; and naturally averse, as all people are, to an obligation that might continue during their lives, and might descend as a burden to their children. It is here that we solicit the helping hand of the State; and entreat of our rulers that they will provide an income for those functionaries whose office it is to preach the gospel to the poor, and be the moral guardians of the families in those districts which are respectively assigned to them. And while it is our unalterable persuasion, that a sacred duty lies on a Christian government to provide for the religious instruction of the people, we cannot forbear also to refer to the fact, that

churches for the mass of the community, and comprehensive of all classes, have never been adequately provided in any land, but on the strength of an endowment from without: and we have to add, that should government withhold this important aid from us, we have the melancholy prospect before us, that many of the new churches already raised will in a great measure fail in accomplishing the particular object in view; and that very many of the moral wastes on which we have not yet entered, both in our crowded cities and remote country parishes, must be left without an effort to reclaim them.

For these several functions of private individuals on the one hand and of government on the other—for the method of apportioning the good work between them—and that often by the erection of a church by the former, and the endowment of it by the latter, we beg to adduce the examples both of Scotland and England, which will abundantly vindicate our present doings, and more especially the present aim of the Assembly to provide the erection of new churches by the liberality of the people, and the endowment of them by the State. It will be found on a diligent study of what has been done in other days, that there is a very remarkable consonancy between the Church Extension Scheme on the one hand, and on the other, the spirit and views of the legislation that is to be met with on the subject, in the statute books both of Scotland and England; and also the practice of these two countries in former times, when the deficiency of either establishment had to be provided for. Though the erection as well as the endowment of all the parishes as they subsisted in Scotland three years ago, has been happily legalized; yet in many of the parishes when originally constituted, we find that the first church was built by the parishioners, and the endowment of it provided by the State. For in considering the history of the changes that have taken place in parochial establishments, we shall perceive that, almost invariably, the first of the objects above enumerated, to wit, the erection of new places of worship, has been accomplished by the people themselves belonging to the parishes; and that the second requisite of an ecclesiastical establishment, the endowment of the minister, has generally fallen to the public or to the State to make good. It will be found indeed on an examination of the statutes, both those relating to Scotland exclusively, and those relating to England and Wales, “that the constitutional means for supplying the defect have been considered to be a parliamentary grant of public

money in aid of the voluntary contributions of individuals; that in former times these contributions have only been expected from persons interested in or connected with the particular district or parish where the want was felt; and that the kind of assistance very frequently given by individuals in this end of the island, has been the erection of the fabric of the church, leaving the endowment to be otherwise provided for."

In every complex question there is great danger of being hurried or betrayed into a wrong judgment, and that by mere inadvertency to some one or other of the various elements which enter into the composition of it. And to no subject is this observation more applicable, than to the Extension of a National or Established Church; and that whether it be argued as a question of abstract reasoning, or it be looked to in the actual history of those steps and expedients by which it is carried forward.

The great argument on the side of a legal or national provision for the Christian education of the people, is, that, if left to their own spontaneous movements, they will neither erect a sufficient number of churches, nor provide the maintenance of a sufficient number of clergymen for themselves. Now, what applies to a whole people before that a religious establishment has begun, applies also to a part of the people, even that part which is left without the limits of an inadequate establishment, or of one too small to overtake all the families of the land. This surplus or outfield population will hold forth as ample a proof for the impotency of the Voluntary system, as did the whole of the original population, before that a National Church was provided for them. They will neither provide enough of places of worship, nor support enough of Christian ministers to serve in them; and so present a fearful mass of irreligion and crime to the view of observers. The argument for the extension of the National Church in behalf of these, is identical with the argument for the establishment of such a Church at all; and those professed friends of the Church of Scotland, who yet are hostile to its extension, will be put, we should imagine, to no small difficulty, if ever called upon to vindicate the existence of it.

It is well known that, acting as an organ of the public liberality, we have only yet undertaken to provide for one object of a National Establishment. They have given such assistance as they could afford towards the erection of places of worship; but in no instance have they contributed to the maintenance of

the clergyman. Had they been fully able to overtake both, then without aid or co-operation from any other quarter, might they have looked forward to the time, when by the contributions of the benevolent alone, the Church might have been adequately extended, so as to meet the exigencies of all our population. But we only attempt a fraction of the work ; and the consequence is, that we can only find our way to a fraction of the now unprovided families. Had we been able to do all, we might by this time have held forth the gospel to all, without money and without price. But we have only lessened somewhat the money and the price which worshippers must pay for the services of religion. We may have opened the gate of ordinances to poorer than before, but we have not yet reached the poorest of the poor ; and long before our destitution is fully overtaken, we, if obliged to continue our efforts to the requisite architecture alone, must at last be arrested at a barrier beyond which we cannot penetrate.

We have never affirmed the utter powerlessness of the Voluntary principle, and more especially when it assumes the form of voluntary liberality. There was room allowed, nay even great room and encouragement given to it under the Jewish dispensation, when, over and above the levies and the tithes, the people added their free-will offerings. And in our modern day, we are not aware of any Established Church within the limits of Christendom, that has altogether rejected this aid ; as in Roman Catholic countries, notwithstanding the greater sufficiency in general of their endowments ; and even in the Church of England, where, in the shape of fees and offerings to their clergymen and of parish rates for the maintenance and tasteful adornment of their churches, the spontaneous generosity of the contributors frequently goes beyond the strict necessity of the legal ordination. Perhaps in Scotland there has been a greater, and more sensitive repugnance felt to this mixture of the voluntary with the established and the legal, than in any other land. Yet we must not forget the rock from whence we have been hewn, or shut our eyes to the undeniable historical truth, that to voluntary liberality the Protestant Church of Scotland owes its existence. It is true that the fathers of our glorious emancipation from Popery never lost sight of the Church's patrimonial endowments, or ceased to reclaim against the violence and injustice of those nobles, by whose unprincipled rapacity it was that they were withheld for years from their rightful object, the Christian education of our families. Yet for the achievement of this great end, for the re-

storation of the property and rights of the Church, or, which is tantamount to this, for the restoration of the dearest rights and interests of the people, they disdained not the aid of voluntary liberality, which, in their hands, proved the great instrument of moral compulsion, by which not to set aside a religious Establishment, but by which to secure and carry one. The narrow controversialists of the present day, who have only space in their understandings for half a subject, would make the one of these elements utterly destructive of the other—would, on the one hand, refuse to take one footstep of the voluntary movement, because not in the style and not comporting with the dignity of a regular and endowed church; or, on the other hand, because our forefathers laboured, and with such signal effect, to recover the establishment of a National Church, and by means of spontaneous liberality, we their posterity should, they think, make their means our end, and contrive to do without an Establishment altogether. It is fortunate for the moral history of Scotland, that the men of other days could both combine and could discriminate. They knew that what was not fit for a landing-place, might yet be fit for a stepping-stone; and so Knox and his followers, when bereft of the legal provision, threw themselves on the liberalities of the people: and it was the powerful voice of their numerous and faithful congregations, under the guidance and intelligence of their pastors, which forced from the reluctant government of that period at least a partial restoration of the Church's rifled patrimony. It is our part to unite the zeal with the wisdom of these men, that the Church, which to them owes its existence, may from us receive that extension which, disguise it as we may, has now become indispensable for the safe transmission of it into the hands of our children's children.*

It will be seen, that with our new churches we have reached a good way farther down among the destitute of our people than they ever did, or possibly could have done, by means of the old chapels. It has happened with us according to a universal law in political economy. Along with a cheapening of the

* We read in Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, that at a meeting in Dunfermline, David Ferguson, the oldest minister of the Church, rose and gave an account of the first planting of the Reformed Church in Scotland. "He was one of six individuals, he said, who engaged in that work, when the name of stipend was unknown, when they had to encounter the united opposition of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and could scarcely reckon on the countenance and support of any person of note and worldly estimation; yet they firmly and fearlessly persevered, and Providence crowned their labours with success." Vol. ii. pp. 59, 60.

goods, there has been a widening of the market. We have found our way to poorer customers than before; but unless the goods be still further cheapened, by what in commerce is termed a bounty, and in Christianity is termed an endowment, we shall inevitably stop short, before we can find our way to the great mass and majority of the unprovided population. Otherwise, it is in vain to erect fabrics in behalf of those, who either will not or cannot provide a scanty maintenance for the clergymen who might fill them. It is thus that the further we proceed in our operations, we come into view of a destitution and a helplessness still more aggravated than any that we have had yet to deal with. We have traversed a larger space than we could have imagined to be at all practicable, in the brief period of about five years from the commencement of our proceedings; but there is a far larger ulterior space, which remains to be entered, and on the greater part of which we shall never be able to plant a single footstep without help for the maintenance of the clergyman, as well as help for the erection of a sacred edifice, in which he might deal forth the bread of life, among a people now perishing for lack of knowledge. Therefore it is, that at every new footstep of our progress, the appeals for aid which we cannot answer become more frequent and more painfully impressive than before. The numerous urgencies on all hands to which we are exposed, experimentally tell the need of a Religious Establishment, each new call louder than before, and carrying in it a fresh demonstration of the impotency of Voluntaryism.

Meanwhile, it is satisfactory to believe, that the highway to our ultimate success is just a perseverance on the part of the Church in the way that they begun and have continued hitherto. As yet we have proceeded, not on the maxim that the public should do all, neither on the maxim that the government must do all; but we have all long attempted a composition of both. As in the best days of the Old Testament; and we may add as in the times when piety most flourished in the Church of Scotland, and that too while there was the greatest deficiency both of places of worship and of ministers in the land—the want, we know on the clearest historical demonstration, was repaired, not from one or other of these sources exclusively, but from the benevolence of individuals conjoined with a bounty from the State. And at this moment it must be perfectly obvious, that these two, instead of conflicting, are conspiring forces. It is to the magnitude of our previous efforts, that we owe all our pre-

sent influence with public and parliamentary men on this great question. It is the number of our new churches, as demonstrative of the sacrifices made to raise them, which affords the most authentic test and exhibition, both of the destitution under which we labour, and of our desire to have it removed. Now, these are the very elements which operate with greatest effect on the rulers of a free nation; or, in other words, it is our architecture that will prove the stepping-stone to our endowments—it is through the medium of the country that the government will be carried.

Nothing, therefore, could be imagined that would prove more ruinous to our great enterprise, than to suspend all further operations, till we see what government were to do for us. If we suspend our operations, government will infallibly suspend their resolutions in our favour. Though it be the undoubted duty of government to provide for the religious education of the people, there is too much reason to fear, that no Administration will propose a grant for the endowment of our new churches, without a strong and previously expressed desire for such a measure on the part of the community at large. Now, the number of these churches forms the best criterion by which to estimate both the strength and the prevalence of this desire. In proportion as our undertaking for new churches approaches to a magnitude that is national, will our demand for a provision to their new clergy have in it the character and force of a national cry. In very proportion that we multiply our erections in the country, shall we multiply our friends and our votes in the parliament. It is thus that each additional fabric becomes an additional guarantee for our ultimate success. As with the first establishment, so in fact with the subsequent extension of all National Churches. It was the number of congregations spread over the whole territory, which led to the one; and it is the number of congregations, more or less matured, spread over the surplus or unprovided territory, which forms the likeliest step to the accomplishment of the other also.

The following is a statement of the leading facts of Church Extension during the last five years:—

In 1835 there were reported	62 churches, and	£65,626	1	11½
— 1836	26 ditto	32,359	12	5½
— 1837	67 ditto	59,311	6	0
— 1838	32 ditto	48,683	1	4½
And now in 1839 we announce	14 ditto	25,959	14	9½
<hr/>				
Making in all.....201 churches, and £231,939				
16 8				

They who know the *rationale* of our process, will know how to interpret the fact of the declension which has taken place last year, and understand it as a result which ought to have been looked for, first, without any abatement, but rather an increase in the urgency of the demand for more churches; and, secondly, without any abatement, but an increase, too, in the interest felt by all classes of society in Scotland, for the furtherance and final accomplishment of our great cause.

First, there is no abatement, but the contrary, in the urgency of the demand. By the very moderate computation of the royal commissioners, there were 40,000 individuals, who ought to be church-goers, within the limits of the presbytery of Edinburgh, unprovided with the means of religious instruction; and for these, nine new churches have been or are to be erected, leaving more than thirty congregations which still remain to be gathered from destitute and desert places in and about the metropolis of Scotland. By the computation of the same honourable body, alike moderate, for certainly as much within the truth as the former, there are upwards of 60,000 human beings in Glasgow living in the habit of estrangement from the ordinances of religion, and for whom only fifteen new churches have yet been overtaken; so that in that country and neighbourhood, with a population increasing at the fearful rate of 8000 in the year, there still remain materials for no less than fifty additional congregations. We will not affirm that there is the same proportional deficiency all over Scotland; but we state it as our confident persuasion, that though much has been already done, it does not amount to one-half of what is still undone, or in other words, we shall not complete our part of the undertaking, which is the mere architecture of Church Extension, without a doubly greater amount of liberality than has yet been expended, and that on edifices alone.

But it is not of the mass of this remaining destitution that we have alone to speak. It is of the degree and quality of the destitution, as being of a far more helpless and aggravated character than any which we have yet had to encounter. By every step in advance, or at every fresh descent that we make on the churchless territory of Scotland, we come into engagement with poorer and more wretched localities than before. We have already traversed the whole of that practicable border, or, by another mode of conceiving it, have already made full penetration through that uppermost layer of the heathenism of our land, in

which the people, with the moderate aid of 25 per cent., have managed to make out the remaining expense, and complete the building of places of worship for themselves. But we have now come into communication with the people next in order on the scale of increasing poverty, and not only destitute, but friendless, from whom we have little or nothing to look for in the sufficiency of their own resources, and who, less favoured than many of their neighbours, have no wealthy and generous supporters of what is good connected with them, either by residence or property, who might patronize their local subscription, and help it forward by their munificence, to the state in which it might be presented for the stated allowances of the General Committee. They cannot afford so much as 75 per cent. for the building of a church, and we cannot afford more than 25 per cent. to carry them onward in this undertaking; and so, unless enabled to give more liberally than at that rate which hitherto has kept us in a state of perpetual exhaustion, they and we must for ever abide at an impracticable distance from each other; and so, again, at the very time that the calls of destitution have become more urgent and imploring, we are removed by a wider gulf of separation from the possibility of relieving it. It is, indeed, a most striking experimental verification of every doctrine which we have advocated on the necessity of a provision *ab extra*, ere the people of any land can be adequately supplied with the ministrations of the gospel; or, in other words, on the good of a National Establishment to overspread, both with churches and schools, the whole extent of that territory which, apart from this, and with all the powers both of Voluntaryism within and of Voluntaryism without, has never yet been overtaken. If we fail in our practical object, we shall, at least, have the melancholy satisfaction of reading our own lesson on the moral waste which lies before us, in more vivid and discernible characters than ever; and, if brought to a dead stand, with neither the increased liberality of the Christian public, nor the helping hand of Government to carry us forward, this very result, while the disappointment of all our hopes, will be to us the confirmation of all our principles.

But, secondly, and notwithstanding the comparatively smaller progress made last year, both in our funds and our churches, we have the satisfaction of being able to demonstrate, that, as this does not proceed from any abatement in the demand, or in the felt necessity for more places of worship, so neither does it proceed from any abatement of zeal, or exertion on the part of the Chris-

tian public, for the advancement of this great cause. There might have been an apparent pause, and that, too, at the very moment when the destitution first came into sight, of a more clamant and helpless description than heretofore we had been in the habit of relieving,—just as the cry of distress, while it arouses the painfulest sympathy of all its hearers, might, at the same time, chill them into inaction, when it either betokens so extreme a wretchedness, or seems to issue from a quarter so inaccessible, as to be beyond the reach of its possible alleviation. Fortunately, in the course of last year, we have been enabled to apply a discriminating test, by which to ascertain whether the decline of our prosperity arose from the sensibility in our favour becoming extinct, or from that sensibility being only in abeyance, till some practicable opening was presented for the development of whatever force or feeling might yet remain to it. On revealing the difficulties of our scheme to him who, from the first, has been its most munificent supporter, Mr. William Campbell of Glasgow, practised in business, and with a sagacity in devising liberal things only equalled by the open-heartedness which prompts and actuates him onwards to the noblest sacrifices, and leaves us at a loss whether most to admire the largeness of his benefactions or the largeness of his views,—this truly patriotic friend of the Church of Scotland has suggested a plan which, now that it has been put, though as yet very partially, into operation, bids fair, if only prosecuted with sufficient energy, to bring our enterprise into its desired haven. The proposal is, “to contribute at the rate of £1 or more for each of the 100 new churches, not begun to be built previous to the publication of the Assembly’s Church Extension Report of 1838; or for any smaller number of new churches which subscribers may choose to fix upon.” This proposal has been adopted, and, with certain explanations, has been presented under the sanction of their recommendation to the public at large. It has been extensively circulated throughout the Church, and, though not one-tenth of the exertion has yet been made which might easily, and with a little co-operation in various parts of the country, be put forth, and that most beneficially and productively, in behalf of this Supplementary Fund, it has met with so ready an approval in every quarter where it has yet been prosecuted, that, in the shape of contributions to this scheme, we can report the addition of no less than £27,000 to the other revenue for Church Extension in Scotland. This, added to the sums formerly exhibited,

makes out the total revenue of last year to be £52,959, 14s. 9³/₄d., and the grand total of revenue since the commencement of the scheme to be £258,939, 16s. 8d. From this deduct an overstatement of £7500 assigned by the Report of a former year to the building of a new Gaelic church in Glasgow on the mistaken supposition that it was an *additional* church, and there remains for the whole revenue of five years the sum of £251,439, 16s. 8d.

This princely offering to our cause, which we have no doubt might, with a certain degree of countenance, and a certain contribution of agency from the Church's friends, be easily tripled in the course of a few months, not only opens a patent way for the fulfilment of our part of the undertaking, which is the erection of all the necessary fabrics, but affords so impressive a demonstration of the resolute and unquelled spirit of Church Extension in Scotland, as must tell most efficiently on the mind of parliament in our favour. There is a peculiar character in the offerings to the Supplementary Fund, which does not belong to the contributions which have been received hitherto. These were chiefly rendered to us in the shape of local subscriptions, having for their object the palpable or immediate good of one's own family or one's own neighbourhood, and meeting with its almost present reward in the speedy ascent of a graceful structure near at hand, and within the daily observation of his senses. But the object of the Supplementary Fund is general and indiscriminate for the whole of Scotland, and its benefits will principally be felt in those remote and destitute localities which have hitherto escaped the eye of observation. In other words, the donors of these magnificent sums have cast them into our treasury not under the impulse of any special affection, but in obedience, let us hope, to the calm and unimpassioned dictate of Christian charity, and holding no common quality whatever with the influences either of sense or selfishness. The thing has been done by the force of an enduring principle, not of a fickle or a fugitive emotion; and we confess our more steadfast assurance than heretofore in the perpetuity of our great undertaking, and at length its prosperous consummation, when, apart from the operation of every partial or accidental stimulus, apart from the charm of any local distinction or local benefit, we behold so noble a response on the part of the people of Scotland to the catholic lesson of doing good unto all men—a lesson eternal and unchangeable as the gospel itself, and, so long as the unction of the Holy One is

in the midst of us, that anointing which remaineth with the people of God, a lesson which can never be forgotten, and the felt authority of which will never die.

We are quite sensible that, while thus expatiating on the bright prosperity of these doings, and on the confidence we feel in the sufficiency of public benevolence for the erection of all our churches, we stand exposed to the question,—Why not trust to the same benevolence for the endowment of them also? and have even been reproached for the impolicy of gathering and exhibiting such proofs of the efficacy of the Voluntary principle, as might absolve the government from all further part or concern in the undertaking, and justify our rulers for the determination on which they have acted from the commencement of our present undertaking, of leaving us to ourselves. This objection can only be entertained by such as have had no intimate experience, and expended little or no reflection on the subject. Experimentally, we can raise money for the fabrics,—we cannot raise it for aught like a secure or permanent endowment. Among the two hundred belonging to Church Extension, we have only succeeded in obtaining the endowment of about four or five; and that, save in one, or at most, in two instances, not a complete, but a partial maintenance for the clergyman. And the actual finding of human nature in the present day is in beautiful accordance with the facts of history, both sacred and secular, in past times,—with the rearing of the tabernacle, and the repairs of the temple, and the erection of synagogues, being done by the free-will offerings of the people, and yet a large and liberal provision for their ecclesiastics, coeval with the first settlement of the Hebrew nation in the land of Canaan,—more recently with the disjunction of parishes both in England and Scotland, which, as admirably set forth by Mr. Monypenny, was carried into effect by the erection of a church on the part of the parishioners, by the endowment of it on the part of the State. The sound practical view of the matter is this: Our architecture, so far from acting as a repellent, will be the very instrument in our hands by which to invite and secure the endowment we are seeking for. They will be the conductors by which to bring down this virtue or this boon from the upper regions of our political hemisphere; and if only enough multiplied on the platform of the community below, their united force will by a moral law as surely evoke this dispensation from the high court of Parliament, as by physical law a church spire, when sufficiently raised above the earth, can ef-

fectuate the discharge of electricity from the heavens. Our places of worship, these undoubted signals both of a felt necessity and of an urgent desire on the part of the constituencies of Scotland, will at length command, first the notice, and then the support of our Scottish representatives. We may have had misgivings as to the likelihood of such a consummation, when, moving every year through a medium of greater density and resistance, we had, because of the impediment already explained, to report both a lessening revenue and a lessening number of additional settlements on that dreary field of irreligion and ignorance which has not yet been one-third overtaken. But now that by a plan so felicitous in the conception, and so practicable in the execution of it, this impediment has at length been cleared away; and the Supplementary Fund, which has already reached, and that on the strength of a few isolated efforts, the sum of £27,000, but capable of being raised, we confidently affirm, by dint of a little more co-operation, to £100,000 in the course of the following year, will then be available for the erection of churches in districts which have as yet been helplessly beyond the reach of your Committee,—a demonstration so magnificent as this, such a resolute and unquelled spirit of Christian philanthropy, rising superior to difficulties, and, for the achievement of a conquest over them, breaking forth into noble acts and sacrifices of generosity all over the land,—before a principle so commanding in itself, and leading to a result so truly patriotic as that of a universal Christian education, any rulers, and of whatever party or denomination in the state, must finally give way, and when at length ashamed of all further resistance, through the medium of the country embarked in a cause so glorious, and fully resolved on its accomplishment, the government will be carried.

SECTION I.

ON THE RIGHT ECCLESIASTICAL ECONOMY OF A LARGE TOWN.

1. THE duties of a clergyman are either *ministerial* or *pastoral*. We shall proceed on this division throughout the following pages—only employing other terms for designating the two separate branches of it, which, though not fully, nor with perfect

accuracy, corresponding to the terms which we have just used, are more convenient for the purposes of our argument. We shall therefore speak not of the ministerial and pastoral, but of the *pulpit* and *household* duties of a clergyman.

2. The first step in the analysis of our subject, is to view the former class of duties in a state of entire separation from the other. We may conceive of our clergymen that they preach, but do nothing more, at least ecclesiastically do nothing more—in which case we might have pulpit ministrations in all forms and varieties of excellence, but with an utter want of household ministrations. And this, so far from a hypothetical imagination, comes perhaps the nearest, or, at least, approximates very much to the way in which matters are actually conducted in many of our large towns, which should make it all the more interesting to trace or to assign the effect on the state and habit of their aggregate populations.

3. In the first place, preaching, the proclamation of the gospel,* is the great appointed mean for turning men into Christians. Were I asked to determine and declare the chief place of a minister's usefulness, in spite of all my value for household and parochial services, I should still say it was the pulpit. To the preparation of his Sabbath discourses, all his other duties and the arrangements of his time ought to be made subservient. This is his main work; and to whatever extent he may have succeeded on the Sunday in subduing the reason and the consciences of his people under him, to that extent will he have acquired a mastery which shall last him through the week, will he have earned the confidence and respect of one having authority. It is not the mere difference of station alone which explains the difference in point of command and moral sovereignty among the families, between a revered parish clergyman on the one hand, and the parish missionary, however faithful and friendly and devoted his assiduities may have been, on the other. It may be difficult to explain; but certain it is, that the man whom we hear habitually in public on the solemn seventh day, with a felt response in our own heart, and amid the sympathies of an impressed and listening congregation, bears in his person a weight and an ascendancy which no other can attain to; and it gives to his personal attentions a tenfold influence over that of other men. However high, then, the value which may be assigned to week-day ministra-

* Τὸ κηρύγμα τοῦ λόγου.

tions, it all the more emphatically tells in favour of Sabbath ministrations—seeing that they are the latter which impart so much of their strength and efficacy to the former. But the virtue is reciprocal; for if the one act with prosperous operation and effect upon the other, certain it is that the other reacts most beneficially and powerfully back again.

4. Now, in our large towns, we have the ministerial service without the pastoral; and we all know what a loose and precarious connexion between ministers and people this has given rise to. It forms a most imperfect spiritual husbandry—just as much so as if in natural husbandry the whole of the agriculture were confined to the mere casting of the seed upon the ground, without any preparation of the soil before, without any inquiry or care about the progress of the vegetation afterwards, although the rains of heaven, which easily might have been drained off, should destroy the rising crop, or the fowls of the air, which might have been easily scared away, should devour it. The scanty and uncertain produce from such mere scatterings as these, will represent the scanty and uncertain produce of all our city sermons. There has been little or no preparation of the soil for them beforehand, in a rising generation trained by religious schooling, or taught in the bosom of well-ordered families; and no surveillance, whether by the pastor or his associates, afterwards, as in those good old days when it was not thought enough that ministers should preach, but that elders should “seek the fruit of it among the people,”—armed with authority enough to put down those moral nuisances which multiply now without check and without control on every side of us. There is a wide, and, under the present system of things, an impracticable gulf of separation between the clergyman and the families of his territorial charge; and even should his church, Sabbath after Sabbath, be filled to an overflow by people not his own, he, on the one hand, can take no adequate weekly cognizance of them—nor, on the other, can he do aught to stem or make head against that practical heathenism, which is taking deeper root, and every year becoming more inveterate and hopeless within the limits of his own peculiar vineyard. Let the patronage be as righteous as it may, there is not a city-population that will not rapidly degenerate under the regimen of well-served pulpits and ill-served parishes. The word that is sounded forth may be carried far and wide, as by the four winds of heaven, and even descending here and there upon individual consciences, may cause that the town shall not be spread, but, if

I may use the expression, be spotted with Christianity; just as in savage islands, where, with the distribution, such as it is, of the vegetable family under the random play and operation of nature's elements, still we might behold occasional tufts of richest luxuriance, or surpassing loveliness and verdure—yet the island after all is a howling desert; the town after all is a moral wilderness.

5. So much for the pulpit without the household duties of the clergyman. But these household duties admit of a most important subdivision, or rather might be classified into two species or modifications, the distinction between which we should like fully and clearly to impress on the understandings of our readers. It is a distinction big with principle and big with effect; and, could we only succeed in causing it to be thoroughly appreciated, we should not despair of overcoming the fearful inertness of the public mind to the fearful destitution of our city families. And there is no difficulty in comprehending the subject to which we now invite the notice of the community—once their thoughts were fairly engaged in it. Our only barrier (*so obstinate, however, as to be well-nigh insuperable*) is the initial difficulty of gaining their attention to it; or of creating in their minds any interest about a matter which lies beyond the range of their habitual sympathies and habitual contemplations. Yet great as the difficulty is of fixing the public attention upon this theme, and discouraging as our experience has been of the exceeding obtuseness of men's minds to its worth and magnitude, the cause is vastly too important to be given up in despair. At all events, let us once more lift up a testimony; and its voice perchance may not be altogether the voice of one crying in a wilderness. The many, in all likelihood, may turn a deaf and disregardful ear away from it. But a few may listen, and if led to comprehend the reason of our distempered ecclesiastical state, they will be led to perceive the remedy; and perhaps to press onward for the adoption of it. In this hope we recur again to the distinction we have just intimated. To our own mind, it has all the properties of a cipher in the way of explanation—serving to unlock, as it were, and unravel a secret which lay concealed among the intricacies of a mechanism that had not been previously studied or explored. The distinction we shall now state, though aware of its utter insignificance in the eyes of merely secular men—whether in the walks of business, or politics, or general science. It is a distinction between one kind of the clergyman's household duties and another; where, as in other examples of classification,

each kind may be expressed by affixing the specific term which is peculiarly characteristic of itself to that generic term which denotes the common quality of both. The one species, then, comprehends the *household congregational*; the other the *household parochial* duties of the clergyman.

6. For an example of the household congregational, as distinct from the household parochial duties, we refer to the dissenting minister both in town and country. He has a congregation, but not a parish. His hearers lie scattered in all directions and at all distances, without any tie of juxtaposition either to him or among themselves. It is this which makes the week-day attentions of the minister peculiarly laborious, and must of necessity deduct from the amount of them. The household visits, the family examinations, the due attendance on the sick, the disconsolate, and the dying, must be limited by the very amount of the locomotion that is necessary to perform them. And there can be little or no abridgment of this labour by the grouping of contiguous families into one common assemblage for one common and general address—as the established minister may do, whether in the lanes or alleys of a town, or in the hamlets of a country parish. From these various causes the household duties of the dissenting minister can seldom be fully or satisfactorily overtaken; and nothing so reduces one to inaction as the despairing sense of a task so oppressive and operose as to have become impracticable. When there exists an invincible barrier in the way of doing all that we would, it often discourages even from doing all that we can. And, accordingly, it has often been alleged of dissenters, that, with all the zeal and talent of their pulpit services, there exists a grievous defect in their household ministrations; a peculiarity, however, owing, we believe, to no defect of principle, but to the real difficulty of their position. And there are noble examples amongst them of unquenched and unconquerable energy, by which even this difficulty has been made head against—as by my venerable friend, Ebenezer Brown of Inverkeithing, whose unwearied assiduities for about half a century have done much to sustain the Christianity of his neighbourhood, and to keep alive the sense and the savour of what is good among its families. He perhaps is not fully aware how much more effectual his labours might have been, had they been concentrated on a given territory, every house of which he could have entered with the freedom and authority of a parish minister. One like unto him in devotedness and worth, one of the excellent ones of the earth,

good Philip Henry, has left upon this subject a precious testimony. He had the advantage of Mr. Brown, in that he had personal experience on both sides of the question ; and when driven by the tyranny of the times to the outfields of nonconformity, he often sighed for the reinstatement of himself in a situation where he might again enjoy the benefits of "parish order." Without this order, it is little known how inadequate, how powerless, all the efforts of human strength and human wisdom must ever prove to the effect of leavening a population with Christianity. At the most it will be a sprinkling, not an infusion. There will be a few scattered particles of pure farina in the heap,—a family here and there in which the melodies of sacredness are heard, amidst a stupendous and ever-growing mass of profligacy and heathenism.

7. We have already considered the effect of pulpit duties by themselves, when unaccompanied with the household—let us now take the opportunity of considering the effect, when the household duties of the clergyman are performed by themselves, and to families who, from some cause or other, while they have the benefit of his week-day, have not, at the same time, the benefit of his Sabbath ministrations. Let us conceive (for we have very seldom an opportunity of observing it) the case of a minister plying his daily rounds among the contiguous families of a parish, to very few if any of whom he preaches on the Sabbath. It is not in blame of the clergyman that we affirm such a case to be seldom realized ; for, generally speaking, the circumstances under which he is placed preclude its possibility. He, in the first instance, preaches to very few of his parishioners ; because, unfortunately, he has no parochial congregation to preach to. Like his brother of the dissent, his congregation, from causes to be afterwards explained, is made up of hearers from all parts, without regard either to distance or locality. He is in the worst possible circumstances for entering on the work of parochial cultivation, already burdened with a task subject to the various difficulties that we have just insisted on ; and, after all, as if to aggravate his sense of hopelessness and of exhaustion to the uttermost, found to be impracticable. We cannot imagine a worse preparation for entering with freshness and vigour on a new task, than to have expended one's strength, or to be still expending it, on an old one, that never can be fully or satisfactorily overtaken. And, accordingly, there are many Edinburgh ministers who have never attempted any systematic operation upon their parishes, and yet, notwithstanding, are among the hardest-working

men I know anywhere. Their time and strength throughout the week are absorbed in duties, although the duty of ministering from house to house be seldom or never one of them. The truth is, that, when the parish and the congregation are not coincident, the minister who gives himself to the performance of household duties at all, is under the strongest temptation to attempt the household congregational, rather than the household parochial—to visit the man who is his hearer, though not his parishioner, rather than the man who is his parishioner, but not his hearer—the family, whose acquaintance he, through the means of his Sabbath ministrations, may be said to have already made, rather than the family whose acquaintance he has yet to make. It is the more inviting, and more natural movement, to enter upon an expectant household, where parents and children unite in one common recognition of the clergyman who addresses them every week from the pulpit, than to enter on a household of strangers, where there is no such recognition to prepare the way for him. And the influence which restrains him at the first, overhangs him ever afterwards; growing every year, in fact, as his engagements multiply, and his attachments become stronger to the members of his own congregation, and therefore detaining him with all the more hard and hopeless necessity from the inhabitants of his own parish, which, exiled from his attentions during the whole of his incumbency, remains a *terra incognita*, peopled by families of aliens.

8. Suppose, however, the clergyman to break his way through all these obstructions, and to resolve on a thorough territorial cultivation of his parish. He ought, in this case, to lay his account with the entire abandonment of his general, or extra-parochial hearers, upon week-days. But suppose that, upon the principle of sacrificing the lesser duty to the greater, he commits this violence on his old habits and attachments, and gives himself forthwith to the busy cultivation of his own parish families—not only making his regular yearly rounds amongst all the households, without the omission of one, save when they shut the door against him,* but holding himself in readiness to at-

* On the strength of all our experience we affirm, that this would not happen in the proportion of anything equal to one instance in the hundred. On the contrary, the whole of this ministerial progress, and more especially among the deep and densely peopled recesses of a plebeian parish, would be brightened at every footstep by the unbounded welcome and cordiality of the families. What a patent way is before us for a great and almost instant amelioration, if men would but open their eyes, and relax in the obstinacy of their prejudices!

tend every funeral—to wait upon every dying bed—to seize upon each case of recovery from dangerous illness, as his golden opportunity for plying the conscience with lessons of seriousness—in every tenement which he enters to engage, as far as in him lay, the confidence and regard of children, taking the state of their education into his special cognizance and care—to be frequent at every seminary within his bounds, and by his presence there direct, and as much as possible, Christianize its scholarship—to have periodic meetings with the various agencies of his parish, whether they be elders, or deacons, or Sabbath teachers,—and, in short, to concentrate all his spare energies within that geographical vineyard, which he is henceforth to make the proper and exclusive field of all that labour, which, after the work of Sabbath preparation, and the hours or days of needful recreation or rest, he can possibly bestow upon it. We have no doubt that, on these terms, a new minister, entering on a new-formed parish, disembarassed, therefore, from a general congregation, and who had a church altogether to fill, would operate with prodigious effect on the families among whom he thus expatiated. But he who is a minister already, and who, instead of beginning *de novo*, merely changes the system of his operations, is in very different circumstances. His general congregation hangs like a millstone about him. He preaches to one set on the Sabbath; he visits another set through the week. It may be difficult to make an unprofessional reader comprehend the evil of such a disjunction. But so it is. Let the clergyman attempt, as he may, to ply in such a parish all the assiduities of a pastor—he is not their minister, and he is struck with impotency because of it. He goes among them bereft of all that sacredness and spiritual might, wherewith Sabbath associations, and these alone, can invest him. His visits will at all times be taken with perfect kindness; but they will want that certain unction and accompanying power, which no man can wield, save he who speaks with energy to their consciences from the pulpit, who baptizes their children, and at whose hands they receive the holy sacrament. His general congregation may be said to have divested him of all these elements of authority in his parish. His presence in their houses will at all times be welcome; but, wanting the full authority of religion, it will be tenfold less influential. Superficial and contemptuous men will ascribe the efficacy of that undoubted charm, which lies in the conjunction of the ministerial with the pastoral, to the mere influence of the priestly office over

the *popular imagination*. But it is seated a great deal deeper in our moral nature than this ; and is in no way to be likened to one of the caprices or fleeting forms of a delusive superstition. It has a stable and an unchangeable hold on what may be termed one of the fixtures of the human constitution. Its hold is upon the conscience ; and he who, by his impressive demonstrations on the seventh day, hath achieved a conquest over this faculty in any of his hearers, hath subordinated to himself the whole man ; and needs only superadd to the fidelity of his pulpit the friendliness of his household ministrations, that, by the united power of truth and charity, he may acquire over the hearts of his hearers the likeliest influence of any, that is ever to arise in an aggregate of human beings, for building up, whether in the crowded city, or in the remote and sequestered parish, a community of virtuous and well-ordered families.*

9. Now conceive of this bland, and beneficent, and withal powerfully moral influence, that, instead of being dissipated and lost, by its being scattered into shreds and insensible fragments over the whole city and neighbourhood, it is recalled and concentrated over the contiguous households of one definite and manageable portion of it. I wish that I could adequately impress on the mind even of the considerate reader, (the careless reader is out of the question,) the mighty moral change that hinges on

* The disadvantage under which household visits are performed among families who are not hearers, will at once explain and excuse the separation that has taken place, under the system of general congregations, between city clergymen and their respective parishes. The week-day exercises by the clergyman among those who hear him on the Sabbath, are so much more prosperous and satisfactory than the same week-day exercises among those who do not hear him, that we are not to wonder at the preference given to the former ; and once this preference is acted on, once the minister embarks on a system of household ministrations among the members of an extra-parochial congregation, there is a limit both to time and strength, and anything like a system of parochial assiduities becomes henceforth hopeless and impracticable.

I may here take the liberty of observing, that in Glasgow my own congregation, with the exception of about a hundred hearers, was extra-parochial ; that I nevertheless, in the performance of family and household work, gave the preference to my parish ; that I had the distinct feeling, however, of the great disadvantage under which I laboured, in consequence of these parishioners not being my hearers also ; that, to overcome this, as far as I could, a Sunday evening sermon was instituted for their special behoof : and that a tenfold greater influence within the locality was the palpable and almost immediate effect of it. If the good of such a conjunction was so sensibly experienced in a parish of 10,000 people, what may we not anticipate in the way of all moral and economical reform, were a city clergyman but permitted to concentrate all his efforts on a contiguous population of about two thousand, to the great bulk of whom he stood in the relation, at the same time, both of minister and pastor ?

this merely external and mechanical one—this new marshalling, as it were, of our ecclesiastical forces—this simple amendment in the tactics and disposition of our city clergymen. But I ought not to speak of it as an innovation; for, in truth, the present loosened relation between our churches and their corresponding parishes, is a grievous departure from the wiser and better system of the olden time. We shall not yet point out the methods by which it may be practically and gradually restored to us; but we ask the reader to imagine its effect if fully reinstated in any section whatever, and more especially in any poor and plebeian section of the city population. Just fancy the condition to be realized, (and it is a condition to which I shall undertake the showing, that we have it in our power to approximate indefinitely,) of a clergyman, with his well-filled church, whose hearers are all, or nearly all, his parishioners; and with his moderate parish, whose parishioners of church-going age are all, or nearly all, nay to a bare majority, or even but a considerable fraction, his hearers also. Under such an arrangement there would be facilities afforded, and influences brought into play, which, in the present general and fortuitous economy of things, have no existence whatever. Let the residence of the minister be close on his assigned territory, and, if possible, within its limits; let him proceed on the understanding, that he has mainly, if not exclusively, to do with his parochial families; let him, by his frequent re-appearance in the midst of them, become the object of their frequent recognition, and so, at length, after the lapse of not many months, the personal acquaintance of a goodly number, if not of all, of his people; let this acquaintance ripen into grateful and confiding friendship, as his attentions have time to multiply, and his daily errands of Christian benevolence to their homes have at last forced a way for him to the hearts of the occupiers; let him by his habitual part in the christenings, and the burials, and the school examinations, and above all, at the sick and dying beds in the parish, implicate the very idea of his person, and utterance of his name, with the strongest instincts and affinities of each domestic circle that he has ever gladdened by his presence; and, most important circumstance of any, let it be imagined, that these parishioners with whom he thus mingles through the week, are the hearers whom he addresses on the Sabbath, and so let him go forth amongst them, with the conjunct power, made by their very union tenfold more effective than either would be apart—and who does not see the very high position

which such a man occupies for wielding a moral ascendancy over the population of whom he is, at one and the same time, both the minister and the pastor? And it may be difficult to explain (but it is not the less real on that account) the prodigious virtue which lies in its being not a scattered, but a compact and contiguous population—in consequence of which the direct influence which passes between the clergyman and his people, is mightily aided by the sympathy of a common feeling, and a common interest among themselves. As the matter stands, juxta-position forms no security whatever for acquaintanceship—inso much that the members of distinct households might live for years under the same roof, unknowing and unknown to each other. We know of no expedient better fitted to overcome this alienation, to annihilate this moral distance between our contiguous families, and more especially in the plebeian quarters of the town, than the re-establishment of this local, or strictly parochial system, in the midst of them. Let next-door neighbours be supplied with one common object of reverence and regard, in the clergyman who treats them alike as members of the same parochial family; let his church be the place of common repair upon the Sabbaths; let his sermon, which told the same things to all, suggest the common topics, on which the similarly impressed might enter into conversations, that begin and strengthen more and more the friendship between them; let the intimacies of the parish children be formed and ripened together at the same school—these all help as cementing influences by which to bind this aggregate of human beings into one community, and with a speed and certainty now by many inconceivable, to set up a village or domestic economy, even in the heart of a crowded metropolis. It will at once be seen, with what force and celerity this consummation would be hastened forward by the movements of a clergyman, who, in the cultivation of his parochial domain, that home-walk of his daily and delightful labours, would have countless opportunities of grouping together the inmates of every little vicinity; and who, in their very relation to himself as a common centre, would come to recognise and to feel the affinity of a certain mutual relationship to each other. And here, perhaps, that reciprocal influence will be better understood, by which the week-day attentions of the minister to his parish are sure to be followed up, when there is room and opportunity, by the Sabbath attendance of the people upon his church. If he have but obtained an initial footing of this sort in his parish, the example will spread,—passing,

as if by infection, from one neighbour to another ; and he, reaping the fruit of his perseverance as a house-going minister, in yearly accessions to himself of a church-going people. If he will only bind himself to them as his people, they will at length bind themselves to him as their minister. The collective voice, the collective habit of the parish will be upon his side, till attendance upon their own parish church, and their own parish minister, will come at last to be recognised and acted on, as one of the established proprieties of the vicinage with which he has to do. It was so in Edinburgh and the other towns of Scotland for many years after the commencement of Presbytery ; and had it not been for the mighty increase of population left unprovided with any corresponding increase of churches or clergymen, along with the sacrifice that was afterwards made of every parochial principle or privilege in the matter of seat-letting, we might still have beheld in our city parishes, the spectacle of so many unbroken masses, with the habit of Sabbath attendance on their own legal place of worship, in full vigour and operation among the families. It is difficult to imagine, indeed, how, under such a system of local surveillance headed by the minister, and powerfully seconded by the auxiliaries of an eldership, each looking after, and with no very oppressive and formidable labour, the state of his own manageable district,—it is difficult, we say, to imagine how, under an economy like this, the families of our working classes, at all times alive to the observation and moral suasion of their superiors, could in any sensible numbers have fallen away from the habits and the decencies of their forefathers ; and, far more, how the present frightful degeneracy and disease should have ever taken place, breaking out into the frequent and ever-enlarging spots of a foul leprosy, till at length we have spaces in many a town, and most distinctly in our own, comprehensive of whole streets, nay, of whole parishes, in a general state of paganism. An entire disruption has taken place between the people and their minister,—they never at his church, he seldom or never in their houses. We speak not of those public nuisances, those haunts of open and declared profligacy, wherewith the town is infested, and which it is for the civil authorities to put down ; but we speak of the deep and dense irreligion, which, like the apathy of a mortification or paralysis, has stolen imperceptibly on the great bulk of our plebeian families ; and which, under a rightly-sustained parochial regimen, the mild, but effective sway of parochial authorities, could never have taken place.

10. The causes of this woful departure from the good old way of our forefathers, we shall attempt afterwards to expound,—satisfied if, at present, we have succeeded in giving some idea of what we hold to be the right ecclesiastical arrangement for a great town. It lies in the restoration of that parochial system, under which ministers might concentrate all their week-day labours on the houses of their own local and assigned territory; and people, with a preference for its sittings on easy terms, might repair to their own church, so that the congregational and the parochial shall, as far as possible, be reduced to one and the same family, under the guidance and guardianship of one and the same spiritual head. In this way, the united influences of the ministerial and the pastoral, or of the pulpit and household duties, are conjoined, not only on the same people, but, what is of capital importance, on the people of the same locality,—who, in virtue of being operated on through the week by the same recognised and respected functionary, both in separate families and in contiguous groups of families, are brought under the powerful influence of those social or gregarious principles in our nature, which, with all the force and certainty of a moral epidemic, will impress upon them the same habit, and lead them as if by one common impulse, to one and the same general observation. In other words, it needs but the assiduities of the clergyman, and of his various office-bearers, to secure at length the general observation of church-going; or give to the people a general direction, on the Sabbath, to that house of prayer, whence there emanates upon them, through the week, the manna of so many precious attentions, grateful to their hearts for the kindness which prompts them, and felt all the more profoundly from the sacredness of their object,—linked, as it is, with the best and highest interest of themselves, and of all who are dearest to them. A population cannot long withstand an influence like this, if only kept up amongst them with sustained and busy perseverance; and with all the greater speed and certainty will they infallibly give way, in that they are a local or contiguous population. Such is the prolific virtue that lies in the mere principle of juxtaposition. Eighteen ministers in Edinburgh, though only of average talent and zeal, if each acting with concentration and effect on his own appropriate vineyard, would possess in each the power to wield a tenfold greater ascendancy for good, than the same number, even though of the most gigantic abilities, on the present chaotic and chance-medley system of

general congregations, under which the clergyman wears out a fortuitous and floundering existence,—lost and bewildered among the thousand random urgencies of his miscellaneous and ill-assorted task, a task completely irreducible to order, and of which he can see no issue in any definite or satisfactory accomplishment.

11. The goodly arrangement on which we have insisted requires three conditions for the fulfilment of it; first, that the pulpit and household duties of the clergyman shall be conjoined on one and the same people; secondly, that the people shall live contiguously together in one and the same locality or parish; and, thirdly, that the parish shall be of such moderate population as to admit of being thoroughly cultivated, both ministerially and pastorally. The last of these three conditions is often treated of vaguely and indeterminately, and so with the effect of imparting a certain vagueness to the reasonings which are employed on this subject. And yet we hold that there is a certain and an assignable limit, capable of being stated with numerical precision, beyond which the population of a parish becomes excessive; so that every addition thenceforth to the families, if not provided for by larger ecclesiastical means, causes a distinct moral injury to the parish. In fact, the attentive reader will have already perceived that the two first conditions determine the third one; but, for the sake of the important ecclesiastical principle which this question involves, we shall attempt a fuller explanation.

12. The question, it will be understood, is not how small the population of a parish ought to be, but how large it ought not to be. In regard to the former question, it were hardly possible to avoid its being pronounced upon vaguely and variably. A devoted clergyman could operate with fuller effect, and a greater Christian benefit to each family of his charge, if he were engaged with only a thousand instead of fifteen hundred people. My excellent friend, the Rev. Charles Bridges,* of Old Newton, Suffolk, finds, I am sure, most ample occupation among those six hundred people whom he may be said to have domesticated into one parochial family; and, were it not for his still more important services to the Christian church at large, would show by his incessant labours, how possible it were to make out a most beneficial expenditure of all his strength and all his time amongst them. There can be no doubt that two diligent and

* Author of a precious commentary on the 119th Psalm; of a book on the Christian Ministry, that cannot be too much read by students of divinity and clergymen; and of that interesting religious biography, the life of Miss Graham.

devoted clergymen would render a greater amount of Christian good among twelve hundred people than one clergyman only : or, in other words, that a parish of this population might be advantageously broken into two. And it were difficult to say how far down the sub-division might be beneficially carried. In that direction the question is an indeterminate one. And it is of less consequence, as in this age, not of increase, but of reductions, we are not called upon to determine it. In these days, there is no practical necessity for assigning or setting up a limit to guard against the evil of our having too many clergymen. But the spirit of our times demands that the limit should be distinctly and convincingly pointed out against the evil of having too few clergymen. In that direction, fortunately, the question is determinate.

13. We have already attempted to show how insignificant, in point of effect, the household ministrations of a clergyman are, when not backed by the impression of his pulpit ministrations ; or rather, with what tenfold efficacy a clergyman labours among the people when the two are compounded together. Or, in other words, the population among whom he labours through the week should not exceed beyond a certain proportion the population whom he can make, with average strength and exertion, to hear him on the Sabbath. It is thus that, in regulating and defining the proper census for a parish, regard should be had to the average compass of the human voice. This is an obvious and withal a definite principle, leading to a definite arithmetical result. If, on the average, it be enough for a man, engaged to the limit of his strength in the studies and visitations of the week, that he preaches to a thousand hearers on the Sabbath, then the maximum number of his parishioners, or number which ought not to be exceeded, becomes a matter of computation. If the half of every population should be at church, then the whole population corresponding to a thousand hearers should be two thousand ; for beyond this number the full attentions of a clergyman, as comprehensive both of the ministerial and pastoral, come to be impossible. We do not fix on this as the number at which the maximum of good accrues to a parish, but as marking the extreme limit, beyond which, if there be any excess, a most distinct and definable evil would accrue to it. We do not speak of two thousand as the amount to which the population of a parish might be advantageously extended ; but as the amount to which, for the sake of raising a defence against a peculiar and withal powerful and clearly assignable cause of great moral in-

jury, it ought to be confined. For ourselves, we cannot doubt that a much greater amount of Christian and moral good would be effected, by an ecclesiastical system in our cities of well-served parishes, consisting of a thousand each, rather than two thousand; or, assuming a population of two thousand for each parish, by every such parish having two ministers in a collegiate, rather than one only with a single charge. But the question, as we said before, is not how small the parishes, or how great the number of clergymen, ought to be; but how large the parishes, and, consequently, how small the number of clergymen, ought not to be. The problem is, to assign the limit in that direction; and the virtue which we affirm to lie in the conjunction between the pulpit and household duties of the same minister to the same contiguous people, supplies a most intelligible principle for the determination of that limit. Let two thousand be the greatest number that a clergyman can both ministerially and pastorally overtake, and we can state with precision the palpable effect of the addition even of one hundred to this previous population. By the postulatum, he preaches only to a thousand, and, corresponding to this, he can give the full benefit of his pastoral ministrations to two thousand. But to the additional hundred he can do neither the one nor the other. He cannot preach to them; and, should he charge himself with the performance of household duties on their behalf, this not only withdraws a part of his strength from the work of pastoral ministration among the original families, but it subjects him to an expenditure of strength among new families, far less beneficial and productive than before. They are in the condition of his parishioners, but not his hearers; and agreeably to our former explanations, he works with greatly impaired effect amongst them. It is precisely at this limit that he experiences a sensible and sudden reduction of his influence. There is a mischief here done *per saltum*; and then do his parishioners begin to be aliens from that minister who ought to be the Sabbath counsellor and week-day friend of one and all of them. There is a certain assignable point, then, at which the transition is not a gradual one; at which families begin to form into what may be termed an out-field population; at which the parish church refuses to take them in, and, of consequence, the parish minister suffers an instant loss of ascendancy—giving rise in every parochial community to a certain number, greater or less, of moral outcasts, suffered to wander beyond the pale of ecclesiastical surveillance; and we

may add, in the now thoroughly ascertained impotency of the Voluntary system, without any security for an ecclesiastical influence of any sort being brought to bear upon them. It is woful to think that the moment we touch on the limit of a fully-peopled, and pass beyond to the state of an over-peopled parish, this evil is sure to alight on those who are the least able or the least willing to make their escape from it. In a parish, for example, of three thousand people, what class of residents will the thousand belong to who are left out from the benefit of that influence which can only be extended with full effect to two thousand? The ablest to pay for sittings, and the willingest to avail themselves of their parochial privilege, will be the surest to maintain their occupancy in the church, and so to monopolize the best attentions of the clergyman—thereby excluding from the good of an Establishment the most helpless and the most needy, or the very description of families whose moral necessities it is the appropriate object and the highest glory of an Establishment to provide for. It is thus that the excess of a parish frustrates the special design of an Establishment; and, by a strange fatality, inflicts its first and deadliest mischief upon those on account of whose benefit it is that an Establishment is particularly and pre-eminently called for. When a parish becomes excessive, the church might continue full, but a certain number is necessarily left out; and what most cruelly traverses the purpose of an Establishment is, that they who continue are precisely those who might with the greatest safety have been abandoned to the Voluntary system; whereas they who fall off are precisely those whom that system does not reach and never can reclaim. From their want of wealth and their want of will together, they are the first to make room for others in the competitions of an over-peopled parish; and little do they think, who tamper with the question of limits, and make so little of a few hundreds more than the parish church can accommodate, or the parish minister can overtake—little do they think, with what inevitable certainty they are consigning a portion of society to the out-fields of heathenism. By every instance of an over-peopled parish, the good of an Establishment is counteracted in regard to those on whose account an Establishment is most imperiously required. Those families are the first to suffer which stand most in need of it; and so the Establishment is paralyzed, not in regard to a subordinate, but in regard to the most vital and important of its functions. The unprovided surplus of every parish is of that

very description on whom it is most necessary that the aggressive forces of an Establishment should be brought to bear; but who, in virtue of the supersaturation, are the first to recede from this wholesome operation, and the surest to be found at an irreclaimable distance away from it. Never then was there a more grievous paralogism or cross-purpose, than first to have an Establishment, and then to have parishes with so many families beyond the possible reach of its influence,*—an outlandish and degraded caste, having all the lawlessness of gypsies, without their locomotion; living within the parochial boundaries, but all recklessly and at random, because beyond the authority of any parochial regimen; impregnating each neighbourhood with moral disease, and superadding to the numerical mischief of so many worthless households that wide-spread influence, wherewith, by the very contagion of their presence and example, they induce a general relaxation of principle, and deteriorate the whole tone and character of their surrounding society.

14. It was the parochial system, and that alone, which could have retained the bulk of our city population to their primitive habit of attendance on the ordinances of religion; and, *a fortiori*, now that they have fallen away from this habit, it is the parochial system, and that alone, which can recall them. It is only by each clergyman taking special possession of his own parish, and charging himself overhead with one and all of its families, that there can be aught like the working of a general effect upon the population. The measures should be forthwith entered upon, by which he might be enabled as speedily as possible to operate amongst them in the joint capacity of their minister and their pastor, in order that his week-day services might be seconded, or rather made tenfold more effectual, by his Sabbath ministrations. In reference to all the existing parishes this retracing operation must at the best be a very gradual one; but we trust that the few practical explanations which we are now to offer, may convince the reader that there is nothing impracticable, not even difficult, in any single step of the process; and that, there-

* It is first setting up an apparatus, and then removing to an impracticable distance the main object of its erection. The only consistent way of following up the device of an establishment, is to have small enough parishes,—seeing that the principal design, and, indeed, the chief argument for such an institution, is to include within its grasp those very families which in too large parishes are the first and surest to fall away. And accordingly, in the overgrown parishes of cities, out of these families there has necessarily been found a refuse population, which the Establishment, because of its inadequate extension, does not, and which the Voluntary system, because of its inherent feebleness, cannot overtake.

fore, on the whole, the process should not be stigmatized as a Utopian one.

15. It were indeed Utopian to expect of any people who have lapsed into a general habit of non-attendance, that the appetite or demand for the ministrations of the gospel could be created amongst them in a single day. It were in utter violation, therefore, of all the laws and likelihoods of our nature—to think of substituting all at once so many parochial congregations, in place of the existing general congregations. A precipitate and instantaneous dismissal of the latter, in the sanguine hope that they would be replaced *per saltum* by the former, would leave us for years to come with very small and fractional congregations in a great number of our churches. It is not excepting in times of sweeping revolution, that great changes are effected by quick and desultory movements. It is in society as in nature; every great march of improvement is a gradual and pacific one—like the silent motions of the firmament, the insensible but sure progress of the seasons, or any other of those beneficent cycles which take place in the works of creation. But, again, distinction must be made here between the setting up of a machine and the working of it. Time must be allowed ere those effects can be fully realized which we anticipate from the working of it. But no time should be lost in the setting of it up. The regulations should be made now, and the facilities should be ordained now, without which a general never can be transformed into a parochial congregation. After which the transformation will proceed gradually, and it will take years before it is consummated.

16. The first of these regulations is a rigid preference for the sittings to the actual and residing parishioners, at every term of seat-letting—before which the present extra-parochial occupiers must successively give way. But, as we have said already, the growth of this parochial demand must be gradual, and so the dispossession of the actual sitters would be alike gradual. The parochial demand, in fact, would be of more or less rapid growth, just as the ministers attended more or less through the week to the families of their own parishes. Those of them who had a taste for the cordialities of parochial intercourse; and rejoiced in their now growing acquaintance with groups of contiguous householders; and took a delighted interest in their own proper and parochial concerns; and enjoyed that sensation of relief, along with that actual experience of a far more productive beneficence, to which their withdrawal from the bewildering generalities of the

town, and the concentration of their efforts on the manageable institutes of a small manageable section of it, would infallibly give rise—Such of them who had the true spirit of localists, and preferred the certainties as well as charities of a home walk to the perplexities of a chaos, choosing rather to do a few things well, than encounter the fatigues, and at the same time be mortified by the utter fruitlessness of being overwhelmed with many things,—men who would not feel that they had lived in vain, if they had put a new face, and set up a new habit in a parish of two thousand people—Such ministers as these would multiply all the faster their parochial hearers, and earn sooner than the others the superior comfort as well as superior ascendancy which never fail to be the effects of a parochial congregation. Even with them I should hold it a great achievement, if, during the process of transition, they added a hundred parochial sitters to their churches in the year; and, rather than any sudden revolution, I should greatly prefer those full and final developments which are at length arrived at by the stepping-stones of a process that is strictly tentative and experimental.

17. It will be seen at once that there can be no effectual opening to such a process without a general lowering of the seat-rents. My own wish even for the largest towns is, that to the extent of two-thirds of the accommodation in every church, the sittings on the average should not exceed three shillings each. One should like that not only individual seats, but family pews, were accessible to the bulk of the population. It were a most desirable state of matters to bring it within the compass and means of the working classes, that whole seats should be taken by whole households; and that in family groups of worshippers, becoming every year more frequent, there was comprehended a large and ever-increasing proportion of the body of the parish. The hopes of the rising generation stand essentially connected with a growing juvenile attendance on the lessons of Christianity; and, in this view, we know not an object of greater moral importance, than seat-rents sufficiently low for the accommodation of the common people, not in individuals but in families. If two-thirds of every church were afforded at the rate which is now proposed by us, we should object less to a market price for the remaining third; and should rejoice, indeed, on more accounts than one, if this market price were to rise indefinitely—by the humbler classes in every parish availing themselves of their preference to the uttermost, and monopolizing the low-rented

seats so as to make the competition of the higher classes all the more intense for the seats which remain to them. In this way, instead of a conflict as now, there would be a most delightful harmony between the moral prosperity of the town, and the monied prosperity of the corporation.

18. But after all these facilities have been granted, the interesting question remains—What are the likelihoods, that, with the church now open to the bulk of the parochial community, but with that community at present in a state of desuetude and distance from all the ordinances of the gospel—what are the grounds for believing, that a minister with all his activity and zeal will succeed in reclaiming them? We have already, I trust, made it manifest, that in as far as this glorious achievement depends upon human effort, the likeliest and most productive of these efforts is a habitual forthgoing on his part among the habitations of his people. If he go much among them through the week, the unfailing result in time will be, that they shall come much about him on the Sabbath. This is the ligament, and we know not a more important one in the whole mechanism of human society, by which to elevate a degenerate population, and again to place them on that higher moral platform from which they have descended. There is no romance, there is a sober and home-bred reality, in all the steps of this operation. On the very first movements of the clergyman, he will meet with the smiles of encouragement and welcome from every quarter of his parish, with a thousand promises of attendance on his church, many of which in the first instance will not be realized; but, with every month of perseverance in the assiduities of his office, he will find a lessening reluctance on the part of his people, and that even the obstinacy of their practical heathenism is not unconquerable. It will at length give way under the power of his sustained and duteous attentions. Providence will open a door for him, even to the most ruthless of the families; and, implicating his presence with the sicknesses and the deaths and the funerals of every household, he will, on the sheer efficacy of his Christian worth, and with no other engine by which to make his way than Christian kindness, obtain an ascendant over the hearts of his people, only to be won by the omnipotence of charity.

19. The incredulity which prevails in regard to the moral power of the parochial system, is the pure result of inattention to all those lessons which experience gives of our nature. We ask these doubters to reflect on the mighty change, we might term it

the mighty elevation, that would take place on the condition of our plebeian city families, could it be said of every one of them, that they had a Christian minister for their personal acquaintance and their friend. Now, the clergyman who would parochialize, might, without excessive labour, win this honourable and highly influential relation for himself to 500 families. It is not an airy imagination that we speak, it is a sober and every-day experience, when we affirm the immense good that such a man could work in his little kingdom, by the mere efficacy of moral suasion among its inmates and its occupiers. There is no man whose professional business places him on higher vantage-ground, than is possessed by him who marries, and baptizes, and ministers the holy sacrament, and stimulates the education of the young; and speaks home on the Sabbath to the consciences of the very people with whom he companies in the various acts and exercises of Christian beneficence through the week—in readiness at every call of family distress, and through the various organizations of parish schools, and parish library, and local associations of religious philanthropy, and monthly meetings of the agencies, which have been devised by his wisdom and public spirit for the good of his own assigned territory—collecting around him the Christian worth that already exists in it, and propagating a wholesome influence, even to its most hidden recesses, and its heretofore most impregnable strongholds of vice and irreligion. There is no aggregate of human beings that can long withstand the influence of such manifold attentions and applications as these, and certainly none that could stand out for ever against them, if but constantly and determinedly persevered in; and more especially if concentrated by the same man, on the same vineyard of contiguous habitations. We greatly wish that we could make the good of this last circumstance as palpable to the reader as it is of importance in itself—we mean the concentration of all these united influences on the families, one and all, who reside within the same geographical boundaries. The whole gist of our argument lies in the difference it makes to the power and tactics of an ecclesiastical system on cities—whether it shall be a mere system of congregations, or a system of parishes, and so of distinct parochial and territorial managements. Under the one system, the people are left to seek out their own minister, and *so many* seek him out accordingly. Under the other system, the minister is bound to seek out, not so many, but all the people within the limits of his allocated domain; and what we affirm is, that in every large town, with parishes small enough

and ministers many enough, this would create the numerical difference of thousands and tens of thousands in our church-going population, and having their families brought under a moral regimen now unfelt and unknown by the great mass of the commonalty. It is this consideration which makes us so resolute in the cause of keeping up the full number of our clergymen within the city of Edinburgh; and extending, by every possible means, the number without the city, for the benefit of those immense suburbs which have accumulated around it. No popular outcry can dislodge the impression from us, that by consenting to the reduction of our clergymen, we should incur the guilt of a most heinous profanation. In face of all the obloquy which has been heaped upon it, we affirm ours to be a great moral and Christian cause. Our ecclesiastical apparatus might be made greatly more effective; but we can on no principle whatever consent to the abridgment of it. It is capable of receiving a large addition to its force; but cannot admit, without a great moral loss to the community, of any subtraction from its magnitude. In contending for an Established Church, and for the integrity of its endowments, we feel as if embarked on a struggle of pure and high patriotism—believing as we do, that the cause of our venerable Establishment is pre-eminently the cause of the common people.*

20. We have offered a most feeble and inadequate representation of this *great* subject, having come greatly short even of

* We are sensible that many things would need to be added or extended, ere a full exhibition could be made of the parochial system, with all its powers and all its advantages. More particularly, we might have insisted on this distinction, that in the system of general congregations, it is extremely difficult to uphold them undiminished and unimpaired, but by the superior attractiveness of such powerful and extraordinary preaching as can only be found among the few; and hence, when a new general congregation is formed, it is often at the expense of fractional diminutions on all the previous ones. Whereas, to uphold a parochial congregation, nothing more is requisite than such Sabbath and such week-day ministrations, as any man of common intelligence might give, if he have but those principles of Christian worth, and feelings of Christian charity, which, along with industrious habits, are not confined to the few, but found, it is to be hoped, among the many. In other words, the system of general congregations can only be upheld by powers which are rare, whereas the system of parochial congregations is maintained rather by principles which are frequent. And besides, a new parochial congregation is not built up at the expense of previous ones. It is formed out of new materials. The parochial system may be said to create its own customers. It generates a demand commensurate with the supply; and so can be extended, as commerce is, by the opening up of new markets of a certain kind, without injury to any pre-existent interest. The system of general congregations stops at a limit which leaves out the great majority. The parochial system of congregations can be made co-extensive with the wants of the whole population.

our own sense of the worth and magnitude of the cause. We confess ourselves to be most intensely set on the restoration of the true parochial system in our cities ; and that because it bears with such signal effect on the reformation of the common people—that highest object which can be proposed either to the Christian philanthropist or to the patriot. Our hopes we admit to be sanguine ; but we believe them to be solidly founded—because resting, under the blessing of Heaven, on the power of Christian truth, when combined with Christian charity—the one spoken Sabbath after Sabbath by the minister from the pulpit ; the other brought to bear through the week, in a thousand nameless but most endearing attentions, by the same minister on the families of the parish. The man who performs his ready visit at every call of distress, and prays at every dying bed, and ministers at every funeral, gracing and dignifying by his presence each group, however humble, of parochial mourners who assemble to carry a neighbour to his grave,—in one word, who strikes in on every occasion when human hearts are most alive to the charm of sympathy, and most susceptible of a good and a holy impression from the services of religion,—such a man, backed by the sacredness of his character, and having to do at one and the same time both with the feelings and consciences of his people, could not long, if the promises of the gospel and the laws of our nature abide unrepealed—could not long be withstood, even among the most depraved and the most degenerate of families. What Howard experienced of the omnipotence of kindness in the worst of prisons, he would be much surer to experience and exemplify in the worst of parishes ; and at length earn for himself such an ascendancy over the vineyard of his allotted labours as would subordinate the great bulk of its occupiers in willing obedience to his sway. Every thing, we are profoundly sensible, depends, under the operation of the Divine Spirit, everything depends upon the minister ; and a thousand times more upon his moral and Christian than upon his literary qualifications. If he do succeed, it will be the achievement of principle and not of talent, the triumph of Christian and heaven-born worth, and not the triumph of high or heaven-born genius. In a word, our confidence is not in great powers, but in great piety ; and however desirable, when we can find it, to obtain the union of both—yet Heaven, we foresee, will put a most impressive mockery on all our hopes, if, trusting to eloquence or general attraction, we shall prefer the man with these pulpit accomplishments alone to recommend him, to him

who, plying daily and devotedly at his allotted task, is chiefly known among the families as the best friend of themselves and their children, and venerated by all as a man of faith and of prayer.

SECTION II.

CHURCHES AND CHAPELS; OR, THE NECESSITY AND PROPER OBJECT OF AN ENDOWMENT.*

WHATEVER the difference of opinion might be as to the best way of providing for it, I trust that we are all most intently and honestly set on the great object of making our Establishment more commensurate than it is to the moral and religious wants of our increased population. But there is one most essential element overlooked by many, I think by the majority, of those who take an interest in the Chapel question; and that is, the difference in point of efficacy between an Establishment viewed merely as an assemblage or system of congregations, and an Establishment viewed as a system of parishes. Were this matter sufficiently pondered, we should become more sensible to the vast importance of adjusting our measures to the latter, rather than to the former system—the one, that is the parochial, when completed, being, I will venture to say, of tenfold greater efficacy than the other, or congregational, with all the completeness which can possibly be given to it. But ere I enter any further on the work of explanation, I should like it to be distinctly understood, that it is not for the purpose of throwing any obstacle in the way of that ultimate accomplishment, which I trust all of us have most sincerely at heart. My object is to supplement, and not to oppose; not to raise any obstacle, but to suggest a facility, which, if neglected or left behind, instead of being carried along with the arrangement now proposed, will leave it utterly powerless as to the effect of extending the means of Christian education in the land—an arrangement, in fact, which, under the guise of a mighty enlargement to the apparatus of our Church, will leave it in the same state of shortness and deficiency as before, without making one footstep in advance for

* This Section is the substance of a speech delivered before the Presbytery of Edinburgh.

the overtaking of our unprovided commonalty, and under which the same number of families will remain as destitute of the word and ordinances of religion as they are at this moment. What I have to propose ought not to delay the full incorporation of our Chapels with the regular ecclesiastical system of the Church of Scotland. But even though it should for two or three years, I would rather have the thing thoroughly and well done by the end of that time, than that we should plunge and precipitate ourselves into an immediate measure, and, after all, obtain but a semblance of good, without securing its substance or its reality.

What I understand by a merely congregational church is a church attended by hearers from all possible distances, and without regard to the locality in which they reside. There is no geographical relation between the church they go to and the house they live in ; and, apart therefore from the influence of any such relation, they simply go, because on other grounds they have a preference either for the place of worship itself, or for the minister who preaches in it. Here, then, we have an assemblage of people, collected indiscriminately from all quarters ; and we have only to add one circumstance more, in order to complete the representation both of the vast majority of our dissenting chapels, and of very many of our chapels of ease—we mean, that the minister is supported by the contributions of his hearers, whether these contributions are made in the shape of seat rents, or in spontaneous and free-will offerings of any other form. This is a new characteristic ; and some epithet or other is necessary by which it may be characterized. In order to designate the circumstance of the hearers being gathered indiscriminately from all places, and not from within the limits of any special locality, we have called the house they assemble in a congregational place of worship. To designate the circumstance of the chapel being provided, and the minister being supported by the offerings of the congregation, we shall further call it a voluntary place of worship. It is obvious, that for the upholding of such a concern, there must be the concurrence of two distinct elements—a good enough ability, and a good enough disposition, on the part of the hearers, for defraying the expenses thereof ; that is, for building and keeping in repair the fabric in which they assemble, and for some sort of maintenance to the clergyman who there officiates. There must both be a wealth and a will ; and unless these two things meet together, the

establishment of such a chapel need not be attempted, or if attempted, must infallibly turn out to be an abortion and a failure.

Now it is of importance to consider, how, when thus limited, the country will get on; or how, under such a merely congregational and voluntary system, its population will be served with the lessons of Christianity. The first indispensable element to the maintenance of such a congregation, we have already found to be a certain degree of wealth on the part of its members; who either through the medium of high enough seat-rents, or in some other way, must make good the expenses of the concern. But, at this rate, many are the poor and the penniless who will not be overtaken—because beyond the reach, as it were, of a Christianizing operation, when conducted merely on the congregational and voluntary principle. The operation might be on the whole a productive one, if confined to the upper surface of society, and with such means for carrying it forward, as are furnished by the golden seat-rents of the affluent and the noble. It might penetrate even a considerable way through so many of the successive strata; although, at each new descent, it will be found to leave out a greater and a greater number—comprehending, however, some of all degrees, from the highest of our patricians, down to the very lowest of our middling orders, in the shape of master tradesmen, or respectable artisans; but scarcely ever touching, or at least very rarely, and only here and there, any individual of that immense multitude, the children of handicraft and hard labour, who compose the substratum or subsoil of the commonwealth. Here, then, there is a mass of immortality, scarcely if at all entered on—a vast and crowded assemblage of human creatures, poor in outward condition, but rich in the materials of a great spiritual manufacture, and by which the most despised amongst them might be made to undergo the most glorious of all transformations. A Christian, in whose eye the soul of a poor man, on the high scale and standard of eternity, is of equal value to that of a rich, cannot but recoil from the unholy attempt of the destructionists of our day, who would erect their voluntary scheme, not only on the ruins of all that is established, but on the utter ruin and abandonment of the Christian interests of the common people; and, while looking to it in its causes, he simply puts it down as one of the many crudities which are now so rife, of headlong and frenzied innovation—he cannot, with a full view of its consequences, but deprecate and disown it, as he would a most revolting impiety.

But we have said, that along with the wealth to pay for attendance on the ministrations of the gospel, there must also be a will for these ministrations—so that unless the wealth and the will go together, the attendance must decline. And, accordingly, even where there is a wealth, if the will be wanting, this melancholy consequence may be often realized—as with the Sabbath-breakers or ordinance despisers among the great and noble of our land, the influence of whose example passes downwards through all the lower gradations of society; but with a tremendous reinforcement when we descend to the lowest, where, along with the will totally extinguished, the wealth is totally wanting. Accordingly, it is in the plebeian class where the high seat-rents have made such fearful havoc on the regularity of all those habits and principles which obtained in other days. It would imply a strong will indeed on the part of a poor man for the services of the gospel, if, though only to be had at a heavy price, he will nevertheless pay, rather than forego the benefit of them to himself and to his family. And, on the other hand, when, by any cause whatever, he begins to falter or to decline in his attachment to the ministrations of the sanctuary, let the obstacle of a purchase-money, doubly or trebly greater than he can well afford—let this obstacle be thrown across his path, and it will operate with decisive effect to confirm his now wavering inclinations on the side of heathenism—supplying at once the temptation and the apology for withdrawing himself from those tabernacles of righteousness that were frequented by his forefathers. It is thus, that with headlong and most fearful rapidity, our general population have fallen away, not from the churches of the Establishment alone, but, speaking comprehensively, from all places and assemblies of public worship whatsoever—inso-much (as can be made good from our ecclesiastical statistics) whole districts might be named, where, in contiguous thousands, and tens of thousands, there is not one tithe of the people who go anywhere. In other days, the association stood between wealth and irreligion. But now, a profane, a profligate, an utterly depraved and alienated commonalty, is the great moral distemper, the crying evil of our times.

Before making our special application to the question before us, let us beg that you will keep in recollection, both the characteristics which have been assigned to the Chapels of Ease, and of dissent, and omit neither of them—we mean their being congregational, as distinct from parochial; and their being volun-

tary, as distinct from endowed. It is because of the latter characteristic, that the seat-rents are necessarily higher than they might otherwise have been; and it is this which makes voluntary churches so ineffective for keeping up the religion of the poor, or for making head against the want of wealth in that class of society. But it is because of the former characteristic, that is, because of their being merely congregational, that these Chapels are so ineffective for keeping up the religion of the community at large, or for making head against the want of will in all classes of society. It is the endowed system which stands adapted, and should ever be made subservient, to the purpose of meeting the one want—the want of wealth. But let it be precisely understood, that it is the parochial system which stands adapted to the other want, or the want of will. Why, a merely congregational church is filled by those who have the will already, and is utterly powerless in its bearings on those who want that will. It is filled from all quarters, and at all distances, by those who are previously willing to attend it. It is repaired to by the *rari nantes vasto gurgite*, who, in a mass of surrounding irreligion, have retained unbroken their love for the ordinances of the gospel. But how can such an apparatus as this be made to bear on the mighty intermediate spaces, all in a swarm with misguided, and misthruven, and neglected families?—who, under the system which we are now endeavouring to expose, never will be reached by any aggressive or pervading influence whatever. The minister of such a chapel cannot do it. He is occupied with his general hearers, and most usefully occupied, in keeping up among them the tastes and the habits of religious observation. But we speak of the untrodden intervals between one hearer and another, and which he cannot possibly fill up. Why, the circle, whose centre is his meeting-house, and whose radius passes at its further extremity through the tenement of his most distant hearer—such a circle would comprehend, in Edinburgh, a population of fifty thousand, and in London, a population of half-a-million. There is no other way of addressing ourselves with effect to the moral cultivation of this stupendous domain, but by breaking it up into parishes, and each of its ministers going forth on the territorial principle, charged with the care and the cognizance of all its families—keeping up, by his varied attentions, the spiritual appetite where it exists, and reviving it when it has fallen into dormancy—sustaining, by the external appliance of his household visits and week-day ministrations, that will for

religion, and for its services, which, when left to itself, is so miserably apt to wither into extinction—doing, on the large scale of a parish, all that a city missionary does on the smaller scale of a district. This is the only way which experience and common sense tell can be effective for the recovery of our degenerate population. And, branded though it be as Utopian, yet to look for it in any other way—to dream indefinitely and generally of some work of reformation, without each separate agent setting doggedly to his own manageable section of it—thus to lose ourselves in universals in the lofty neglect or scorn of particulars,—speculatively to think that the thing, in its totality, may, *somehow or other*, be accomplished without any filling up practically of the requisite details, or the drudgery of a most active and laborious service, on each separate portion of the territory,—this is what we should understand by airy or poetical imagination, as opposed to the sober realities of an everyday business—this is what we should pronounce upon as most fond and fanciful Utopianism.

But, coming at once to the Chapel question, it may be thought a sufficient provision in favour of the object for which I am contending, if a territorial district be attached to each Chapel, and so a full recognition be made of the parochial system. But to make it a full realization, as well as full recognition, of the parochial system, let us specify what is wanting, and without which we shall have but the form without the fulfilment, but the semblance without the verification of it. Suppose this newly assigned parish to be of a population under three thousand—for up to that number it should never go—and then let us consider with what effect the Chapel minister, supported as he now is, can bear upon its families. You will recollect, that he is supported by the seat-rents of a congregation who have come to him indiscriminately from all quarters; and those seat-rents must be high enough, both to make out his maintenance, and to defray all the other expenses of the institution. Now I venture to say, that in the vast majority of instances, such an institution in the midst of a plebeian district will be altogether effete, as to the object of pervading the bulk of its families. It will operate superficially over a far larger space, but with nothing like a condensed or concentrated effect on the space which has been assigned to it. It will draw the better sort of hearers (by which is meant, hearers of the richer sort) from beyond as well as within its locality—skim-

ming far and wide among the higher or even middling, but passing altogether over the heads of the general population. In a word, we shall have, by this measure, but a surface dressing here and there in certain parts of the vineyard, without anything like a deep or a thorough culture of it. The proposal, as now made, is but one of promise, and not of performance, standing forth in the guise of a mighty accession to the forces of our Establishment, yet labouring under an impotency, the real cause of which it were important to ascertain.

The object of the overture which has now been laid before us, is, that the ministers of Chapels of Ease shall be admitted, *instantly*, into all the privileges and powers which rightfully belong to the pastors of congregations. I am for doing a great deal more than this. I am for admitting them, with the utmost possible speed, into all the privileges and powers which rightfully belong to the pastors of congregations and *parishes*. But to give them parishes without parishioners were a mockery; and the privilege which I long to obtain for them is, that they should be released from the incapacities, not only of the congregational, but of the voluntary system likewise; or, in other words, that the barrier shall be removed, which, in their present circumstances, and as at present supported, would lie between them and the great bulk and body of their parochial families.

But do we call it nothing, if a territorial district shall be assigned to each of these chapels—if the chapel be henceforth called a church, a regular parish church—with its chapelry a parish, and its minister a regular constituent member of the presbytery? We call it little or nothing to the great object of a territorial establishment. It is true, a parish has been assigned to the chapel; but, depending as it does on the main supply of its hearers from abroad, the minister, even though he do convert this parish into the home-walk of his daily ministrations, has no Sabbath accommodation which he can offer to the bulk of its families. And besides, how can he expatiate in the parochial territory without the desertion, *pro tanto*, of his extra-parochial hearers—many of them perhaps the richest and most influential of his congregation? The endowed minister may feel himself at liberty thus to act; but there lies a peculiar helplessness on the chapel minister, circumstanced as he now is, and from which I think every attempt should be made on the part of our Church to obtain his extrication. And here let me state the experience of one of these ministers, an intimate and much

respected friend of my own, who has at least an understood district, and along with this every disposition, I am sure, to promote the Christian wellbeing of all its families. With this view he did select one of its plebeian compartments, which he plied with week-day attentions; and in return for which he obtained a Sabbath attendance, at little or no rent however, in the unoccupied seats of his chapel. He is confident that the attendance could have been kept up, nay, indefinitely extended, or, in other words, a large outfield population could have been reclaimed, but for one essential defect under which the chapel system at present labours. And what is that defect? Not the want of a seat in the presbytery—not even the want of a distinct session—though this, no doubt, is a grievous incapacity, and a remedy should be immediately applied to it. But even this, and every other remedy, will be wholly inefficient to the object of letting down the light and lessons of the gospel among the tenements of the poor—so long as there is wanting an endowment; or, in other words, so long as there is wanting, not a high stipend for the minister, for that is really not the proper object of an endowment—but a low seat-rent for the commonalty of his parish. As matters are actually situated, my friend could not persevere in his laudable enterprise. The whole concern is upholden by seat-rents; and so he could not, though he would, abandon his extraparochial hearers on whom he most depended, even for the sake of those parochial families who stood most in need of his ministrations. He could not afford thus to fill his place of worship with non-effectives, and therefore to the exclusion of those whose presence and whose payments were indispensable to the very being of his chapel. Let us not, therefore, rush into an arrangement blindfolded, and with our eyes shut against that one circumstance on which the efficacy of an Establishment, and of every scheme for giving energy and extension to an Establishment, most essentially hinges. In devising the best system for our chapels, let us not overlook what is best for the Christian good of their respective vicinities; or neglect the inquiry, how it is that they can be made to bear with greatest effect on their immediately surrounding population.

But let me give another instance. In the district of the Water of Leith, we have a population of 1289; and of these only a hundred and fifty individuals have sittings, in all places of worship—a small proportion, it may be thought, but not smaller than what obtains, on the average, in the plebeian dis-

tricts of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and many other large towns in Scotland. Of these hundred and fifty, sixty attend their own parish church—a very large proportion in such a parish; for did each of its districts send forth a like proportion, it would make out a congregation of between three and four thousand hearers. But the instructive circumstance is, that some years ago a chapel, a very large and commodious chapel, was built in its vicinity; and one might have expected, that from this quarter the religious destitution of so many families would have been largely provided for. Well then, what statistically is the fact? Why, the chapel in question only draws seven sitters out of this locality. Abstract these seven from the 150, and there are 143 sitters to a population of 1289; or doubling, as we ought, the 143, there are 286 people out of this number sufficiently provided for—leaving in practical heathenism a little more than a thousand, all living immediately beside each other and within the limits of the understood district of Stockbridge Chapel, which, overflowing with hearers from all parts, and these chiefly of the upper grades in society, draws but seven from a contiguous population of one thousand souls in its own immediate neighbourhood. Is this the way in which an Establishment should acquit itself of its own peculiar system, as a system of parishes? By offering to draw its geographical lines over the face of the land, and thus dividing it into distinct localities, does it not profess to charge itself with the religion of all the families that are within the limits of each of them? And in attempting to make this profession good, shall we overlook the most essential circumstance to the fulfilment of it? Are we to deceive ourselves with the fancied sufficiency of the mere ecclesiastical organization that is now proposed, when, in point of fact, we shall not thereby have moved one footstep in advance towards the great object of making our establishment more adequate than it is now to the needs of our over-peopled parishes? Would the admission of the chapel minister of Stockbridge into the Presbytery of Edinburgh—would it tell, would it practically tell, on the habit of the families in the Water of Leith, and evoke them to a Sabbath attendance on the house of his public ministrations? A mere student of church law, versed in all the points and proprieties of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, with its various abstract constitutional questions, he may apprehend so—accomplished, and it may be profoundly, in all the legal categories of the subject, but raw and inexperienced withal in the human nature that has to do with the result of it, if he think for a

moment that the elevation of the chapel minister to the presbytery is to have any substantive effect on the attendance of the families in the chapelry around him. To get at these, and such as these, in the lanes and alleys of our plebeian districts, is the grand purpose of an endowment; and without it, there is an immense, a yearly increasing number, a vast majority, I would say, of the working classes, in every large town, who never will be reached by voluntary churches; and it matters not to this effect, whether these voluntary churches be within or without the Establishment. In either situation, whether on this side of the line or on the other side of it, the essential feebleness of the voluntary system will adhere to every institution of the kind. If it be of the genus voluntary, it signifies not, to its real strength and power of application for the religious good of the community at large, whether it be of the indigenous or of the exotic species; whether it be found on the infields of the Establishment or in the outfields of sectarianism. The one has no more of a pervading virtue than the other has; and to give it this virtue, you must give it an endowment—not, I repeat, for the sake of a high stipend to the minister, but of a low seat-rent to the hearers; to release him from all dependence on the people without his locality, and to remove the obstacle which now stands between his church and the bulk of the people within his locality; to disengage him, in fact, for the entire cultivation of his own proper vineyard, and enable him to bring the full weight of his influence to bear, both ministerially and pastorally, upon the very humblest of its families.

Let me now take the instance of Anderston, a pendicle of Glasgow, with a population large enough, I believe too large, for a parish, and a chapel of ease, whose pulpit is filled by a gentleman that would do honour to any Establishment. But by what description of hearers is the chapel itself filled? Not certainly, as it were desirable it should, not *en masse* by the plebeian families of Anderston. We hear of grandees from Blythswood Square, peopled by the highest aristocracy of the city, being members of that congregation; but then, I say, that charged as the country's Establishment professes itself to be with the Christian instruction of the country's population, it will be quite monstrous in us to overlook the only conditions by which such a profession can really be substantiated. Now that a movement in the status of the chapel ministers is proposed—and I for one rejoice, and heartily wish all prosperity and effect to it—these

gentlemen must allow us to devise the methods by which, consistently with the appropriate functions of an Establishment, we can carry it forward to its best and wisest fulfilment. It is for this purpose that I desiderate an endowment; nor do I see how such unoccupied spaces as Anderston in Glasgow can possibly be provided for without one. Unoccupied, I say, notwithstanding that there is to be seen the architecture of a well-attended chapel, and there are heard the weekly sermons of one of the ablest of our ministers. And my demand for an endowment is—not that the chapel minister of Anderston might live better, but that the people in the locality of Anderston might take seats lower than they do at this moment. The purpose for which I ask an endowment is—not to bring up the condition of the minister, but to bring down the scale of seat-rents; to release him, in fact, from his present dependence on the patricians at a distance, and that he might afford to spend all his strength and his time among the plebeians of his own proper and immediate charge. Ere the chapels take their place side by side with the churches of our Establishment, I should like if there could be attached to them that wherein the chief glory, or the peculiar distinction of an Establishment lies. It is not the defect of their ecclesiastical organization which has so struck them with impotency. Let this be repaired to-morrow, and the essential defect of voluntary churches will still adhere to them. They may have full and flourishing congregations, I grant; but made up of whom? Exclusively, almost exclusively, of the wealthy and middling classes, with but a fraction, if any, of our men of handicraft and hard labour. Voluntary churches may be carried a certain length; but they have their limit, and it is a limit which leaves out an overwhelming majority of the country's population. It is only in virtue of an endowment that this limit can be forced, or a way be opened, by which the lessons of the gospel might be carried to every door, and so as to overspread the whole length and breadth of the land. In the act of transmuting chapels into churches, let us not forget wherein it is that the secret of the one's great weakness, or wherein it is that the secret of the other's great strength, lies. We must labour to realize an endowment for them—not, let me state it once more, not as carrying in it a badge of dignity to the clergyman, but as carrying in it the boon of a cheap education to the common people.

But not to multiply instances, let me now conclude with but one more, as a specimen and illustration of many hundreds besides.

I will mention the Cowcaddens of Glasgow, now a preaching station under the zealous and paternal fostering of Dr. Black, the acting minister in the Barony. It might be thought a step in advance, were this preaching station transformed into a chapel of ease; but, to evince the singular maladjustment of an unendowed chapel to the wants of a needy population—I should anticipate, from a change of this sort, that the families of that plebeian district, would, in consequence of such an erection, drift back again to the heathenism from which they have been evoked so recently. The truth is, that a preaching station, as commonly supported, is just a little endowment, under which the ministrations of the gospel are dealt forth gratuitously to the people—whereas a chapel, all whose expenses are defrayed by the seat-rents, would vault over the heads of the humble commonalty there; and its pews might be filled by such people, far and near, as were able and willing to pay for them, but to the almost utter exclusion of the families immediately around it. There is no mere ecclesiastical organization that will repair this grievous incapacity. Nothing but an endowment will do it. The popular and prevailing cry at this moment is, to put down endowments; the inevitable consequence of which would be, to set up the seat-rents. Now, in opposition to this, our desire is to set up endowments—and that in order to bring down the seat-rents. There is no other way of getting at the general population; and even then, the minister thus supported must have a locality small enough, as well as seat-rents low enough for the families, however poor. The cause of endowments, rightly understood, is essentially popular. The common conception of them is not the true one. Their proper and original object is not to aggrandize the clergyman, but to cheapen the Christian education of the people. Because a question of pounds, shillings, and pence, it is felt, or imagined by many, to have in it a certain taint of sordidness. Yes! it is a question of pounds, shillings, and pence; but not so much of how many pounds the minister shall receive, ere he be authorized to preach, as of how few pence the people shall pay for the privilege of hearing him. This last is the capital design of an endowment. Ministers are the fishers of men; and the effect of an endowment is to lengthen their line, and enable them to reach downward to the lowest gradations of the commonwealth. The voluntaries are a kind of fly-fishers—whose operations do not reach to the muddy bottoms, to those depths and those fastnesses of society, which to them are inaccessible.

And a chapel of ease, give it any ecclesiastical organization you like, is just such a voluntary. Nominally, you may give it the title of an established church; but you will never give it the power or the properties of an established church without an endowment.

I confess, that any attention which I have given to this matter has endeared the Establishment more to me than ever, when I thus see the essential principle on which it rests pervading so many of its subordinate questions, and furnishing indeed the best clue for the solution of them—a principle announcing its own immense value by the frequent and important applications of which it is susceptible, and which we never fail to come into contact with, when we go deep into any of those topics which concern either the stability of our Church, or the further extension of it. These are not the times for losing sight of this principle, or of departing from it, and far less of traversing it. An Establishment cannot subsist without an endowment, and as little can it have any solid or substantial extension without one; but, like Nebuchadnezzar's image, resting partly on iron, and partly on clay, it will contain within itself the elements of its own dissolution. We want not to do away a single existing chapel, but to strengthen them, and to multiply them indefinitely. We want to impregnate each with the proper virtue of an establishment, so as not merely to communicate the property of endurance, but the property of blessing, by its presence, the poorest and most plebeian of the families around it. We are the more zealous, at this particular moment, that we should go wisely and rightly about the proposal to turn chapels into churches, when we witness such an inclination on the part of city rulers for virtually turning churches into chapels, for stripping them of their endowment, and throwing their chief, if not their whole, support on the produce of seat-rents—thus converting them into mere voluntaries, and raising a barrier, which all the energies of the voluntary system can never force, between the ordinances of the gospel and the vast majority of the population. The example of Glasgow has been quoted with high approbation; and that because, with all the accuracy of a mercantile account current, the annual produce of the seat-rents, and the annual expenses of the Establishment, are found so nearly to balance each other; though Glasgow on this question stands forth as a beacon to be shunned, and not as an example to be followed,—with its twelve churches and its two hundred and two thousand people, or its single church for

each seventeen thousand of human beings. This comes of Voluntarism ; and let us take care that we strengthen not its fallacious argument by new precedents of our own making. Once that chapels are recognised as churches without an endowment, their full and flourishing congregations will be seized on by the slight and superficial economists of our day as perfectly decisive of the whole controversy. Their habit is to look only to the state of the congregations in the fabrics, and not to the state of the people in the surrounding parishes. It is for the sake of these people that we resist the spoliation which is now attempted on the endowments of our churches, and it is for their sake also that we plead for an endowment to our chapels. We want that, to each of them in particular, there shall be attached that which constitutes the glory and the distinction of an Establishment upon the whole—even that, through its means, the tidings of salvation might be carried to the lowest abodes of destitution—that by its means the poor might have the gospel preached to them.

SECTION III.

THE CAUSE OF CHURCH EXTENSION, AND THE QUESTION SHORTLY STATED
BETWEEN CHURCHMEN AND DISSENTERS IN REGARD TO IT.

OUR cause has suffered much by its common appellative of *Church Accommodation*. It has been the fertile parent of misconceptions and errors innumerable. It is true it is only a word. But philosophy tells of the influence of words upon thoughts ; and never was this so verified by experience as in the history of our proceedings, and more especially in the obstinacy of that misunderstanding which we have had to encounter, and which, with all our most anxious and repeated explanations, we have never been able to dislodge, or get the better of. Church accommodation, in common apprehension, is but significant of church-room ; and hence the wide-spread delusion, that enough of church-room is our great specific for the moral regeneration of the country. No wonder that this mystic faith in the efficiency of mere architecture is what the people cannot sympathize with,—this marvellous moral power, ascribed to the masonry and the carpentry of new fabrics, is what they

cannot comprehend. We have long lamented the evil influence of this our designation, and laboured with all our might against it; but without effect. Let us reason and illustrate as we may, the power of no demonstration of ours will ever carry it over the power of that simple vocable—Church Accommodation. The lengthened argument will never dissipate the spell which is wrapt up and concentrated in the single term,—on every repetition of which is lighted up again the old association, the old and obstinate prejudice. We shall only shake ourselves loose of the mischief we have suffered from this term by quitting it altogether. The *thing* we are seeking to accomplish will come to be better understood, after we have made our escape from the mischievous, the magical influence of its unhappy *name*.

We have for many months been sensible of this misnomer, and of the heavy disadvantage under which it has laid our cause. We long to be delivered from it. We trust that the next General Assembly will take from us our present most undescriptive title, and substitute another and a better in its place. We greatly prefer *Church Extension** to *Church Accommodation*, though even this is not fully or adequately expressive of our object. But a name should be brief as well as comprehensive; and, in the present instance, we find it extremely difficult to devise a name that shall combine both these properties; or so to express the whole design of our Committee by its designation, as to avoid what were much too cumbersome and complex and circumlocutory for the purposes of a title. And by adopting the new title of Church Extension, we shall at least rid ourselves of the injury that we have sustained from the old one of Church Accommodation, under which we have been regarded as a mere Committee of stone and lime; or as if actuated by the Quixotic imagination, that on the strength of churches alone, viewed but in the light of a material apparatus, we were to Christianize the population—expecting of these new erections, that, like so many fairy castles, they were, of themselves, to transform every domain in which they were placed into a moral fairyland; and to operate, by their very presence or juxtaposition, some mighty and mysterious change on the hearts and habits of the surrounding householders. On the simple abandonment of our present designation, these illusions would all be rectified; and the public might come at length to see, in sober earnest, the actual realities, and soberly to estimate the rational likelihoods of our undertaking.

* This is now the current designation of our cause both in England and Scotland.

So much for the proper name of our undertaking. But a more important matter is the precise object of it. To explain this is the design of the following pages,—in the composition of which we have studied two things. First, to be so brief as that we might be generally read; Secondly, to be so explicit as that we might be generally understood. For the better achievement of this end, we shall present our statements in the order of so many distinct propositions, couched in the fewest possible words; but so as that, while the meaning is expressed as concisely, it may be also expressed as clearly as is practicable; and for this latter purpose, we, on fit occasions, shall superadd an illustrative example.

1. Ours has been denominated a Church-Building Scheme; and it is when viewed according to the naked generality of this description, that it lies naked and open to the principal and most plausible objections which have been made against it. A great deal of the precipitate hostility to which we have been exposed, arises from the hasty, and, therefore, partial glimpses which men have taken of us. They have seen our object in parts only, and not in full; and thus it has been sadly misconceived, just because beheld in some of its single features, instead of being beheld completely and comprehensively. It is on purpose that men might see in full, that which hitherto they have only seen in parts, that we have drawn up the following propositions, which might be prefaced thus by this our first proposition, that we shall make a negative one. It is *not* a sufficient account of our enterprise to say of it simply and generally, that it is to build churches in those places where we judge that they are wanted.

2. We should be coming nearer to the full and proper comprehension of the enterprise, did we take into our view not only the church which we build, but the vicinity for whose good it is intended. The church is erected, not for the purpose of being filled as it may by the attractive powers of its minister; but erected with a special and distinct reference to the Christian good of the families by whom it is surrounded. We shall never be understood, so long as the church is regarded in its naked and separate existence alone, without being regarded in the affinity which it bears to the assigned district in the midst of which it is situated. The whole peculiarity of our scheme lies in this; and, while this is kept out of sight, we shall never have done with the unintelligent crudities of those by whom we are made the objects of a perpetual misrepresentation. The church is planted

for the express benefit of certain unprovided families occupying a given district that has been previously explored, and whose limits have been previously determined; and the specific thing on which we rest, and are willing to rest exclusively the merits of our cause, is the footing upon which the relation is established between this church and these families. (1.) We provide them with a church *near enough*, else they are still unprovided families. (2.) We are labouring to provide them with a church at *seat-rents low enough*, else they are obviously still unprovided families. (3.) We take care that *the district be small enough*, and its families few enough to be thoroughly pervaded by the week-day attentions of a clergyman; else in one most important respect these families would still be unprovided, because not provided with a minister who might assume the pastoral superintendence, and discharge it so fully as to become the counsellor and Christian friend of one and all of them. The main strength of our case lies, not in ours being a new place of worship additional to the old ones that were previously in existence; but in ours being distinguished from all the others, by the new relation in which it stands to the outer field that is immediately around it, and that we have allocated for its parish. And as the church is thus appropriated to the use of its particular locality, so the duties of its minister are as much appropriated to the people within its limits—it being his specific business not to fill that church from the general neighbourhood, or from the wide and universal town, but to fill that church out of that parish. It is for the express purpose of making this a possible or likely achievement, that we enact the three conditions which we have specified,—holding them indispensable to such a constitution of a church, as that its minister may, without stepping beyond the limits of a manageable home-walk, sustain and fully acquit himself, both of the ministerial and pastoral relation to the people of the same little vicinity. Were we sure that our reader would retain in his mind the three elements which we have now put together into one combination, then, by the means of a single word, might we convey to him the precise and characteristic object at which we aim. Instead of looking to the church in its individuality, let him look to the manner in which we propose that it shall be conjoined with the local territory in which it stands, and let him agree, because of this conjunction, to its being called a local or territorial church—then our object is, not in the general to build churches, but to plant

territorial churches in those places where we judge that they are wanted.

3. Let us now offer a few specimens of the grounds on which we judge such a church to be wanted; and this chiefly with the view of impressing the all-important distinction between *existent* church-room, and *available* church-room. If there be not enough of existent church-room, this creates a necessity too palpable to be insisted on; but it may so happen that there is enough of existent church-room in a given parish, and yet there be localities in that parish in a state of most grievous ecclesiastical destitution. The parish church may be no territorial church to them, as when it wants the first property of such a church. It may not be near enough. The physical barrier of an impracticable distance may be interposed between them and their nearest place of worship; in which case, although there were a surplus accommodation in their own parish church, it might be of little or no avail to them. And still less would it alleviate the necessity under which they labour, to be told of the wide and general calculations by which the enemies of our cause are attempting to establish, that there is not only enough of accommodation, but a surplus of it for the whole of Scotland. Examples:—At Snizort, in Skye, there is the populous hamlet of Uigg, which, with the district surrounding it, at two miles on every side, contains a population of 700 inhabitants, at the distance of eight miles from their parish church. In Shieldag, there is the district of Kishorn, with a dense population of 600, at the distance of ten or twelve miles from any place of worship. At Fort-William there is a population of 1600, separated from the parish church by an arm of the sea and the river Lochy, which ought to be erected into a parish. At Locharkaig there are families thirty-four miles from the parish church, and with no access to any other place of worship. At and about Lybster in Caithness, there is a population of 1500, distant four and six miles from the two nearest places of worship, both small enough for their own contiguous families. In Glenelg there is the village of Amisdale, with 900 people, and at the distance of twelve or fourteen miles from the parish church. We shall conclude this list of examples by a statement of the good done in providing for a case far less aggravated than any of them. The population of the parish of Largs in Ayrshire is about 3000. The number of sittings in the established church was 900, besides which there is a meeting-house capable of holding between 600 and 700, and occasionally a small conventicle

of another denomination, who assemble, we understand, in a place that could accommodate 100 people more. At all events, about two years ago, we had in this parish a stable population of about 3000, and in the establishment and dissent together, more than 1600 sittings. What cause, it might be asked, was there for any addition either to the size or number of places of worship in this particular locality? and yet there has been a recent enlargement of the parish church at Largs to the extent of 440 sittings; but this perhaps may be placed to the account of the exotic population who repair in summer to this beautiful watering-place. But what is still more decisive, there has, over and above, been the erection, within the parish, of an altogether new church with 300 sittings, in the village of Fairley, and to which a locality of 500 people is on the eve of being assigned. Now, mark the effect of the new church there, of a more strictly local or territorial character to the people of Fairley than their old parish church was. Without taking any rigid inventory on the subject, it was quite palpable that the number who went from Fairley to Largs on the Sabbath-day did not average more than fifty; or in other words, that a very large population were left at home, to whom the inconvenient distance of three miles proved an effectual obstacle in the way of their attendance, and with whom, in consequence of this, the habit had fallen into utter desuetude. It would have been in vain to allege to these people the abundance of existent church-room, either in the Dissent or Establishment at Largs. The destitution lay, not in the want of existent, but in the want of commodious and available church-room; and this could only be supplied, not by a provision of church-room at such a distance from their habitations, but of church-room in a state of juxtaposition. And certain it is, such is the efficacy of this juxtaposition, since their own little church has been built in the midst of them, and still more of the presence and attentions of its residing minister;—such, in other words, is the benefit of a place of worship, combining all the properties of a territorial church, that, with a speed and suddenness truly encouraging for a similar enterprise in all similar situations, the village has been reclaimed to the decencies of Sabbath observation. The seats are all taken and respectably filled. The peace, and let us hope, the piety of a Scottish Sabbath have superadded a moral beauty to the great natural beauties which abound in this scene of many attractions; and the general attendance throughout the year gives cheering evidence to an almost uni-

versal restoration of the habit of the good olden time among the families.*

4. But this property, of being near enough, is only one of the properties of what we have defined to be a rightly constituted local or territorial church. Yet, as being the most palpable to the senses, it is that wherewith the unintelligent and unthinking are apt to be satisfied, though the other essential qualifications should be wanting. And thus we can far more easily demonstrate to their satisfaction the necessity for new places of worship in large country parishes than their necessity in towns, where churches meet the eye in almost every direction; and in which, more especially, if there be a great deal of vacant room every Sabbath, the proof against any assertion of the ecclesiastical wants of the people is held to be absolutely conclusive. Example:—In the three Edinburgh parishes of Old Greyfriars, Lady Yester's, and Tron Church, we have a population of 10,244, comprehensive of the whole Cowgate, and many other alleys beside; and for whom a provision of church-room, to the extent of little more than 5000 sittings, ought to be sufficient. But to meet this want, we can allege no less than nine places of worship, either within the limits of the territory now specified, or on its immediate confines,—for we have the three parish churches; and Brighton Street Chapel on the very margin of the locality; and the Gaelic Chapel, with the North College Street Independent Meeting-house, both at the head of the Horse Wynd, which terminates in the Cowgate; and the Cowgate Chapel; and the Original Burgher Meeting-house in Gray's Close; and the Original Seceder Meeting-house in Infirmary Street, long under the able ministrations of the venerable and learned Professor Paxton. Here, then, are nine places of worship wherewith this particular region of the town is studded; and yet, a region which has been represented as in a state of the greatest ecclesiastical destitution. The accommodation is not, we believe, overrated at 9000 sittings; and, besides such an overplus of existent church-room, it has all the benefit of the property of juxtaposition to make it available. Something is wanted to explain and reconcile these things; and more especially to make folk understand how there should be such

* It ought to be remarked, that the lowness of the seat-rents in this chapel could not have been secured but for the engagement of wealthy and benevolent individuals to become responsible for a stipend to the minister. This engagement, on their part, is tantamount to an endowment; and it is precisely for the purpose of multiplying this benefit, and making it permanent and universal, that a small endowment is sought from Government, for all similar erections.

a want of church-accommodation for the families of the Cowgate, when there exists such a superabundance of that accommodation, and a great deal of it lying waste and tenantless at their very doors.

5. To help us out of this difficulty, we must take into account the other properties of a rightly constituted territorial church, beside that of nearness or juxtaposition, and see whether these two have been realized. The second general property is, that the seat-rents be low enough for the circumstances of the general population. A seat-rent higher than they can pay may be just as effectual a barrier in the way of their attendance on a given church as a distance greater than they can walk; and however numerous, and however near the places of worship may be to the families in question, still, in the proper ecclesiastical sense of the word, they are unprovided families. Example:—To keep by the territory that we have already specified, the average seat-rent of the three parish churches is about ten shillings a sitting,—obviously too high even for a single occupier, if he be of the working classes, but amounting to an absolute interdict on their attendance in families. We have not ascertained the seat-rents of the different chapels in this locality. We have heard of such an average as seven shillings for each individual sitting,—obviously too high also. At all events, the produce of the seat-rents is the great fund out of which the annual expenses, and more especially the maintenance of the clergyman are defrayed. This must create a necessarily higher rent than the people of a plebeian district can generally afford. I should expect, in these circumstances, a smaller attendance of the lower orders on the Established Churches than on the Dissenting Meeting-houses. As matters are at present ordered, the Dissenters will reach somewhat farther down in the scale of society; and collect a greater number of hearers, both from among the lowest of the middle and highest of the working classes, than the Church does. But it should not at all surprise me, though the general mass of the working classes in the Cowgate and its environs were alike unreached and unpenetrated by both.

6. But there are still other phenomena to be alleged, which, without a comprehensive view of all the particulars that enter into the constitution of a territorial church, will appear to be subversive of our whole argument. There are low-rented sittings in the churches of the Establishment, which, nevertheless, remain unlet; and there are even examples alleged of free sit-

tings, and that too in large and goodly proportion, in the chapels of the Dissenters, which nevertheless remain unoccupied. Our general solution of both these phenomena is, that, to effect a popular movement, something more is necessary than the removal of an obstacle. A movement requires an impulse, and the application of a moving or motive force, which, in this instance, is brought to bear upon the families by the missionary attentions of the clergyman; and these rendered greatly more effective, if backed by an active and zealous surveillance on the part of a well-appointed agency—whether in the shape of elders, or the teachers of local Sabbath-schools. It is not enough that the church-doors be opened to the people, or that an easy and practicable access be obtained for them to the house of God, if among them there have been no previous tendency to that direction. The great secret is how to give this tendency, a matter altogether distinct from that of taking impediments out of the way. In other words, we must do something more than provide facilities,—we must supply inducements, or put certain impellent forces into busy and aggressive operation. To abridge the distance of the church, or lower its seat-rents, is but the displacement of a barrier,—a very different thing truly from the application of a positive and efficient cause, without which nature will persist in its sluggishness and deep indifferency; and in which, after many years of neglect, we are not to wonder that whole aggregates of population are now found to be inveterately though not immovably settled. Still it is obvious, that, to overcome the long established habit of a long and obstinate desuetude, something more is necessary than a church with the first and second properties which we have assigned as indispensable. As indispensable as either, and having itself all the efficiency in our process of restoration, is the third property of a small enough parish for the clergyman not only thoroughly to explore, but thoroughly to cultivate; and who, with the benefit of a full parochial equipment at his command, might bring all the force of that moral suasion which lies in personal converse and the unwearied kindness of his family ministrations to bear upon the householders.—Examples:—The parochial, or as it may be called the territorial system, is completely broken up in most of our large towns; and, instead of saying that the parishes are neglected by their ministers, it were more just and candid to say that the ministers, occupied with general congregations, are dissevered from their parishes. They are not in fair circumstances for so labouring

in their respective localities, as, by means of their week-day attentions, to secure the Sabbath attendance of their parochial families. And when to this is added the engrossment by others of their best and largest church accommodation—then to reproach them with the degeneracy of our plebeian families, is to treat them as so many slaves in the hands of Egyptian taskmasters, required not only to make a quantity of bricks, doubly greater than is competent to human strength, but to make them without straw. It is but the mockery of an alleviation to tell them of the few low-rented sittings in each of our churches. The experiment will not be a fair one till they have the command of a whole church for a whole parish,—when they will reclaim their people in fifties much faster than, with only a few scantlings of degraded and disreputable places which must first be filled ere anything better can be offered to them, they will reclaim them in tens or in fives. However difficult it may be to convey this truth to certain understandings, still it is demonstrable, that a minister in the former condition will find it easier to ignite the general mass of his parochial community, than in the latter condition, to keep alive a few dying embers, or fan some rare and isolated particles of the dead and dormant heap into vitality.* And the experience of the dissenting chapels is equally instructive. Their ministers are very rarely, perhaps never, known to charge themselves overhead with the families of any given district. I am aware of the incompatibility between such a charge and the charge of their general congregations; and therefore to be done effectually they should limit themselves, in the first instance, to a very small section, which, in addition to their other and previous engagements, they might thoroughly overtake. If a slip of territory contiguous to one of their meeting-houses were plied by the constant attentions of its minister to all the sick and the dying and the young within its confines, accompanied by the offer of household ministrations, and of Sabbath room in a chapel at their doors, one should like to know by what reaction of attendance, on the part of the families, it would at length be followed up. To tell of the difficulties or the delicacies of such an experiment, is just to tell of the grievous incapacity under which all our voluntary chapels labour. And, accordingly, we have not met with a more instructive piece of information, than that the *Independent Chapel* in

* For a further explanation of this, see *infra*, Sect. IV.—Demonstration of the Evils of the Edinburgh System of Seat-letting, § 20.

North College Street should have one-third of its sittings free, and yet that these are the least occupied.* It is only a few months ago that we obtained the survey of a district, every house of which is within a stonethrow of this chapel. It consists of that part of the Cowgate, on its south side, which lies between the Horse Wynd and the College Wynd, and of the west side of the College Wynd. There are 262 individuals in this locality, of whom nine only are seat-holders in all places of worship, or one in twenty-nine of the population. Of these nine not one has rented a sitting among the Independents. But on being made to understand that there were so many free sittings in the Independent chapel so near to them, I conceived it possible that some may have availed themselves of such a tempting opportunity. I accordingly have looked anew over the report of this district, and find that of its seventy-four families, all of them, whether seat-holders or not, with the exception of eleven, profess that they belong to a particular denomination; and, accordingly, we are presented with families belonging to the Relief, and the Roman Catholics, and the Establishment, and the Episcopalians, and the Antiburghers, and the Seceders, and the Methodists, and lastly with one family of Independents, who, at the same time, have no seats taken in any chapel of their own persuasion, or anywhere else. They may or they may not be occupiers in the Independent chapel of College Street;† but such a state of the population, in the immediate vicinity of so many churches and meeting-houses, is to me one of the most impressive proofs which can be given for the utter inefficacy, either of a voluntary system which refuses the parochial economy, or of an Establishment which has abandoned it, to provide for the Christian education of the families of the land.

7. We may now see what the proper field is in which the statistics, the only available statistics of the question, are to be gathered. Not, we have all along contended, by taking an inventory of the churches and their room, but by taking an inventory of the church-goers and their number. It is of no consequence to the population in the College Wynd to be told that there is enough of unoccupied space for them in the College Street Independent meeting-house. Nor are their families to be

* See "The Church its own Enemy," by Mr Adam Black, p. 43.

† I have since learned of this family, that none of them is either a church member of, or habitual attender in the Independent Chapel in North College Street, though one of the household states that he sometimes goes to it.

hopelessly and heartlessly abandoned, because of the bare existence and contiguity of a place of worship, whose vacant sittings only proclaim its own impotency for reclaiming the degenerate people at its door to the habits and the decencies of Christian observation. Neither do we stand acquitted of all further obligation to the families in the Cowgate, because of the nine churches within, or upon its limits; and altogether of doubly greater capacity than is enough for their accommodation. Amid all this profusion of sittings in the churches of this locality, we do not meet, in the houses of it, with 1 in 8 of their seat-holders. When told of so much apparent abundance along with so much real scarcity, the true philosopher will become all the keener in quest of a solution; and the true Christian philanthropist all the keener in quest of a remedy than before. They are the unintelligent and the heartless who will be satisfied,—the men void of intellect, or void of pity, who will cease to make further inquiries, and leave these wretched families to themselves.

8. On this subject there is a woful and wide-spread delusion, and the country seems altogether to have got upon a wrong scent. Even in parliament, the single question relates to the number of the people, and the amount of existent church-room for holding them; and if these two elements, when arranged in parallel columns, are found pretty nearly to quadrate with each other, the investigation will be held as closed; and that, too, in the face of a growing and greatly augmented heathenism all over the land. It is thus to be feared that the inquiry now set on foot,* will land in some precipitate, but withal most lame and impotent conclusion. Of what importance is it to know that fabrics with room enough exist, without seeking to know whether they be accompanied with right securities for their being replenished from the surrounding families? The question, the only question is, how are we to recover these families? and it is on this outer field that we are presented with the great arena on which the controversy between the Establishment and the Voluntary system ought to be settled. When told of a voluntary church, with half its sittings unoccupied, and of the territory around it, with seven-eighths of its people going nowhere—these two phenomena, so far from being irreconcilable, co-exist in perfect harmony, and reflect the utmost light and explanation on each other. The very reason why we behold no effect from

* For Returns from all places in Scotland, on the motion of Mr. Wallace, respecting the amount of Church Accommodation in the Establishment and among the Dissenters.

the contiguity of the chapel on the habits of the householders, is that, in reference to them, the chapel is wholly non-effective. But this, though the very best reason why no good from this one expedient has yet been done to the families, is the very worst why no good, from another expedient, should be attempted in their favour. I should hold it a strange objection against some one way of benefiting a population, that some other way had been tried, and turned out to be abortive. The chapel whose minister never looks near the households of a particular locality, may have been of no service to it; but that is no reason why the church or chapel, whose great and specific business is to reclaim the occupiers of these households to the proprieties of religious observation, might not be the instrument of best and highest service to it that can be performed in behalf of any population. I know not whether I have been more revolted by the insensibility, or amazed by the utter absurdity of this voluntary argument. They summon one of their chapels into the argument against us; and, as if glorying in its impotency, tell us that enough, and more than enough, has been done for the families which are around it—seeing that there is plenty of room for them all in the seats of their half-unoccupied fabric. The reply to this is, that our chapel is not to be as their chapel, but wholly distinct from theirs, because of a peculiarity annexed to it; and the peculiarity is this—that, whereas their minister is resorted to on the Sabbath by families from all quarters who seek after him if they will, the special business of our minister is to seek after the families of one quarter, and that, in the first instance, whether they they will or they will not—sure, at the same time to find, in the second, and in every succeeding instance, a warm and general welcome at almost every door. Because one kind of effort has been made, and been utterly fruitless of good to the outcast inhabitants of a given locality, is that a reason why not one other effort, though of a wholly different kind, shall be made to seek and to save them? Because a certain economy has been set up at the head of the Horse Wynd, and failed of benefit to the next-door families, must we, therefore, be restrained from setting up another, and an altogether distinct economy, at the foot of the Horse Wynd, whose main design shall be to bear, with the most powerful and salutary appliances which can be thought of, on one and all of that sorely neglected population? Surely the inference is not a logical or a fair one, that the agency which lays itself out for the good of a particular district, can be

of no benefit to its residents, because another agency has been of no such benefit, who never so laid themselves out, perhaps never thought of it. It is by the influence of a vicious syllogism on a perverse understanding, that the Horse Wynd chapel has been made to stand in the way of the Cowgate church. For ours would have been a wholly different sort of engine from theirs—theirs a general chapel, ours a territorial one.

9. By the way, we, the advocates for the extension of the church, or as we have been termed, patrons of the church-building scheme, have been reviled and ridiculed for our faith in mere architecture, as if on the strength of masonry and carpentry alone we expected to regenerate the population. Now truly, our faith is not in the architecture, but, under God, in the living agency which we propose to associate therewith. For the diffusion of grace and saving knowledge among the people, we no more count upon the house called a church, than we look for light from a candlestick; yet a well-placed candlestick and a well-placed church are both of importance notwithstanding, the one for physical, the other for moral and spiritual illumination.* But so little is it our rage to build new churches, that we would quite as readily, in fit and proper circumstances, buy old ones. And so little is it the new architecture which is the object of our faith, that our faith would be quite as strong in the old architecture, were we only at liberty to establish a strict local relationship between any chapel we might thus buy, and the district chalked out for it, and invest it with all the properties, first, second, and third, of a territorial church.† Our faith is not in the sufficiency of any new and yet untried architecture of ours, which might hereafter spring into existence. But when our opponents object to our scheme the multitude of their chapels, and by a strange sort of Irishism think their objection all the stronger when they can further allege the number of their unlet sittings—we might well retort that their faith truly is in the sufficiency of old architecture, which has been tried, and found wanting.

10. The true way of proceeding, then, is to ascertain the amount of this want, and in the discovery of its causes to make the discovery of its cure. We have already heard enough of pews occupied and unoccupied; let us now learn the number of the people, church-going and non-church-going. If we make out that in every place throughout the land where the people

* In the Book of Revelation, the extinction of a church is figured by the removal of a candlestick.

† See § 2.

have multiplied beyond the original provisions of our Establishment, there the majority of the surplus population, especially if of the labouring classes, go nowhere—it is no comfort, no alleviation of this melancholy state, that the Dissenters should step in and tell us of the number of their chapels, and the great amount of their accommodation. This is only telling us of the greatness of their impotency, and that their whole system, indeed, is one magnificent abortion. If, notwithstanding their ten or twenty thousand alleged sittings, and which they have power to multiply at pleasure, we find that in every place where the boast is made there are ten or twenty thousand families in a state of heathenism that withstands all their efforts, and, so far from giving way, is gaining new strength and magnitude every year; the conclusion is irresistible, and, instead of being extenuated, is enhanced, and made all the more emphatic, when told of their great architectural performances—even the conclusion that a grievous incapacity exists somewhere; and they have clearly made it out against themselves that they are not the people from whom the remedy is to come. The truth is, and if we but advert to it, it will go far to nullify the effect of their deceptive representations, the statistics upon this subject have all been carried on in the wrong quarter, or at least they must be transferred to another quarter, ere we shall have obtained the essential materials of the question at issue. We have yet heard of nothing but seats and seatholders; but the information we need is of houses and householders. The thing to be ascertained is, whether we have yet arrived at a system of moral education that is comprehensive of all the people. The straight-forward way, surely, of going about this inquiry is to make entry and reckoning among the people themselves. To ascertain the state of the people, we should go among the people. It is now high time to transfer our survey from the church to the outer field; and instead of thinking that we have completed our investigation by taking account of the sittings in churches and meeting-houses, the far more practically important object is to take account of the number of sitters among the families that surround them. Example: In the Water of Leith and its annexed district, there are about 600 sittings wanted for the supply of its families, and this number may be taken to represent the ecclesiastical destitution of that locality—a destitution in consequence of which a population of very nearly 1200, as far as concerns the habits and opportunities of Christian education, are in a state of unprovided-

ness. Within a few hundred yards of them there was built, a few years ago, the large chapel of Stockbridge, belonging to the Establishment, with room for 1500 sitters; and this, it were natural to imagine, might have proved an important accommodation to the families in question. But the chapel is upheld by seat-rents; and drawing its hearers from all distances and directions, it but operates superficially, far and wide, over the town and suburbs at large; and so with a full congregation from the upper and middle classes, its influence is wholly unfelt by the lower orders, even of its own immediate vicinity. And accordingly, of the 140 sitters in the Water of Leith district, there are only seven who attend at Stockbridge. But over and above this, there has been raised still more recently a dissenting chapel, nearer by half the distance to the Water of Leith, and where it is understood that a goodly number of unoccupied seats is waiting to be looked after by the unprovided families. But beside that the seat-rents of the Dissenters, charged as they are with the maintenance of the clergyman and the expenses of their chapel, are higher than those of the Establishment ought to be, there is another most important element which is strangely overlooked in this whole argument; and that is the *vis inertiae*, the sluggishness or obstinate indisposition of a people with whom the habit of church-going has fallen into desuetude. When told that nothing is necessary to be done, because of the amount of church-room which Dissenters have supplied, it seems the conception that we have but to summon places of worship into being, and then all men will flow into them. Why then did the unprovided families in the Water of Leith not look after the church-room that is within a few stonethrows of their own habitations? Putting the high seat-rents out of sight, a very sufficient reason is, that before they will look after church-room, the minister who has that room to dispose of, must first look after them. They will in no other way be aroused from that inveterate apathy which now cleaves to them; and as if by a physical necessity, like that of gravitation, fixes them in a state of quiescence, which, unless by dint of far more vigorous appliances than the mere spectacle of an empty church or meeting-house in their vicinity, will remain unaltered and unalterable. It is not by an attractive, but by an aggressive influence that these people will ever be reclaimed; and it is only by the week-day assiduities of a clergyman, charged with a special territory, and confining himself within its limits, that such an influence can be brought effectually

to bear upon them. Now this is what Dissenters fail in the general, to do. They build, and overbuild, so as not only to meet the existing demand, but greatly to overpass it; and then tell us of their number of empty sittings, in the shape of an argument, that to do aught more for the accommodation of the people is quite unnecessary. In other words, the process is to stop when the demand stops. The amount of moral education to be provided for is to be limited, not by the necessities of the people, but by the desires of the people. When they cease to care for Christianity, we are to cease caring for them. Because the 140 church-goers in the Water of Leith have an abundance, nay a great superabundance of church-room, therefore we are acquitted of all farther obligation to the 600 who have seats for the taking, but won't take them. Their taste and their demand for the ministrations of Christianity are now asleep; and the mere existence of vacant church-room in their neighbourhood is to be held as a sufficient reason for letting them alone. We should reckon it the noblest of all studies, because having for its object the greatest of all achievements, and for its principle the highest and holiest aim that ever inspired the heart of either philanthropist or patriot—the study of those peculiar tactics by which the stubborn apathy of every neglected population might best be assailed, and their now extinct affections for goodness be again awakened through the families. But no—all this must stand in abeyance till the Dissenters have got their pews filled; and so till that which letteth, even the formidable argument of their half-attended meeting-houses, is taken out of the way. Or, in other words, the population must be left to accumulate in neglected thousands, and their corruption to spread and deepen into greater inveteracy every year, because our friends the Voluntaries have calculated too sanguinely on the power of their own favourite principle; and are now learning, to their own sad experience, that it is a possible thing to build more places of worship than they, all at once, can find a willingness in the people to fill them. But this willingness never comes of its own accord; nor need we look for its revival, but by the incessant appliance from without of such personal and household attentions to the people of a given district as the minister of a territorial establishment can best bring to bear upon its families. And must there be no such forthgoing among the dead, till they, somehow or other, of themselves come to life again? Or is it any reason for abstaining from this enterprise, that Dissenters can allege how many

are the superfluous meeting-houses which they have unadvisedly built, and how much of superfluous carpentry is to be found within the walls of each of them? In the mighty aggregate of plebeian households far beneath the reach of their operation, which is very much confined in towns to the upper and middle strata of society, there exists a mine of immense capabilities upon which they never enter, and by the right working of which a vast addition might be made to the stock of national virtue, to the moral wealth of our land. Are we to forego this, I would ask, and satisfy ourselves, instead, with a "beggarly account of empty boxes;" and till this hopeless vacancy is filled, must every attempt to recall our people from the moral degradation into which they have fallen, be in the meantime suspended?

11. On the principles which we now urge, then, it will be found, in all our large towns more especially, that there exists an immense necessity for new churches; and, if not new in architecture, at least new in character, and more particularly in the local or territorial relation which they should hold in their several vicinities. The extent of this necessity is only to be ascertained by household surveys, in the results of which the great strength of our case lies. Dissenters have blamed us because we speak only of our own Church Accommodation, and say nothing of theirs.* There is an obvious reason why

* In their commentary upon one of our Circulars, they seem not to have been aware of a previous one, issued months before, the object of which was to obtain the fullest information respecting the ecclesiastical state of the people of Scotland, inclusive of all that had been done both by the Church and by Dissenters, and also what was left undone by both. Instead of which communication, they have lighted upon another, possessing a very subordinate character, and designed for a special and temporary service; and on this they have bestowed their exclusive consideration. In virtue of this ludicrous mistake, they have been like men who try to estimate the character and design of a correspondence, from the examination of a single letter; and that not a full, and formal, and explicit letter sent to the party with whom the negotiation is held, but a private and incidental communication sent to one's own friends, and between whom there is many a topic, the mention of which were but the idle repetition of a thing long and fully understood amongst them. Accordingly, we have been accused of wilful concealment of the truth, not because in any of our communications with Government we have suppressed the fact that there are Dissenting places of worship in our country; but because we have suppressed that fact in one of our communications to the ministers of the Church of Scotland—and that too, not many weeks after we had, by a prior communication, asked them to inform us of the whole accommodation for public worship, both with themselves and among Dissenters, in their respective parishes. I certainly have no recollection of the public mind having, in many quarters, been so grossly deceived into a total misunderstanding of any subject, as of the real character and design of our proceedings; and of such a hideous outcry, in consequence, having been raised for nothing.

we cannot speak so minutely and statistically of theirs as we can of our own; but the truth is, that one table containing the accommodation within the Establishment, and another table, containing the amount of seats taken by the people *in all places of worship, of all denominations*—these two tables, once they were completed, for every place in a state of real ecclesiastical destitution, would present us with all the attainable, and at the same time relevant statistics of the question. The second table would exhibit the amount of what had been done by the Establishment and Dissenters, and the fearful amount, in very many places, of what had been left undone. The first table would exhibit how much church-room the Establishment had at its command; and, if any of that room was still unoccupied, then by wresting it from the grasp of Town-Councils, with their high rents and indiscriminate seat-lettings, there might, by the restoration of a territorial character to our Town Churches, be so much of the deficiency exhibited in the second table provided for. The remainder can only be met by new territorial churches—whether this shall be accomplished by architecturally new erections, or by old meeting-houses turned into this new destination. Our great and terminating object is not to supplant the Dissenters, but to supply the outfield population whom neither they nor we have overtaken. It is on the magnitude of that population that our plea of necessity is founded. It ought to be acknowledged, with all thankfulness and respect, that in virtue of what Dissenters have done, the extent of this unprovided population is considerably less than what it otherwise would have been. I can truly say that, if I found the Dissenters able to occupy the whole ground that we had not entered on, I would not only never have stirred in this enterprise, but would have willingly given up every argument I have used, on the side of a national provision for the clergy, or of the endowment of churches by the state. It is on this, and this alone in fact, that our plea for an Establishment, and a sufficiently extended one, is founded—on the moral and spiritual desolation of all remoter hamlets and villages in large country parishes, on the outcast thousands and tens of thousands in large towns—only to be assailed by the territorial methods of an Establishment, and by the aggressive forces which belong to it.

12. Detach from a place of worship any one of the three properties which are essential to its being a territorial church, and you may thereby reduce the families of a whole neighbourhood to

a state of extreme ecclesiastical destitution—as the population of Amisdale in Glenelg, because, though they have a parish church, they have not a church near enough; and the population of the Grassmarket in Edinburgh, because, though they have a parish church, its seat-rents are not low enough; and the population of the Cowgate, because, though they have a chapel in their vicinity, with a large proportion of free sittings, they have not the minister of that chapel for their pastoral superintendent. Each property, if our scheme is to be carried into effect, will be a separate contribution from three several quarters. The rightly-placed church will be built, or bought from the funds raised by subscription. The low seat-rents will be the fruit of a small endowment provided by the Government, enabling the minister to live without bearing hard on the means of his hearers. The small enough parish will be chalked out by the presbytery—to which we must add the conscientious diligence of the minister, stimulated by the vigilant guardianship of his ecclesiastical superiors, who shall have assigned to him the peculiar task of reclaiming a waste and long-neglected territory, and who should require at his hand the proper and peculiar activity suited for such an undertaking. This, in fact, is the work of a devoted missionary; and we abjure all faith, even in the goodliest and best-devised economy which can possibly be instituted, unless wielded by the power and directed by the piety of living men. And to ascend one step higher in this progression of cause and effect, we as utterly despair of any harvest from all our terrestrial arrangements as we should of a prosperous return from the most skilful husbandry in the absence of showers and of sunshine—if the Spirit of God shall be withheld, and living water from the sanctuary above is not to descend upon us. Let us not forget that, however indispensable the things for which we plead, they are, after all, but “the outward things of the house of God,”*—most important no doubt, as being the aqueducts for a diffusive and general conveyance of spiritual blessings; yet a vain and useless parade, if the grace only given to those who ask it, shall not light upon our tabernacles. With all our value for the mechanism of a well-ordered church, we must remember that its great master-springs are in the hands of Him who casteth down the imaginations of the confident, and delights in lending Himself to the supplications of the humble,—so that, what-

* Nehemiah xi. 16.

ever glory may accrue from the wisdom of its rulers, it is in its men of faith and of prayer that the main strength of our Establishment lies.

13. We now feel ourselves exempted from the necessity of any further notice of the Statement issued by the Central Board of Dissenters. Of their wish to fasten the charge of dishonesty on ourselves, we say not one word. Neither shall we try, what indeed we should feel a difficult task, the adequate expression of our outraged feelings at the violence done by them to all common and all Christian humanity, in their wretched attempt to cut down the supply of religious instructors for the poor, and so utterly to traverse the spirit of our merciful Saviour's behest,—“The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth more labourers unto the harvest.”* Their grotesque calculations do not need to be grappled with in detail, for they proceed throughout on a notion that is fundamentally erroneous, and fatal to their whole reasoning. They seem to have imagined that what we want is a sort of hap-hazard and simultaneous extension of our Church, whereby it was suddenly to be enlarged to nearly double the extent of its present establishment,—and this with a sort of blind impetuosity that regarded not in every special instance the calls and the claims on which every distinct application was founded. We expect no endowment for any one church, without the full and satisfying demonstration in that, and every other individual case, of the real and practical necessity which exists for such a provision. It is not by simultaneous but by successive additions, that we desire to meet the deficiencies of our Establishment; and we most willingly concede it to our jealous adversaries, that, if they can demonstrate of any given locality in whose behalf the application is preferred, that they have done full justice to that surplus population whom the Establishment in its present stinted condition is not able to overtake, then, in reference to that locality, they shall have stripped us of our plea. It is not by bewildering generalities that this

* On both the topics to which we have now adverted, see Dr. Macfarlan's Letter to the people of Scotland, and a most eloquent utterance of just and noble indignancy in Mr. Clason's first Letter to Bailie M'Laren. I take the opportunity also of recommending to general perusal two anonymous pamphlets; the one of them entitled, “Exposure of the False Principles in the Statement of the Central Board,”—clear, convincing, and dispassionate; the other, “The Case of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,” against that Statement. Why did the author of the last-mentioned able and conclusive reasoning not give his influential name to a publication that does him so much honour?

controversy is to be determined, but by coming to close quarters in particular instances. We shall want a church for Lybster in Caithness; will the Dissenters tell us what they have done there to nullify our application; or, should government hold themselves acquitted of this populous village by the proofs which have been exhibited of a surplus accommodation a hundred miles off from them? We urgently require a low-rented church at Greenside, of St. Andrew's parish in Edinburgh. Is it enough to tell us of the costly and unlet seats in its Established place of worship, or even of the universally free sittings in a Baptist chapel within the district, when, as a proof that neither the one nor the other doth avail the families, we find, of the vast majority, that these Sabbath sanctuaries are unvisited, and almost unknown by them?—In the Cowgate of Edinburgh alone, we can point to thousands who never enter the house of God; and must we be thwarted there too, in our attempts to provide a territorial church for them, because of the mockery of relief held out by nine useless elevations which already exist in their neighbourhood,—we mean useless to these unreached families, or rather so many moral nuisances in their way, when converted, as they are, into hostile arguments against the only effectual system for their Christian education? It is thus, by going piecemeal to work, that we shall attempt to make out a special provision for each case of special but thoroughly ascertained necessity; and we hope it will quiet the alarms and soften the resistance of our adversaries, when made to understand by how very gradual, how very laborious, how very expensive a process, not to the government who shall partially endow, but to ourselves who shall wholly build, the necessary churches,—we expect to arrive, through much of calumny and opposition, and by dint of many sacrifices, at the consummation of our wishes.

14. It will perhaps make this matter still clearer, if I now present the literal reply, written by myself, to an official member of the late Government, who inquired at me, whether the proposed extension for the Church of Scotland should be a gradual or an immediate one.—“The following are my reasons for holding it more eligible that the Church shall be extended by a gradual, rather than by the immediate erection and endowment of a certain definite and specified number of places of worship.—(1.) It allows time for a deliberate and well-weighed comparison of the different applications which will be made from all parts of the country, and better secures the selection of the fittest

places for a new church. (2.) It gives better security for the deficiencies of the Establishment being at length *fully* repaired—whereas the enactment of a definite number will fall greatly short of the work, as in the example of the late government churches for the Highlands, which, though of immense benefit *pro tanto*, and as far as they go, form so small a proportion to the whole necessities of the case, as to have turned out a very partial and inadequate remedy. (3.) It allows time for a preparation, the necessity of which is apt to be overlooked by those who take a superficial or sanguine view of the whole subject. It is a great mistake to imagine, that, on the erection of a new church and the appointment of its minister, in the midst of many thousands of people who at present go nowhere, there will be a precipitate rush to fill the place which has thus been provided for them. The truth is, that the work of reclaiming such an exile and outlandish population to the habit of church-going, is a work of great sluggishness; and not to be accomplished but at the expense of much labour and devotedness on the part of a faithful ecclesiastic, who must give himself, and with the spirit of an old apostle or a modern missionary, to the business of going forth among the families, and, by his week-day attentions to them, creating such a demand and desire among them as may at length lead to their Sabbath attendance upon him. The truth is, I should feel apprehensive that if the material apparatus of new churches were greatly to outrun such a preparation, we should be so exposed to the mortifying spectacle of desolate and empty pews; as might stamp a mockery upon the whole enterprise. There is much the same work to be gone through, in our towns especially, that has to be gone through on the first conversion of a pagan land to Christianity—where there must be a great missionary work ere there can be an establishment at all; and so there must be such a work among our surplus population, by means of what may be termed a Great Home Mission, ere we shall be able to obtain a footing among them for those new churches, by which we propose to extend the establishment that already exists. This Home Mission has begun and is proceeding piecemeal with its operations in various parts of the country, generally under the cognizance and with the consent of the parish clergyman, in cities and large country parishes. I could name between fifty and a hundred such that might be in readiness for new erections in the course of a few months. I have one under my own eye that commenced at Martinmas 1833, and is

now in full readiness. The process, though a most essential, would, with the encouragement of government aid in reserve, be a very rapid one; so that I should not despair of being ripe for at least a hundred new erections in three years, of double that number in less than ten years, and perhaps of the whole being completed in the course of twenty or thirty years at farthest." Example:—They who are acquainted with the topography of Edinburgh, will follow my description of the limits which bound a particular locality in St Cuthbert's, that, I believe, has not yet been assigned to a chapel, and would, I think, do admirably for a new parish—having South College Street and Lothian Street for its northern boundary; and for its east and west boundaries Nicolson and Bristo Streets; and these latter boundaries, carried as far south as when connected at their southern extremities, might enclose a population of certainly not more than 3000, and coming as nearly down to 2000 as possible. We believe that this parish would include no less than four places of worship, those of College Street Relief, Bristo Street and Potterrow United Secession, and the Methodist Chapel in Nicolson Square,—any one of which would do exceedingly well for the parish church, could we only obtain the consent of its minister to become the parish clergyman. But in default of this, there was an offer made to me lately of the Brighton Street Chapel, which is now for sale, and is exceedingly well-placed for the parish as we have now designed it—but which offer I declined. My reasons for this will illustrate the very gradual and sure way in which we propose going to work. In the first place, the ecclesiastical state of that parish has not yet been surveyed—though I have the strong apprehension, that, notwithstanding the four chapels now specified within its limits, and the able ministers who serve in them, a vast majority of the people who ought to be church-goers, are neither the members of any Christian community, nor yet the regular attendants upon any place of worship. But if we found it otherwise, and particularly that the meeting-houses which already exist in that neighbourhood had engrossed a large proportion of the families, we should certainly prefer a more destitute locality, for the enterprise of a territorial erection in the midst of it. But what is more, we have not only not surveyed, but we have not yet entered even on the rudimental cultivation of that district. I am not aware of any parish missionaries being at work in that quarter; and, at all events, I should not hold it wise to rush precipitately on the formation of a

parish church, till a preaching station, upheld by household assiduities, had been tried and found to be successful. Such a preaching station is the germ of the future church, as the missionary is of the future clergyman; but not till the germ had so far germinated, would we venture on a full parochial apparatus for any locality whatever. We should not like to hazard the money of our subscribers on an uncertain enterprise; and this careful, this studied protection of them, from the expense of useless architecture, is the sure guarantee of a like protection to government from the expense of any useless endowment. I trust every fair and candid reader will acknowledge that in proceeding on such grounds as these, we discover no hostile feeling whatever to other denominations. Our single object is not to supplant the dissenters, but to supply the destitute; and never shall we intrude with rash footsteps on any locality, where the Establishment on the one hand, and the evangelical Dissenters of Scotland on the other, are found to have provided efficiently and fully betwixt them for the religious instruction of its people.

15. If, instead of a short statement, my time had permitted a full one of the question now treated, there are certain other topics which I should have been glad to discuss, but which at present I must postpone. Let me briefly announce one of these, the one on which I most regret that I cannot now expatiate. We are reproached for soliciting the aid of Government to uphold the peculiarities of a sect; this is not our object. We solicit the aid of Government to carry a scheme into effect for the Christian education of now unprovided thousands, whom neither we nor all the sectaries of Scotland have at present the means of overtaking; and should we be successful, I venture to say, that the peculiarities of the Church of Scotland will not constitute a millionth part of the education consequently given. The truth is, there is not the difference of a hair's-breadth between the theology of the Scottish Church, and that of nine-tenths of the Dissenters in Scotland. What we should teach is just what themselves would allow to be the Christian religion; and, instead of us petitioning Government for the support of our sectarianism, the true state of the case is, that they are preventing Government from a measure of the highest patriotism, by thrusting forward their sectarianism in the way of those territorial churches without which the general instruction of the working classes never has been overtaken, and never will. How much happier and healthier a process, I ask, would it be, if, on Government

ordaining a prospective endowment, the Dissenting ministers would harmonize with a reforming Church, becoming every day more accessible and more willing to receive them? There is room in the exigencies of our increased population for many more churches than all their meeting-houses could afford, for many more parishes than all their pastors could occupy. What a beautiful and noble result, were this wretched squabble of Voluntaryism terminated; and the combatants, dropping their peculiarities, were to join their forces in one grand movement against the irreligion and wickedness of the people. We shall not despair of such a consummation. The asperities of that warfare which now rages on every side of us are surely not to last for ever. Peace and charity, let us hope, will in time be lords of the ascendant; and the storm which now darkens and disturbs our moral atmosphere, we trust shall purify, but not destroy.

SECTION IV.

ON THE EVILS DONE TO THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN EDINBURGH BY THE
SEAT-LETTING BEING IN THE HANDS OF THE MAGISTRATES.

1. In this age of hasty, but withal of confident opinions, it is extremely difficult to strike the precise adjustment between too much and too little explanation, so as to avoid the danger on the one hand of being so long as not to be read, and on the other of being so short as not to be understood. The phenomenon of unlet seats in our old churches is again brought forward in opposition to the building of new churches. We attempted last summer, by a series of communications in the *Scottish Guardian* newspaper, to expose the fallacy of that argument; but at such length, that though we might reassemble and republish these in the form of a pamphlet, we despair of being perused by those who are now the most determined and clamorous in their resistance to our object. We afterwards thought ourselves exceedingly fortunate, when employed on the composition of an ordinary letter, in having so managed as to embody the principle of our vindication, and make it palpable, as we thought, within the compass of a few sentences. We were therefore tempted by the chance of gaining additional converts,

to insert that letter in a newspaper ; and it has since been sent to various persons in a separate form. It has not been altogether without effect ; for though it deals with but one phenomenon, even that of unlet room in the church of the Canongate, it does so on a principle which is applicable to all kindred phenomena. Still, however, there must be both attention and the capacity of generalization to perceive this ; and, should either of these be wanting, another and distinct phenomenon—distinct, we mean, in respect of individuality, though the same in kind—will, in minds thus unfurnished, revive in all its original strength the old difficulty, of which we had too fondly imagined that it was now for ever done away with. Accordingly, after we had disposed of the argument grounded on the unlet seats of the Canongate, we find ourselves challenged anew, because of there being unlet seats also in Edinburgh. If repetition be nauseous to the reader, it is often infinitely more so to the writer—called upon to fight all the battle over again in some new quarter, and that with the very misconception which he had met and combated perhaps a hundred times before. The painter who is required to make successive copies of one of his own pictures will understand the feeling,—a feeling which every one, we apprehend, must lay his account with, who, intent upon some great practical achievement, must obtain the consent of many minds and many wills, ere that he can carry it ; and so is doomed, on every weary recurrence of the same oft-repeated objection, to a fresh reiteration of the same oft-repeated argument.

2. We may here remark it as a deep and serious misfortune to any land, when, on a question of such momentous import as the likeliest means for the moral and religious wellbeing of a community, whether viewed as a question of state or city legislation, the power to determine is lodged with men who will not bestow the time distinctly to comprehend, or the patience thoroughly to investigate. The misfortune is all the more aggravated in that this is pre-eminently a question, the principles of which are best verified on a walk of professional experience,—such principles therefore as none, we fear, (and these too in limited number,) but professional men will readily sympathize with. It is true that minds accustomed to generalization will recognise in every walk of experience, however peculiar, but other and interesting evolutions of the philosophy of our nature. They will respect truth from whatever quarter its informations are offered to them ; and, measuring their confidence by the

competency of the witnesses, they, from the very principle on which they would listen to physicians in things medical, or to mariners in things nautical, would also listen to ecclesiastics in things ecclesiastical. Now, we are the proper informants on the subject of moral education and the moral state of society. This is pre-eminently a thing ecclesiastical; for however contemptuously some may look to religion in itself, or as an abstract system of doctrine, it were in utter defiance to all the lights of history and observation did they refuse to acknowledge the intimate practical association which obtains between the religion and morality of the common people. It is therefore a very possible thing, between our municipal functionaries, on the one hand, and our parliamentary commissioners, or even parliamentary legislators, on the other, that, in the unmixed secularity of their deliberations, the highest interests of the community may be sacrificed, and for no other reason than because they repudiate the counsel which the teachers of Christianity are best qualified to give. It is indeed marvellous, in the busy agitation of men's spirits on the questions of civic and financial arrangement, how little, if at all, the question is entertained of the best method for moralizing a population, or of reclaiming them from the frightful degeneracy into which they have fallen. This highest of all considerations is scarcely recognised, and certainly not admitted as an element into the computations and reasonings of those practical men, who, under no other guidance than that of their wretched economics, and feeling no other impulse than that of a popular and prevailing cry, would abandon the cause of an influential system of instruction for the bulk of the people as unworthy of a single effort, unworthy almost of a single thought.

3. The principles on which to frame a sound ecclesiastical economy for large towns, are comprised in the four following propositions. (1.) That if the minister have part of a town assigned to him for his parish, but at the same time draws his congregation equally and indiscriminately from all its parts, he must not expect that he will be able to perform regular and week-day household attentions, both to his hearers and his parishioners. One or other must be given up—for, to expatiate during the week among his general hearers, and along with this to enter on the local and territorial cultivation of his parish, is beyond the limits of human strength; and whenever the combination is attempted, it will be found to be impossible. (2.) That the more inviting of these two walks, and therefore the one far

more frequently preferred, is to go forth through the week among the scattered households of the congregation, where the inmates have a certain amount of previous recognition for the clergyman who addresses them on the Sabbath, and a certain amount of that respect for Christianity which insures him a friendly and reverential welcome—rather than to go forth on the contiguous households of a parochial territory, whose occupiers are strangers to himself, and strangers it may be in the mass to all the kindly and humanizing influences of religious observation. (3.) Even though the minister shall, on the impulse of what I hold to be the right view of his duty, resolve to make surrender of his stated hearers through the week, and to devote the whole of his spare time to the families of his parishioners alone, he does it under the mighty disadvantage of not being their Sabbath instructor in public, as well as their week-day friend and visitor in private. So that still the extra-parochial congregation, by their exclusion of the parishioners from church, proves a dead weight on his parochial usefulness, if not by dissipating the attentions of the clergyman all the week long among hearers who are not parishioners, at least, and even though these attentions should be all concentrated within the parochial territory, by deducting tenfold from their moral influence, because expended upon his parishioners, who are not his hearers. (4.) That to afford a fair field for the clergyman, and place him in a condition of optimism for working the greatest possible effect both in respect to the filling of his church, and doing thorough justice to the families of his parish, the hearers and the parishioners ought to be as nearly identified as possible, in order that the united influence of the ministerial and pastoral duties may be brought to bear in one unbroken application on the same individuals living in a state of juxtaposition to each other. And it is only when, on the one hand, the parish is small enough for his becoming the acquaintance of all its families; and, on the other, when the place of worship is large enough (and not pre-occupied withal) for the accommodation of all within the limits of his charge who should be church-goers—it is only then that he is in fair circumstances for realizing within the heart of a large town the efficacy of the parochial system of Scotland.

4. These propositions we have elaborated and expanded in the papers to which we have already referred of the *Scottish Guardian*, but we fear at too great a length for the impatient reader,

and the no less impatient thinker of the present day. We should hold it but fair, that he either took the propositions now announced upon trust, or, if he won't do this, that he made a study of these papers. We shall feel it hard if he will do neither; or at all events we shall be utterly hopeless of obtaining from him an intelligent assent to any of our conclusions. Nevertheless, let us make one attempt more to demonstrate how it is, that, in our great towns, all the principles of a sound ecclesiastical system have been most cruelly traversed, more especially in Edinburgh,—and that for the purpose of establishing that the extension of the Church of Scotland is not to be given up in despair as a vain and fruitless enterprise, because of the wretched mismanagement in things ecclesiastical, with the melancholy results of it, which has taken place in the metropolis of Scotland.

5. Let it be premised, that Edinburgh proper, or Edinburgh within the limits of the royalty, has a population of 55,232; but that its suburb population, greatly augmented within the last half century, is now nearly double the city population. The population of the contiguous parishes of St Cuthbert's, Canongate, and Leith, consists, by the last census, of 106,924. For the inhabitants of the city, amounting, as we have seen, to upwards of 55,000, there is a provision of eighteen ministers, who officiate in thirteen churches—five of these churches being still what in Scotland we term collegiate churches, that is, having each the services of two ministers attached to them. The days were when not only had the inhabitants of the royalty the exclusive occupation of their own churches, but when it was the invariable habit for the residents of each separate parish to attend the proper and peculiar church of that parish. It appears, indeed, from Calderwood and others, that the violation of this order on the part of any of the inhabitants incurred ecclesiastical censures. We do not advocate this compulsory restriction of the people to their own parish church. It is the reverse policy of what is tantamount to their compulsory exclusion from it that we complain of; and in virtue of which it is now made to appear, that in the Old Town of Edinburgh, chiefly occupied by the common people, and consisting of 28,196 inhabitants, only 727 attend the parish churches of the city. We propose to trace the footsteps of the process which has led to this result, and to show from it how the alleged phenomena of unlet sittings are to be accounted for.

6. It is unnecessary to explain here how the fund set apart by

law for the maintenance of the clergy in Edinburgh is fitted to subserve the great object of an establishment, which is to provide Christian instruction on practicable terms to all ranks and degrees of the people. The present ecclesiastical revenue of Edinburgh proper would nearly overtake this its legitimate object, if restricted as it ought in the application of its benefits to the inhabitants of Edinburgh proper. Let the parish churches have but continued open as they were at the first to the parish families, absolved, and by this very fund, from the expense of maintaining their own clergyman, and absolved, we shall imagine, from every other exaction—so as to have cheap and easy access to the sittings which are rightfully theirs; and we might at this hour have had the goodly spectacle of parochial churches filled by parochial congregations. We might have seen our city churches filled with the great mass and staple of their respective populations in the city parishes,—a sprinkling of aristocracy, no doubt, to deck and variegate the scene, but withal, an overwhelming majority of the men of handicraft and hard labour; or, to express it otherwise, as the aristocracy has greatly enlarged its dimensions of late years, we should have had a large infusion of that highly respectable class in society who are at or above the ten-pounders, with a much larger substratum in the proportion of three, four, or five to one of a class still more interesting,—those beneath the ten-pounders. And whether, within the church, we beheld the spectacle of its compressed and crowded pews occupied by workmen and their groups of decent families; or without the church, and at the sound of the well-known parish bell, saw every house along the line of our most plebeian streets pouring forth its family of worshippers—we should then, and before our city establishment was perverted, have seen in palpable and living exemplification the richest blessings of an establishment realized. But it is now incumbent upon me to explain what I mean by this perversion, and make known who were the authors of it.

7. I have spoken of it as one great good of an establishment, that it provided the means of bringing Christian instruction within the reach of the whole population, to which I shall add another of at least equal importance, but which it can only secure by adhering to the parochial or territorial principle; and that is the assignation to each of its ministers of a certain local assemblage of families who reside within a specified boundary, and

with the pastoral care of whom he is made chargeable. But, in the case of Edinburgh, another party, a party between the church and the population, have stepped in, and, by the manner in which they have interposed, the good of an establishment has been cruelly broken up. For, first, in the matter of seat-letting the parochial principle has been given to the wind. It is no reply to this that the Magistrates and Council do hold out a preference for the seats of every church to the inhabitants of that church's parish. The enormous seat-rents have completely neutralized the effects of this preference; and, in reference to the great bulk and body of the lower orders, have reduced it to the mockery of a name. So that, practically, the matter proceeds thus: the seats are as good as put up to auction; for it is altogether tantamount to this that they are held forth at a price, calculated and determined by the known acceptance and popularity of the minister. At this price, amounting to two pounds each, for the highest individual sittings, and to 13s. 3d.* each for an average of the whole, the church accommodation within the royalty is open to the competition of all, whether within or without the royalty, whether the 55,000 inhabitants of Edinburgh proper, or the population of nearly double that number in the contiguous parishes of Canongate, and Leith, and St. Cuthbert's, who, in the course of two or three generations, have so thickened and multiplied around it. The consequence is inevitable. The families, and more especially of the Old Town, have been ousted from their own proper churches: and the clergymen of these parishes, saddled with general congregations, have been dissevered from their own parish families. The working classes have been shouldered out of the Sabbath-places which belonged to them, by richer competitors from all distances, and from all points of the compass. I always understood it as a great argument for an establishment, that in providing for the support of the minister, it provided a cheap, if not a gratuitous Christian ministration, so as to make the services of the minister and the accommodation in his church a sort of common good to the folk of his parish. But the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh have taken another way of it: and still, however, make they a common good† of it. After having wrested from the parishioners of the Old Town their proper and original interest in the sittings of

* This is calculated from the last returns, by compounding the number with the prices.

† The general property or revenue of the city is called its "common good."

their own churches, and exposed what they thus wrested to general sale—the proceeds of the unhallowed merchandise still go to a common good, it would appear, and that is the common good of the city corporation. This sounds patriotically; but, in plain English, they have turned, and in what numbers I shall presently tell,—they have turned the working classes of Edinburgh adrift into the outfields of heathenism; and with the price of those Sabbath-places from which they have ejected them do they enrich their own treasury. They have in effect planted a toll-gate, a most expensive toll-gate, at the entry of each of the city churches, by which to keep the poor of its parish out, and to let the rich, not of the parish, in. It is they, the Magistrates and Town-Council, who erected these turnpikes; it is they who ordained the tolls, and who sit at the receipt of custom to obtain the produce of them. It is no reply whatever to this, that the produce is little more than a return for the outlay. We ask, who built these churches? Who bartered away the Christian education of the people for the adornment of the city? At whose bidding were these costly fanes, these magnificent temples made to arise? And then, who are chargeable with the enormity of having made sacrifice at their shrine of the religion of our common people? The plain answer is,—the Magistrates and Town-Council of Edinburgh. They have as good as driven the lower classes of the city from the occupancy they once had in the city churches; and hold out to them, instead, some stately architecture to gaze at. The families in thousands have been plundered of the bread of life, and instead of bread their plunderers have given them a stone. Such has been the practice hitherto of the city corporation; and after such experience of their care for the moral and religious wellbeing of the community, it becomes the public to ponder carefully and well the character and effect of any proposition relative either to churches or clergymen, which might emanate from that honourable body.

8. I have dwelt the longer on this topic, that it has been converted into a grievous charge against the clergymen of Edinburgh; and they, in consequence of it, have been made the unmerited victims of a gross popular delusion. These high seat-rents are clearly the doing of the magistrates; yet the ministers have borne all the odium of it. Theirs is all the benefit; but to the clergy, as usual, is all the obloquy and scorn. It is a very glaring abuse,—in a matter, too, ecclesiastical: and at whose door there-

fore ought it to be laid but at that of the ecclesiastics? Now it so happens, that the ecclesiastics have struggled with all their might against it. Times and ways without number, have the Presbytery of Edinburgh remonstrated with the city authorities upon this subject, and set up their earnest representations both by memorials and at interviews, for an act of justice to the population. Individual clergymen, at the head of their sessions, have implored a mitigation of the evil in behalf of their own parishioners. The minister of the Tolbooth church has been quite incessant in his appliances for relief, and of late has been somewhat eased, but still at the expense of other parishes and other congregations. This clergyman is not more distinguished by his unwearied parochial assiduities, than by his endeavours to obtain for himself a parochial congregation; but the barrier of these seat-rents stood in his way, and, in his attempts to remove it, many are the buffetings which he has had to endure—as on one occasion, some years ago, when the Council felt annoyed by his urgencies; and “we shall raise these Tolbooth seat-rents still higher, if pestered any more about them,” was the lordly reply of one of these city magnates. And yet the enemies of our Church can manage, notwithstanding, to make this very grievance the mean of kindling into greater fierceness and intensity the flame of discontent and hatred against the clergy. Even one of our city rulers themselves, (and this I hold to be one of the most beautiful examples of the kind of justice which our establishment is now receiving at the hands of its adversaries,) a distinguished member of Council, and therefore art and part in doubling, some time ago, the seat-rents of the College church, and, more than art and part, who signalized himself by his opposition to a church of low seat-rents in the Cowgate; even he, an accessory, or rather a principal in this process of banishing our poor from the city churches, and member of the body on whom the whole responsibility of this fearful injustice should be laid, makes it one of his contemptuous charges against the establishment in Edinburgh, that it is of no further use than to furnish sermons to ladies and gentlemen. It is much about this period that a poem was ushered into the world, under the auspices of another of our then city rulers, that is, in one of the recent Numbers of *Tait's Magazine*. We may give it entire.—

THE POOR CHRISTIAN AND THE CHURCH.

"He has incurred a long arrear
And must despair to pay."—COWPER.
"To the poor the gospel is (not) preached."

"How glorious Zion's courts appear,"
The pious poor man cries :
"Stand back, you knave, you're in arrears,"
The manager replies.

POOR CHRISTIAN.
"The genius of the Christian cede
Is charity, humility ;"

MANAGER, (*in a rage*)
"I've let your pew to ladies, Sir,
Of high respectability."

POOR CHRISTIAN.
"And am I then debarr'd the house
Where erst my father pray'd ?—
Excluded from the hallowed fane
Where my loved mother's laid ?"

MANAGER.
"Their seat-rent, Sir, was never due ;
The matter to enhance,
As duly as the term came round,
They paid it in advance."

POOR CHRISTIAN.
"The temple of the living God
Should have an open door,

And Christ's ambassadors should preach
The gospel to the poor."

MANAGER.

"We cannot, Sir, accommodate
The poor in their devotions ;
Besides, we cordially detest
Such antiquated notions.

"We build our fanes, we deck our pews
For men of wealth and station ;
(Yet for a time the thing has proved
A losing speculation,

"Then table down your cash anon
Ere you come *here* to pray ;
Else you may wander where you will,
And worship where you may."

POOR CHRISTIAN.
"Then I shall worship in that fane
By God to mankind given :
Whose lamps are the meridian sun,
And all the stars of heaven ;

"Whose walls are the cerulean sky.
Whose floor the earth so fair,
Whose dome is vast immensity :—
All nature worships there."*

The author intimates very clearly his opinion that each of the city churches is a den of thieves ; but who, I would ask, are the perpetrators of the thievery ? Of that he gives us no information. Who was it that doubled the seat-rents of the College Church last year, when the more acceptable minister succeeded to the one that was less acceptable ? Mr. Cunningham is a house-going clergyman ; and from the first moment of his appointment has been labouring with all his might among the families of his plebeian parish, with the view of gathering out from it a church-going people. But I will venture to say that by this act of the Magistracy, an insuperable barrier has been raised between the church that he preaches in, and at least one thousand of his parishioners. They are in a very fit state for having this song put into their mouths, every stanza of which, on the other hand, is equally fit to exasperate the bitterness of their feelings ; but against whom ? against the city clergy who are guiltless, and

* The last stanza of this poem is a quotation from Vedder's "Covenanter's Sabbath."

that for the deed of the city rulers who are not guiltless. And it but consummates this history, it gives its greatest curiosity and perfection to it—that a song thus dealt out among a population whom themselves have so deeply injured, is furnished and set forth by one of their own number.

9. Such, then, is the procedure of the Magistrates of Edinburgh in the letting of our city churches. They have taken into their own hands the power of dealing with the seats as they would with any article of merchandise which was rightfully theirs. They set a price upon their occupancy—making this price to rise or fall with the eligibility of the church's situation, or with the fancied popularity of the clergyman. And they are not the parishioners of Edinburgh, not the inhabitants within the limits of the royalty, who are the sole competitors or customers in this trade of seat-letting. The whole public, both in and about Edinburgh, are admitted to the competition; and the unavoidable consequence is, that, speaking in the bulk, the common people of the town have been dispossessed of their own churches by the wealthy of the town and neighbourhood. The Magistrates hold themselves entitled to draw for these seats, whatever, to use their own expression, may be found to be "their worth in the market." We say nothing at present as to the legality of this claim. We speak of the effect which necessarily and historically ensues from the practical assumption of it. The clergy have one and all of them been dissevered from their own parish families. The tie between ministers and parishioners is broken. The two parties have, in virtue of this unnatural separation, very much lost sight of each other. Generally and collectively speaking, the ministers do not preach to their parishioners on the Sabbath; and occupied as they are with the labours of an extra-parochial congregation, they are placed in most helpless circumstances for rendering to the people of their own territorial vineyard any sensible amount of pastoral or week-day attentions. And even though they could, the pastoral duties are bereft of almost all their efficacy in virtue of the ministerial being disjoined from them. The parochial system has been entirely broken up by the cruel interposition of the Magistrates, who, throughout their whole administration of this department in the affairs of the city, have betrayed so little of either paternal or patriotic regard for the moral or religious wellbeing of the community. All along it has been a shameful traffic for the enrichment of the city treasury, at the expense of the Christianity

of the common people. The wealthier classes, who now pay their enormous seat-rents, could have afforded to build, and even endow, churches for themselves. In which case the existing churches, and especially in the Old Town, might have been left unviolated for their proper and original design, which was the accommodation of their own parish families; and thus the Establishment been suffered to prosecute its own rightful and peculiar task as a dispenser of Christianity to the general population.

10. The people of the country at large, and particularly our neighbours in the south, will be no longer at a loss to understand that peculiar acerbity of feeling which exists in Edinburgh on the subject of the Establishment. In the first place, the fund for the maintenance of its clergymen, though it does not come *from* the pockets of the householders, any more than tithe does from the occupiers of land, yet it comes *through* their pockets, and practically they feel as if it was all paid by themselves. The meaning and object of such a fund is, that they and all others of the parish should have free or at least cheap access to their parish church; and when, instead of this, they are met, through the intervention of city exactors, by an enormous charge in the form of seat-rents, they feel it, and most naturally, a hard and oppressive thing that they should have another heavy sum, and in the shape too of an ecclesiastical imposition, to pay over again. The feeling is all the more aggravated that the people without the royalty, and who have none of the annuity to pay for ministers' stipend, are, in respect of admittance to the city churches, on equal terms with themselves: and if excluded from their own rightful occupancies by wealthier competitors from abroad, who can afford to pay a greater rent than they are either willing or able for, it is a sore and irritating reflection that they should have the burden of the ecclesiastical establishment of Edinburgh laid upon them without any of its benefits. The right ground of complaint here obviously lies in the intervention of this third party, the Magistrates of Edinburgh, who change and augment the seat-rents at pleasure for the purposes of a revenue to the city corporation. But for this intervention, and had the system of parochial seat-letting been observed, we might at this hour have seen the great bulk of the inhabitants within the royalty accommodated on easy terms at their own proper churches; and the branded annuity tax, if tax it must be called, would mainly and substantially have been a tax on the wealthier classes of society for the Christian instruction of society at large.

They are our city rulers who have cruelly broken up this bland and beneficent economy, by the imposition of another and distinct tax, which the former one was meant to supersede, and of which latter tax they receive all the produce, while the ministers have to bear all the odium of it. The ministers have thus been dis-severed from their own parish populations, and placed in a false and obnoxious position before the eyes of the general community ; and never perhaps in the history of human injustice has there occurred a more signal example of it, than that the perpetrators of a great public mischief should have so succeeded in shifting the burden of its consequent indignation from themselves, and laying it on the heads of men who suffer nothing but cruelty and contumely at their hands. They are the Town-Council of Edinburgh who extort these enormous seat-rents for the supply of their own treasury. And yet there are members of that Council who labour with all their might to direct the exasperation of their own measures against the persons and character of the men who have no hand in them. They are the Town-Council of Edinburgh, who, in the management of the Church's affairs, have smitten it with the impotency, and worse than the impotency, of the voluntary system ; and then, by a publication of unlet seats, charged throughout with false principle and erroneous calculation, flash on the public eye the result of their own misdoings, as if the doings of an establishment, all whose arrangements they have departed from, and all whose principles they have violated. The effect of their last issued manifesto, blazoned in all the newspapers, and industriously distributed among our public and parliamentary men, is to lesson both the country and the government into the conclusion, that a religious establishment is a useless and ill-working thing ; and so it is truly in the hands of such bungling and hostile administrators. They may be truly said to have it all their own way in the controversy ; for they have not only propounded the argument, but with their own hands they have created its materials. After having multiplied in sufficient number the proofs of their own worthless misgovernment, they place them in full array before the eyes of the community, as proofs of the worthlessness of the Church. Such is the exquisite injustice of our city rulers ; but we trust that neither the government nor the country will be any longer deceived by it, nor confound the effects of an establishment rightly conducted, with the effects of its wretched mal-administration in the town of Edinburgh.

11. The general character, then, of the actual system in Edinburgh may be stated thus.—The citizens in their respective parishes have no preference held out to them for the vacant sittings in their own proper churches. The competition is quite general and indiscriminate; and applicants, in whatever place of residence or from whatever distances, are (saving in cases of personal favouritism) upon equal terms. We have heard it professed by some of our city rulers, that the preference of parishioners is their law of seat-letting. But it has been little acted upon. The public at large have no distinct or confident understanding of this; and so, if ever proclaimed as a rule, or given as an instruction, practically it is of no effect. Now this at once dissolves the most beneficial association which can by any possibility be established between ministers and their parishes. The strongest tie which can bind a clergyman to his territorial vineyard is broken. On the simple cessation of the preference which we are now contending for, the exchange forthwith proceeds, and is speedily consummated, of a parochial for a general congregation; and so in every great town, we fear, of the empire, all those manifold facilities as well as commanding moral influences, which lie in the conjoined forces of the ministerial and the pastoral, when wielded by the same individual upon the contiguous households of one and the same locality, are altogether unknown.

12. But superadded to this there is another cause, which, even had the preference that we now advocate been most rigidly acted on, would of itself have effected an almost entire disruption between the plebeian parishes of the city and their respective clergymen. We mean the extravagant seat-rents; and those laid on at the arbitrary discretion of the Town-Council, in opposition to the earnest remonstrances of the Presbytery, as well as the special and importunate requests of those individual clergymen who have interested themselves in this matter on behalf of their own parochial families. It is true that these seat-rents are variable, and differ in different churches. But it is not the condition of the parish in regard to its wealth or poverty, which forms the rule or principle of these variations. It is the popularity of the clergyman which virtually reduces the letting of seats to the same footing with the letting of houses or fields. In effect, these church-seats are let at such a price as they will fetch; and like any other marketable commodity, they undergo the substantial process of an auction, whether or not they undergo the forms of it. In other words, each parochial community

is exposed to the foreign competition of their whole surrounding neighbourhood. The wealth of the New Town and of the suburbs is brought to bear with overwhelming effect on the Old Town parishes, whose people, ejected from their ancient ecclesiastical privileges, have forsaken their ancient habits, and are now fast degenerating, or rather by an immense majority have actually sunk, into a state of heathenism.

13. Having thus stated the general character of the actual system in Edinburgh, let us now state the general effect of it on the condition and habits of the city population. It is true that under this system many churches might still continue to be served by able and impressive clergymen, and to be filled even to an overflow with large and admiring auditories. And yet, in perfect compatibility with this phenomenon, there might, and in rapid process of formation, be a dense and ever enlarging mass of heathenism in society. Wherever a predisposition to Christianity is strong enough, attendance on its lessons will still be kept up, even under this system with all its disadvantages. But unfortunately it is not a predisposition which, with the generality of mankind, can be confided to any spontaneous or inherent vigour of its own; and it will therefore die away from the hearts of the vast majority, unless it be sustained by an aggressive force *ab extra*, by an incessant appliance of means and influences from without. A general congregation may be regarded as the product of a combined voluntary movement on the Sabbath, by the hearers, to the minister. A parochial congregation, made out from the contiguous households of any given territory, can only be formed at the first and kept up afterwards, by a voluntary movement through the week in dutiful and frequent reiteration of the minister to the hearers. Let this parochial system, then, be supplanted by the general system; and it is the inevitable effect, that the parish families will one by one, and at length in great numbers, fall away, and beyond the scope of any external force which might recover or recall them. They recede from the observation of the minister, who, after losing sight of them, finds himself abundantly occupied with other duties and other cares. After that the moral force of the clergyman's attentions has been withdrawn from the habitations of the poor, and the wonted facilities of access to the church he preaches in have also been barred against them, we are not to wonder at the rapid irreligion which ensues, or that so many families, when thus left to the earthliness of their own nature, should

gravitate, and with an accelerated velocity of descent, into a state of entire earthliness. The contagion spreads every year ; and whether it be by the degeneracy of old families or the importation of new ones, each plebeian parish, in effect outlawed from the moral regimen of an Established Church, changes only to the worse, and takes on a deeper hue of moral desolation. From the moment that ministers have lost the old territorial means, or quitted the old territorial management, from that moment their parishes have become territories of heathenism ; and hence it is that vice has obtained a local or geographical settlement in certain quarters, which, with somewhat the feeling of a possessory right, it now claims as being peculiarly its own. But in truth, by this departure from the parochial system, the evil has become quite general, and extends over the whole city. Let families lapse where they may into a regardlessness of the gospel and its ordinances, there is no effective care or cognizance taken of them. The place in which they live brings no security along with it that a full moral or religious attention will be bestowed upon them. And from the time that ministers have given up a special surveillance, each of his own definite and assumed locality, has the aggregate community, let slip from all the ancient holds, drifted at random as they may, wholly given over to the counsel of their own hearts, and the sight of their own eyes.

14. But let us now exhibit in ascertained numbers the precise amount of this degeneracy, as verified by actual observations taken, and certainly without any selection, from various parts of the Old Town of Edinburgh. Even the last returns issued from the Council-chamber present us with appalling enough information on this head, when it tells that the whole of the Old Town, with a population of 28,196 has only 727 rented sittings in all the city churches, while in the extended royalty, with a population of 27,036, there are 4746 who have seats in the city churches. The remaining seat-payers, amounting to 3826, live beyond the royalty ; so that between the New Town and its environs, the people of the Old Town have suffered a grievous dispossession from the churches of the Establishment,—insomuch that less than 1 in 38 of the inhabitants of the Old Town pay for sittings in the places which the Establishment has provided for them. This fact, which our adversaries call a proof of the inefficacy of the Establishment, and which we call a proof of the sore mischief that the Magistrates have inflicted upon it, might well excite our alarms for the moral and ecclesiastical state of

the population, and direct the footsteps of the anxious and exploring philanthropist to their actual abodes, that at their own mouths he may learn how it fares with them. It is there, in fact, where he will gather his far most valuable statistics for the elucidation of the true principle and philosophy of his whole subject,—statistics which have been sadly neglected and overlooked, but which nevertheless contain the real materials of the question at issue. And there are more lessons than one to be drawn from such a survey. We shall there learn not only how little the Establishment, made powerless by the magistracy, has done for the general population, but also how little an unfettered voluntary system has done to supplement its deficiencies, and so how much remains for the Establishment to do, when restored to its original energies and rights, and rescued from the grasp of those unworthy hands which have done nothing but pervert and paralyze it,—those adversaries who first cripple the Church and then calumniate it,—who have struck it with impotency, and would now hold forth that venerable institute, which themselves have marred and disabled, as a spectacle of derision to the land.

15. The following, then, are a few specimens of the state of the population with respect to seat-holding. It exhibits the number in every district which has been made the subject of an ecclesiastical survey, who have this guarantee for the regularity of their attendance on a place of worship, that they have purchased, or otherwise obtained for themselves a right of occupation there. That over and above these some do attend and occupy sittings they do not pay for, there can be no question. Their precise number it is difficult to ascertain, though most certainly they form but a small proportion of the whole population. At all events it is a most undesirable state of things, that any of our people should be exposed to a shift which cannot be taken without a certain moral violence being suffered, a certain moral deterioration being sustained by it. We have evidence for at least a good many hundreds among the tens of thousands who go nowhere that do occupy sittings, but occupy them by stealth,—a condition of things, in respect of church-accommodation, that should be put an end to, whether by a sufficient number of free sittings, or, what were greatly more to our taste in towns, a sufficient number of very cheap sittings, amounting to at least two-thirds of the whole church-room. Of all illicit things, there is none which appears to us more incongruous or unseemly than an illicit attendance at church. It won't proceed so far among the population as to effectuate anything like a general attendance upon

ordinances. It will stop with a certain, and that not a very large portion of the people; and even with them there is something unhealthful about such a system of church-going,—frail and precarious in respect of habit, equivocal in respect of character.

16. But the number who actually possess the right of sittings whether by purchase or otherwise, can be definitely ascertained; and the following are the specimens, as far as we have selected them, of the Old Town of Edinburgh. Let it be particularly remarked of the second column, that the numbers comprehend all the seat-holders, of every denomination, in or out of the Establishment.

	Population.	Seats taken in all Places of Worship.	Proportion.	Authority.
In the Tolbooth Parish.*	3256	450	less than 1 in 7.	Rev. Mr. Marshall.
A District in the Grass-market,	418	19	1 in 22.	Rev. Mr. Wilkie.
A larger section of the same,	1348	89	less than 1 in 13.	Rev. D. Mitchell.
An eastern and better part of the Cowgate,	420	74	less than 1 in 5.	Dr. Abercrombie.
A westerly and worse part of the Cowgate, comprehending the district from Alison's Close to Old Fish-market Close,	865	96	1 in 9.	Rev. W. B. Clark.
First District of Old Greyfriars,	624	68	less than 1 in 9.	Rev. D. Mitchell.
A District of the New North Parish,	620	†40	less than 1 in 15.	Rev. Mr. Bruce.
College Parish,	3300	418	1 in 8.	Rev. Mr. Cunningham.
North side of the Cowgate, Old Greyfriars, from the bottom of the Old Fish-market Close to the bottom of Blair Street,	297	28	less than 1 in 10.	Rev. W. B. Clark.
South side of the Cowgate, from the Horse Wynd to the College Wynd, and west side of the College Wynd,	262	9	1 in 29.	Do. Do.

* As a specimen of statistical minuteness and care, I may here mention the last document put into my hands respecting that parish, and in which the statistics are given of the north side of the Castlehill, from the Castle downwards to No. 529, High Street, in which we have the domicile of each family, the occupation of its head, the number of its members above and below 12 years of age, and the number of seats taken in all places of worship, with the denomination and place of attendance. The population of this district is 418, among whom there are 59 seat-holders, being less than one in seven of the whole. The Rev. John Thomson, a probationer, and Mr. Andrew A. Bonar, a student of divinity, have affixed their names to this document.

† It should be remarked that this, and indeed all the worst houses of Mr. Bruce's parish have

17. Such, then, is the *general* effect, the effect in the main, of the ecclesiastical system that has been adopted in Edinburgh. It has effected a most violent and unnatural disruption between the churches and their corresponding parishes. It has broken up the old connexion of the city clergymen and the families of their respective vineyards—the former now occupied with their general congregations, the latter set adrift from their own places of worship, and exiled from the attentions of their own proper ministers. But for this cruel disruption, the entire work of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, who, in the grossness of the mercantile spirit, have recklessly and unfeelingly turned our churches into a mercantile speculation—but for this we might still have beheld in full vigour the influence of the parochial system with all its kindly relationships throughout the mass of the Old Town population, having nine churches to accommodate them on the Sabbath, and twelve clergymen to concentrate upon them the whole force of their week-day services. They are our city rulers who have stepped in between these two parties—inflicting thereby a sore degradation on the people, and a sore despoil and odium upon the clergymen. The upper door-keepers of our churches have done on the large scale, what the door-keepers beneath them are said to do upon the small. They have let in the ladies and gentlemen who can give, and they have kept out the common people who cannot give.* It is thus that the inhabitants of the New Town have dispossessed the inhabitants of the Old. Had it not been for this, the whole of the ancient Royalty might still *en masse* have presented us with a church-going population; and the opulent from without, who compose our present general congregations and who pay a seat-rent of above £7000 a year to the city corporation, could have equally afforded to build and endow a requisite number of churches for themselves. It is the seizure of this money by the hands of the magistrates, and the diversion of it into their own treasury, which has done

been swept away by the late improvements; and as the best part of it has been spared, it now exhibits a very improved proportion of seat-holders to the whole population—it still, however, being less than one in six. The numbers are as follow:—Inhabitants 810, Seat-holders 132.

* I can imagine nothing more revoltingly painful, or more fitted to alienate the general population from the Establishment, than the conflicts which are alleged to take place between the cupidity of the door-keepers and the Christian appetency of those who have no rented seats, but wish to obtain admittance. This is an abuse altogether worthy of the surveillance of a kirk-session, who ought to have an elder appointed every Sunday, for the special purpose of protecting these general entrants, and securing their accommodation in all the sittings which might be left unoccupied after the commencement of the service.

the whole mischief, which has ejected the common people of the Old Town from their places of rightful occupancy in their own churches, and laid an arrest on that prosperous and progressive increase of churches to which the affluence of the New Town would otherwise have given birth. It is they, we repeat, who have utterly distempered the ecclesiastical system of the establishment in Edinburgh. It has been the doing of several generations; and the measure of the iniquity is now filled up, when the accumulated mischief which their own hands have perpetrated is laid as a burden of reproach on the head of that establishment which they have all along laboured to disable, and our adversaries amongst them now labour to destroy.

18. But it is now time to enter in detail on the returns which have been circulated and set forth to the public eye with so much eagerness. The bare inspection of the tables will prove the extreme haste with which they have been constructed, as if some urgent and immediate purpose were to be gained by it. They exhibit a number of arithmetical discrepancies between sums and their items, between the whole amount of sittings in the church this year and last, though no change has been made either in the number of pews or in their capacity. For these, and certain minor explanations which account for so many of the unlet sittings, we refer to the notes which are placed after the Tables in the Appendix. We shall confine ourselves to the explanations of the greatest real effect in the question at issue.

19. The explanation then which we hold to be the first in order, because of greater arithmetical importance than all the rest put together, is, that the number who do occupy sittings in our churches greatly exceeds the number who pay for them. There cannot be a doubt that never was there a larger attendance on the churches of the city, than at this moment; an attendance that is progressively increasing, is much larger now than it was ten years ago, and very greatly larger than it was twenty or thirty years ago. It is really not a church phenomenon, but a cess-office phenomenon that we are called to account for. It is not the system of non-attendance, but the system of non-payment that is upon the increase; and we appeal to some of our city rulers if they have not themselves to thank for it. Have they not given every encouragement to the non-payment of the church-annuity; and are they now to be astonished if the principle which they have thus encouraged shall recoil upon themselves in the non-payment of the church-rents? Resistance,

in fact, to all sorts of payments for public objects is of late becoming more and more the order of the day; and our reformed Town-Council, under whose auspices the habit certainly has not diminished, must not expect of the community a special exception in their own favour. But in either way a double mischief is laid upon the clergy. By the one non-payment they are made to suffer in their means of subsistence; by the other they are made to suffer in their credit. There is truly a hard task put into their hands. They must suffer, without a murmur, the resistance of the people to the one ecclesiastical impost, in a consequent decline of their own personal revenue; but unless they can, at the same time, school the people out of their resistance to the other ecclesiastical impost, theirs must be all the reproach of the consequent decline in the revenues of the city. To avail ourselves of our own Scotch language, they have not only to bear all the skaith of the one non-payment, but all the scorn of the other. Meanwhile, however it fares with either of these revenues, the attendance on the whole, that only true test of the acceptance of our clergymen, is rapidly upon the increase. The Old Greyfriars, with its 417 unlet sittings, when Mr. Sym preaches, is quite full. The Tolbooth Church, excepting such seats as are absolutely useless, being out of all sight and hearing of the clergyman, and a few of the highest rented in the fronts of galleries—this church, with its 467 unlet sittings, is quite full. The communicants of the Tron Church exceed the number of seat-payers, and these in general form but a part of the whole congregation—a very palpable proof how much the occupation of seats might outstrip the renting of them. In short, it will be found that with the exception of two, or at most three, of our city churches, there is a large or increasing attendance upon all, and a crowded attendance upon a greater number than at any period within the memory of any now alive. At least nine-tenths of the clerical appointments which have taken place within the last fifteen years have turned out prosperous appointments, we mean prosperous in the ecclesiastical sense of the word, as followed up by an increase in the number of hearers, or at least by the maintenance of the very large congregations which were bequeathed from one popular clergyman to another. Even the College Church, which is made in the returns of the Town-Council to exhibit the most adverse phenomenon in the whole record, forms a remarkable exemplification of the real progress of the Establishment in Edinburgh, and that in spite of all the

disadvantages with which it has to struggle. The appointment of Mr. Cunningham was ecclesiastically a most prosperous one, being followed up by an attendance very much greater than that of his predecessor; and nothing but the eagerness of the Town-Council to make it as prosperous in their sense of the word, or to make it as municipally prosperous as it was ecclesiastically so, has enabled the adversaries of the church in that corporation to present an exhibition of decline. On observing the first year's attendance at the old rents, they determined to make their own harvest of it; and on the second year of Mr. Cunningham's incumbency, the rents were about doubled. By that single act they raised a barrier against at least a thousand of the College Church parishioners. The increased rent came as an unexpected demand on the seat-holders of 1833-4, many of whom refused compliance with it; and whether they continue to occupy without paying, or have fallen away from their attendance, and have been replaced by others, certain it is that there is no visible abatement in the bulk or density of the congregation. There is no decline to be seen in the attendance of the church. The only decline that can be seen is in the ledgers of the city. We do not blame our civic functionaries for being so feelingly alive to this disappointment. But we do blame them for laying upon the clergy the obloquy and burden of their own doings. There can be no difficulty now in understanding why the great bulk of the parish families in the Old Town have fallen away from their attendance upon the Establishment. The great bulk of the church-room, which was rightfully and originally theirs, has been barred by the enormous seat-rents against their possible occupation of it. Of the whole 14,308 sittings in the city churches, only 216 are let at so low a rent as two shillings,—whereas in each of the new churches singly that are now providing for the population of Glasgow, there will be at least 300 of this description; and in that town of great and noble enterprise, one-half (it ought to be two-thirds) of the whole church-room will be let at a price fully within the means of the working classes. It were well if they who dogmatize so confidently on the subject of seat-letting could take a comprehensive view of all the elements which have to do with this phenomenon. The greatest of these elements is strangely overlooked in the whole of this controversy—the influence of the minister's week-day attentions, first in creating, and afterwards in keeping up among the people of his parish their habit of Sabbath attendance.

So indispensable in towns is the connection between these two things, that were seat-rents let down at this moment to two shillings overhead, or even annihilated, so as to throw open the whole of the church-room at accessible prices to the lowest of the people, we shall greatly mistake the result if we look for a great and visible increase of attendance *per saltum* on the part of the parish families. A low seat-rent is a *sine qua non*, without which their attendance, even in the most favourable circumstances, cannot be expected. But a low seat-rent has nothing in it of the efficiency of a positive or impellent cause, which must be set in operation before the people will generally move. To reduce the seat-rents is but to remove an obstacle in the way of the popular movement, not to give an impulse or to impress a direction on the movement itself. For this latter purpose there must be a laborious missionary work on the part of the clergyman, an aggressive influence throughout the tenements of the parish, that he may revive among its now torpid families a taste and a demand for the services of the sanctuary. In one word, he must become a house-going minister, ere they will become a church-going people. A very familiar and well-known example will illustrate this process. The fee of admittance to our College Museum was let down the other month from two shillings and sixpence to one shilling; and we have no doubt that they who confound a *sine qua non* with an efficient cause, anticipated, in consequence, a sudden enlargement of the number of visitors. But in this expectation they have been greatly disappointed. It is not enough that a barrier is taken away; a moving force must be put in operation. Not only must the reduction be generally known, but a dormant taste, a long extinguished habit must be created anew, ere even the frequenting of our rich and splendid museum shall come to be generally acted on. And what is true of a place of entertainment, is still more emphatically true of a place of worship and of religious instruction. The great bulk, if not of the lower, at least of the lowest class of society, have lost all value and demand for the Sabbath services of any denomination; and it must be a very gradual work of great patience and great painstaking, not ere their appetite for the ministrations of the gospel is filled, but ere the appetite is formed. The people must be compelled to come in; and our city clergymen, occupied with their extra-parochial congregations, are in the worst possible circumstances for such an achievement. It is not at all inexplicable to us, it is to our

mind in perfect keeping with such a state of matters, that the high-rented seats should be better taken than those which are low-rented. They who have both the wealth and the will in all parts of the city and neighbourhood form the great staple of our congregations,—whereas they who have neither the wealth nor the will, the neglected families of our putrid lanes, our deep and densely-peopled recesses, wanting the first of these elements, the wealth, can never once be found in any of the more commodious and respectable of our church-pews; and wanting the second of these elements, the will, they turn from the crumbs and fragments which have been thrown down to them, and so leave unpaid the wretched and worthless remainder of pauper sittings which have been left out for their occupation.

20. The reader will not fail to remark the very peculiar nature of the task which the Magistrates of Edinburgh have put into the hands of our city clergymen. They have made over to each a church and a parish; but the thing required is not that he, the minister, shall replenish that church from the families of that parish. It is not that you, the minister of the Old Greyfriars church, shall go forth among the people of the Old Greyfriars parish, and gather thence, by the force of your attentions through the week, a congregation who shall return your visits of kindness and piety by their attendance on the Sabbath. They have in no instance, for the purpose of facilitating such a process, allowed either the clergyman or his kirk-session that disposal of the mass of the church-room, or that command over the terms of its occupation which might enable them to hold out a preference for the vacant sittings to the parishioners, and at such rents as are adapted to the circumstances of a locality inhabited chiefly by artisans and labourers. Instead of facilitating so happy and healthful a process as this, they have thrown every obstruction across its way. One of the indispensable elements of course to its success is the appointment of a popular clergyman. This they provided about a year ago in the person of my excellent friend, the Rev. Mr. Sym. But they took care to follow it up by another and an adverse element, which goes completely to neutralize it. They followed it up by a great increase of the seat-rents, as if the only return they cared for, was of money to their own treasury—*their own common good*; not of improved moral and religious habits among the people, to the salvation of unperishable souls and the common good of the community at large. The combination wanted, and which, with all my attempts for

twenty years, I have never been able to realize, in opposition to the selfish views and the gross impracticable obtuseness of our civic and municipal functionaries, both in Glasgow and Edinburgh,—the combination which my heart is set upon is the appointment of a vigorous and devoted city minister, who will concentrate his main efforts on the families of his own territorial vineyard, to a parish small enough for the exertions of one man, and with the privilege of a strict preference for the sittings of its own church, while at the same time the rent of these sittings shall be, one and all, low enough for the circumstances of the general population. And the task which I would assign to the minister thus appointed, is to fill that church out of that parish. On the strength of explanations which I have repeated in various works, times and ways without number,* I have to this hour the unshaken confidence, that he would find this a twenty-fold easier task than the task laid upon him by the Magistrates, which is not to fill the whole of a low-rented church out of a whole, and at the same time, a poor parish,—but out of that parish, or out of the whole city together, to fill up a scantling of low-rented sittings which the Magistrates have left, after they have monopolized the great body of the church and all its respectable sittings, held forth on their own arbitrary and unconscionable terms to the public at large. I observe, that in the Old Greyfriars church, of 826 sittings there are, according to the returns, 35 sittings to be disposed of at 3 shillings, and 62 at 4 shillings each.† The average rent of the higher sittings is above 10 shillings each. Now my position is, that it were a far more difficult achievement, in the actual circumstances of the Old Greyfriars minister, to fill these few supplementary seats out of his parish, than out of the same parish to fill the whole church, were it put into the circumstances which I have ventured to recommend. The likelihoods and facilities of the latter achievement, I have expatiated over

* See among other writings the second and third chapters of my work on the Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation (Vol. x. of "Select Works;") see also *supra*, Section II.—On Churches and Chapels; and Section I.—On the Right Ecclesiastical Economy of a Large Town.

† In the act of penning this sentence, there was handed in to me the following note from a friend:—"Mr. Sym is come in this minute from an examination of his church. The result knocks the report of the Magistrates on the head. There are no sittings at 2s.; and the sittings at 3s. are not fit for a dog: and the sittings at 4s. are little better. No man in his senses would pay for one of them. What are we to think of those who publish such reports?—and what are we to think of the ministers who seem to think it a virtue to remain silent under every species of misrepresentation and abuse?"

It should be observed, that the seats marked at 3s. are reduced to 2s. in favour of parishioners,—still certainly too dear, however, if not fit for a dog.

at such length, and with such frequency, on many former occasions, that I have not the heart for a fresh repetition of the argument. But I may advert for a moment to the difficulties of the former achievement, which is, not to make out an occupancy for the whole church, but to make out an occupancy for the miserable remnant left at low prices by the Magistrates, as an evidence of their great and patriotic desire for the moral well-being of our general population. Not to speak of the undoubted fact, that these remnants are always the largest when the ministers are the least attractive, what are we to think of the discouragements which lie in the way even of the most energetic and most popular clergyman, amid the conditions of that very singular problem, the fulfilment of which is expected at his hands? He, in the first place, is saddled with the burden and care of an extra-parochial congregation; and I must use the privilege of a professional man, in telling all those who are not professional, and asking them to believe it on my word, that the minister who attempts satisfactorily to overtake his week-day or pastoral duties to the families of his general hearers, has not a particle either of strength or time for the families of his parish; and they, after having fallen, by the neglect of two or three generations, into a habit of non-attendance upon the ministrations of the gospel, will never once think of looking after him unless he shall look after them.* But, in the second place, what heart can he have for the enterprise, when, after all, he has no more church-room to offer than would accommodate the fiftieth part of the population he moves amongst; and when, therefore, instead of being fired with the generous and hopeful enterprise of working a general and sensible effect on the mass of his people, by gathering hearers from every house, the whole result of his laborious and oft-repeated explorations, throughout a parochial community, which, in the most favourable circumstances, he would find to be sufficiently inert and impracticable, would be the recovery here and there of a hearer—thus diminishing to an extent that is quite disheartening the proportion between the fruit of his labour and the immense fatigue of it; likening his task to that of him who painfully searches out for particles of ruby in the sand of the sea-shore, or for a few sound grains that may be fit as seed in a heap of corn tainted with disease. But it is not enough that we speak of the adverse moral forces which operate upon the clergyman in an undertaking of this kind: there

* This is more fully explained in Section I., *ante*, p. 242.

are also adverse moral forces operating in the minds of the people. In the first place, they will not submit to be drafted from one unpopular clergyman to another, by a new act of dispossession on the appointment of the new and more attractive preacher who has succeeded the old one. Then they will not be willing to exhibit themselves like the few notable specimens of a degraded caste among the ladies and gentlemen of the congregation at large; not so willing certainly as if they had a church to themselves, and were kept in countenance by the general aspect of its occupiers, consisting mainly of their own equals in society, the families of their fellow-workmen, and the families of the masters who employ them. They will not consent, and I cannot blame them, to be either pilloried near the roof in an upper tier of galleries; or squeezed into the odds and ends of acute-angled seats; or stuck behind pillars, and penned together in the darkest and most distant places of the fabric; or ranged in forms along the sides of passages, where they must either draw up or compress themselves into narrower dimensions, that the aristocrats of the congregation may have sufficient largeness and liberty when stalking by to the commodious sittings from whence themselves have been dispossessed. Give me, I say, a right constitution for a parochial church, and it were infinitely easier to fill that church from a population of the working classes, and fill it to the very door, than to fill up those wretched dribblets of room, those shreds and patches of refuse accommodation of which we have been so boastfully told as evidences at once of the great patriotism of the Edinburgh Magistrates, and, withal, the great powerlessness of the Edinburgh clergy. It is thus that the ministers of the city, even those of them who have the most overflowing audiences in Scotland, our Muirs, our Candlishes, our Syms, our Bruces, our Marshalls, and our Gordons, have all had an account of unlet sittings preferred against them. But the injury to them is nothing compared to the deep and practical injustice that is done to the general population, whose Christianity has been suspended on the difficult and precarious condition, that they shall first render a price for the few ignoble places, which, at the hand of their unfeeling rulers, is all that is offered to them. And because the worthless and humiliating offer is not accepted, this is held as a sufficient test of their hopeless and incorrigible depravity, to reclaim them from which not another expedient must be thought of, not another effort must be made.*

* Though I have abundantly expatiated elsewhere on another influence that has most

21. We shall conclude this remonstrance with the narrative of a recent transaction, and we leave the reader to judge what interpretation should be put on it.

22. Our reformed Town-Council, when they first entered upon power, began their proceedings with the high imagination of something great to be done; and equally high resolutions, we have no doubt, that theirs should be the glory of doing it. The reformation of our vicious ecclesiastical system was one of the earliest of their enterprises; and they were not long of grappling with the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the subject. To one of their proposals, a reduction in the number of the clergymen, we never could consent, in the wofully unprovided state of our city families. But to another of their proposals, the uncollegiating of those charges which are served by two clergymen, we rendered our frank and immediate acquiescence, on the express understanding, however, that on the death of any of the collegiate ministers a new church and parish should be provided for his successor. Two distinct opportunities have since occurred for carrying this arrangement into effect; the one in consequence of the death of Dr. Inglis, and the other of the death of Dr. Brown. But the great obstacle alleged from the very first by the members of the corporation was the state of the city funds, and their total inability for building new churches. Of this we ourselves undertook to relieve them; and by an appeal to a few chosen philanthropists, succeeded in raising enough of money for the erection of a church with a thousand sittings in the Cowgate. The district chalked out for it has a population of 2500, of which we had previously ascertained that not more than 250, or one in ten, were seat-holders in churches or meeting-houses of any denomination. We therefore, had ample materials for the filling of our new church, once that the right moral means were brought to bear, and had operated a full effect upon them—we mean the unwearied assiduities of a new clergyman, whose office it should be, in conjunction with his coadjutors of the eldership and Sabbath-schools, so to operate on the people of his assigned locality by his varied

essentially to do with this process, I have not adverted to it in the text, yet am unwilling to pass it altogether by. We mean that force of sympathy and example which operates so powerfully among next-door neighbours, and so often begets a gregarious movement amongst the families of a contiguous population. This influence you may set agoing, if you have the command of as much church-room as will accommodate two or three hearers in every house of the parish; but this influence you cannot set agoing, if you have only the command of as much church-room as will accommodate one hearer in every ten houses.

attentions through the week, as at length to constrain their willing attendance upon himself on the Sabbath. The lowest seat-rents fixed by the constitution of our proposed church, and never afterwards to be exceeded; the preference for its sittings secured in all time coming as the inalienable right of the parishioners; the very residence of their future clergyman in the midst of them; the necessary supplement of schools and other institutes for the completion of parochial economy; all, in short, which could enter into a right system of parochial means, or form the beau-ideal of of a well-constituted parish for the working classes of a city,—all was arranged in our own mind; and never, we confess, did our hopes run higher than when, placed on the confines of a great experiment, we felt that now we had within our reach all the elements of that very combination which, for twenty years, we, in vain and unequal contest with the power and the prejudices of municipal rulers, had struggled to realize. We required no outlay at their hands. Ours was to be all the contingent loss attendant upon the uncertainty, and all the actual loss as well as disgrace and mortification of the failure, should that have been the termination of the enterprise.* With such a guarantee of perfect safety to the city funds, we anticipated no difficulty; and more especially as we had to deal with a body of reformers of whom we fondly imagined, that as their great idol was the will, so their great aim would be the wellbeing of the people. Yet these very rulers did interpose their veto upon the occasion. That system of collegiate charges against which they flourished, so long as they hoped to inflict discredit on the church, by the exhibition of a contrast between the corruption of its ministers and their own high-sounding patriotism—that system, after the ministers had consented to its abolition, they themselves have quietly and spontaneously recurred to. There is nothing, we will venture to affirm, in the ecclesiastical administration of their pre-

* The low-minded imputations which were preferred against the motives of those who shared in this enterprise were effectually rebutted at the time. It is true that had the Town-Council, after our experiment had been brought into a state of safety, been disposed to become proprietors of this new church, they would have been expected to pay the price; but out of this price I know that I would have received from the subscribers all that was necessary for the erection and endowment of parish schools, and the completion in fact of a full parochial economy in the Cowgate. The subscribers, disappointed in their first undertaking, have commenced a second in the Water of Leith, where, in default of an Edinburgh stipend for the endowment, we can have no return from the seat-rents that will not be absorbed in the maintenance of the clergyman. In the present enterprise there is no return looked for by the subscribers. In the former, there was no return cared for.

decessors in office which can match the enormity of this proceeding. In the olden time, the habit and character of which we have no wish to recall, they moved quietly and continuously onward in the stream of things as they are, and never dreamed of change or improvement. But these men in the broad day-light of their own blazoned achievements, do revert to the very corruption which themselves had denounced. It ceased to be a grievance in their eyes, so soon as it ceased to be a topic of reproach or invective against the clergy; and so, of their own accord, do they continue to appoint these collegiate ministers as heretofore. The very last exercise of their patronage in this way was the appointment of a colleague to a minister whose congregation they report as consisting of fifty-six hearers, and whose unlet sittings amount to 159. This was their method of replacing a vacancy,—by giving a second minister to such a congregation, rather than by giving a minister to the plebeian families of the Cowgate, who might there have at this moment been working singly, and with all his might amongst them. But this, it would appear, did not suit their purpose, which somehow or other is better served by the exhibition of two established ministers for fifty-six hearers, than of one established minister placed in the midst of such facilities as a rightly conducted establishment alone can secure, and doing the proper work of an establishment, which is to reclaim and christianize the common people. Such a spectacle would have been gall and wormwood to certain members of the Town-Council of Edinburgh; and infinitely more delightful to them than the return of the working classes to piety and good order, more especially if the Established Church is to have any hand in it, is their own return of unlet sittings which themselves have manufactured, and of which themselves and their predecessors before them had created all the materials. Would they rather, we ask, that a work so glorious as the Christian education of the great mass of the people, should remain for ever undone, than that it should be done by the hated hands of the established clergy? If not, why did they, in the last exertion of their ecclesiastical power, give a second minister to a congregation of 56 hearers, instead of a single minister to the destitute families of 2500 people in the Cowgate? Who made the surrender on that occasion of the best and highest interests of the common people? Surely their wish that the Establishment should remain a stigmatized and hated thing must be very strong, that, rather than the removal of any

blot or stigma from its brow, they could become the authors of this guilty sacrifice.

23. Before quitting this melancholy history, let me give a specimen or two of the reasonings for and against a parochial church in the Cowgate. The endless objection of unlet sittings was urged then by the Magistrates even as it is now by the Voluntaries, and as I hope shortly to evince, with as little of the strength and substance, though with the same show of argument by both. Let the Old Greyfriars church be filled, ere we proceed to another erection in the eastern part of its parish, was the plausible cry,—to meet which I gave in the following paper, to be read at the deliberations of the Council Board, and which I now present entire to the reader, because a reasoning, when directed to some particular instance, is often more effective than the same reasoning when propounded in general terms. My object was to show that the number of unlet seats in the church of the Old Greyfriars was no reason against the erection of a new church for the benefit of a locality in its parish, where I had clearly ascertained that there were a thousand grown-up people who had not taken sittings in any place of worship whatever.

“The number of *unlet* seats is no criterion for the number of *unoccupied* seats,—it being quite certain that a very great many seats are occupied without being paid for, as is most decisively made out by the fact that the number of communicants in certain of the churches, considerably exceeds the number of recorded and rent-paying sitters.

“And, again, these unlet and low-rented seats are, as was naturally to be looked for, the worst in the whole church; and many of them so placed that the minister can either not be seen, or not be heard from them.

“But at present I avail myself of neither of these considerations, however pertinent or powerful they might be, in reply to the number of unlet sittings, when alleged in argument against the efficiency or usefulness of the Establishment in general. It is when brought forward as an argument against the special measure of a new church and parish in the Cowgate, that we have properly to do with it; and we trust to make it palpable, that even were the statistics of Mr. Maclaren admitted in their full extent, and without any alleviation whatever, instead of operating against the proposed erection, they make strongly in its favour.

“Under the present system, there are three distinct causes for these unlet sittings in the existing churches, none of which can

be pleaded in opposition to the measure of a new church, if in the new church none of them will be permitted to operate; nay, what is more, all of them can be pleaded in favour of the measure, if these causes are not only to be removed, but to be reversed, or in other words, if the present adverse causes are not only to be done away, but wholly opposite causes and opposite influences are to be substituted in their place, justifying therefore the expectation of a wholly opposite result.

“The first cause of the present unlet sittings, and more especially when they are sittings of a low rent, is that generally where the minister is least acceptable, and, consequently, the least efficient for the purpose of forming a parochial congregation, there the seat-rents are lowest. No wonder that the lowest rented sittings should be the least run upon, if there obtain an almost invariable conjunction between low-rented seats and unacceptable ministers. In the Cowgate church, it is proposed to establish a conjunction diametrically opposite to this—that is, the conjunction of low-rented seats with the most acceptable and efficient minister that the Church of Scotland will afford.

“The second cause of the present low-rented sittings being so little in demand is, that they are the worst in the church, and a great many of them quite valueless. In the proposed Cowgate church, this cause would also be reversed. A low seat-rent will be universal; and the families of the working classes, instead of being consigned, like so many paupers, to the outskirts and extreme places of the congregation, will one and all of them be respectably accommodated, will be diffused over the whole body of the church, and form the great mass and staple of those who assemble in it.

“But the third cause is far the most important of the three, and in its moral bearings is of inestimable weight and importance. Under the present system, the ministers, from having to do with general congregations, and from the multitude and variety of their other duties, are well-nigh dissevered from their parishes; and if a clergyman be not in circumstances for both regularly visiting and regularly preaching to the people of his own parish, the non-attendance of that people on the minister is quite unavoidable. The minister of a church in the Cowgate will come to it on the distinct understanding, that his parish is the great, we hope the only theatre of his week-day services; that for the very purpose of augmenting his influence within his assigned territory, the people who live in it are to be privileged

with a right of preference for the sittings of his church ; and that his distinct business is, by operating upon them in their own houses day after day, with all kind and Christian attentions, to reclaim them from those habits of Sabbath profanation into which the great majority of the common people have fallen.

“The three causes now in operation, and which account for the existing non-attendance, will thus be done away ; and opposite causes, or causes acting in an opposite direction, will be substituted in their room. It is an aphorism in philosophy, that the same causes produce the same effects. And very nearly akin to, if not identical with this, is the proposition, that from contrary causes contrary effects may be anticipated.”

24. The only further information that we shall now give on the subject of this proposal, is, that it was rejected by the Town Council, on the recommendation of a committee who drew up an adverse report, the perusal of which I found to be very instructive. There is one paragraph in it pregnant with information, as leading us at once to perceive how utterly impossible it were, for the most Christian and efficient presbytery on earth, to administer aright for the ecclesiastical good of the city, so long as the magistrates shall have the power of imposing what seat-rents they may on the different churches. The two bodies, in fact, pull in directions altogether opposite ; and never shall we attain to a soundly prosperous condition, so long as the moral and Christian objects of the presbytery shall remain in their present state of conflict and contrariety with the monied objects of the corporation. The following is the extract referred to.

“If it were proposed for adoption as a principle applicable to all the city churches, that the seat-rents should be upon a scale so low as, in a fully occupied church, would merely pay the interest of the money laid out in the building of it, and defraying the expense of repairs and other contingent charges, there would be no hesitation in saying it ought not to be agreed to.”

25. The councillor of a northern burgh has avowed openly, that he did not want the Church of Scotland to be reformed, but to be destroyed ; and that, therefore, the more corrupt our Establishment was, it would be all the more accordant with his purposes and wishes. I will not affirm that this is the sentiment of one of the corporation, though it be in perfect keeping with a saying which he quoted at the Council-Board, and without disapprobation at the time, “that the Church of Scotland had damned more souls than it had saved.” Still I am not able to

vindicate the practical course that he has taken for the fulfilment of the object that his heart is set upon, and for which the situation to which he has been preferred by his fellow-citizens, has given him peculiar advantages. His reproachful observation respecting the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh, is, that it is of no further use than that of supplying sermons to ladies and gentlemen. They are he and his coadjutors in office who have reduced it to this; and, whether *de jure* or *de facto*, with them is still lodged the power of keeping it at this. At another time, he denounced the project of extending the benefits of our city establishment to the common people as an idle theory; and this it ever will be, so long as he and his colleagues shall stand up like a wall of brass, armed with the power of making it impracticable. But the Scotch are a shrewd and intelligent people, and they will be no longer at a loss to perceive on what party the burden of this obloquy ought to be laid; and, whether or not the inefficiency of our Church in Edinburgh be the result of a deep and malignant policy on the part of its adversaries, with the virtual falsehood superadded of its being represented as the fruit of an ecclesiastical corruption, when, in fact, either to the craft or the tyranny of our city rulers is it altogether owing—they will at least see, that the maligned and misrepresented clergy of the metropolis are innocent of it all. We fondly hope, indeed, that not one individual of the corporation, however unwittingly he may have been betrayed into such measures as are hurtful to the reputation of our Establishment and subversive of its usefulness, is so lost to principle and honour, as deliberately to have framed and adopted them in the spirit of an infernal or Machiavelian policy. This charge we most willingly abandon; but there is another for which we can find no apology, and no palliation. They have emitted from their Council-Chamber, what in truth is the report of their own dishonour, but which most perniciously tells at the present crisis to the dishonour of that Church which they, for the enrichment of their own treasury, have done their uttermost to pervert and paralyze. A copy of that document has, I understand, been deposited with every member of the British Legislature; and it is now, if I may judge from my own correspondence, in busy circulation through all the parishes of Scotland. The emissaries of mischief have, within these few weeks, been most actively at work with it—whether employed by some of their own members or not, I have not the means of knowing. The baleful opposition of our Magistrates to the Chris-

tian education of the common people in Edinburgh, with all its consequent and accumulated mischief to the ecclesiastical state of our city, is now converted into an instrument for carrying the like mischief over the whole length and breadth of the land. And an enterprise having no other object than that of furnishing the lessons of the gospel to every neglected locality in our town, and every unprovided hamlet in our country parishes, has been loaded with the disgrace of that wretched mal-administration, under which the cruellest enemies of our Church have done all they could to weaken the Establishment, and now feel themselves on vantage ground for effecting their purposes to destroy it.

26. But I must now hurry onward to a conclusion,—yet before altogether quitting the subject, I would fain address a few sentences to the people of Scotland. The power of delusion has been busily at work amongst you within these few weeks; and one of its mightiest engines, I have been made to understand, has been this document of unlet sittings issued from the Council-Chamber of Edinburgh, and sent forth in thousands and tens of thousands throughout all the corners of our land. There is another such engine, I have heard, equally mischievous, the statement of a Central Board of Voluntaries having the same object, to defeat the proposed extension of our Church—the design of which extension is neither to enrich clergymen, nor to undermine dissenters, but purely to rescue the unprovided multitudes of our increasing population from the consequences of that destitution and neglect under which they labour. The latter performance will meet its deserts in proper time. But, meanwhile, you will be able to interpret aright those widely circulated papers drawn up and offered to public view under the sanction of our city corporation. They complain of the number of the unlet seats. You will no longer wonder, when told that, one with another, they exact, overhead, no less than 13s. 3d. for each individual occupancy. It is true, as I am speaking of an average, they have many sittings lower than this, for the many they have as much higher; and a few considerably lower; but these when unlet, so absolutely valueless, as to be altogether unworthy of being occupied, or at least unworthy of being paid for. For occupied they are, and that to a great extent, beyond what they are paid for—inso much that we will venture to affirm of the thirteen churches in Edinburgh, that there are not thirteen continuous places of worship in all Scotland, whether of the Establishment or the Dissent, which, on the whole, are better

filled ; and this too, in spite of the heavy prices to which attendance upon the city churches of the metropolis is subjected. Nor is this difficult to understand. There is no town in Scotland, where, within the last fifteen years, there has been a series of better appointments, comprehending a number of clergymen who will fully match with the *élite* of any establishment or denomination in Christendom. The truth is, the Magistrates of Edinburgh know well, that, without the best men possible, their miserable system could not work at all ; nor would they be able to realize one-third of their enormous seat-rent on any other terms than that of looking out, in the event of every vacancy, for the very ablest ministers whom Scotland can afford. We confidently appeal to their former parishes on this subject,—to the people of Yester, who remember Mr. Wilkie ; to the people of Sprouston, who remember Mr. Sym ; to the people of Glasgow, who remember Dr. Muir and Mr. Marshall ; to the people of Kinfauns, who remember Dr. Gordon ; to the people of Guthrie, who remember Mr. Bruce ; to the people of Swinton, who remember Mr. Hunter ; to the people of Greenock, who remember Mr. Cunningham ; to the people of Stenton, who remember Mr. Grey ; to the people of Bonhill, who remember Mr. Candlish ; and, lastly—for, with the power to coin and to circulate such representations, the dead are as little safe as the living—we appeal to the people of the Grampian parish, Glenisla, in whose most hallowed remembrance the saintly and apostolic Mr. Martin still retains the place which his virtues and his unwearied services had earned amongst them ;—we appeal to the men of one and all of these parishes, whether in their consciences, they could ascribe the unlet sittings, that have been so paraded over the whole length and breadth of our land, to the powerlessness of the Edinburgh ecclesiastical labourers, or to the inherent, though before unexplained vices of the Edinburgh ecclesiastical system. The ministers have, each of them, been lured from their former comfortable homes, where they were surrounded by the respect and love of their parishioners ; and many is the rough and adverse element which, whether from the misguided inhabitants of the city, or from the violence and vulgarity of its public functionaries, they have had to contend with. On the one hand, exposed to starvation by the non-payment, which men in high places have most disgracefully countenanced, of that which forms the all they have for the subsistence of their families ; on the other, insulted and abused by these very men, because of the non-payment of that which

goes, by a process of unlawful merchandise, to the supply of their city treasury. In other words, they must not only acquiesce, without a murmur, in the loss of all that is withheld from themselves; but they must submit to be vilified in every quarter of the kingdom, unless, through their means, the Magistrates of Edinburgh shall be able to exact the uttermost farthing of their monstrous impositions on the hearers of the Established Church. Yet let me no longer speak of the injustice done to the Edinburgh clergy, while an injustice still more grievous in the eye of every philanthropist and patriot remains unredressed,—the injustice done by the Magistrates of Edinburgh to their own population. They refused a low-rented church to the families of the Cowgate; and this for the virtually expressed reason among others, that the monopoly price which they have affixed to the sittings of the other churches was in danger of being broken down by it. Driven from this field of benevolent enterprise, the men whose highest ambition was to be the moral benefactors of the working-classes in society, transferred their operations to the suburb population of the village of the Water of Leith, where they have been nobly received and encouraged by the families. By this movement, no doubt, we forfeited the advantage of an Edinburgh stipend, but rejoiced in the imagination that at least we were safe from the opposition of the Edinburgh Magistrates. The sum raised for the erection of the village church is about £1500—the free-will offering of men who have no other object than that the people there should be gathered into one parochial family, and enjoy the constant attentions of a Christian minister who should live as a friend and a father in the midst of them. But to consummate the plan, something more than a church is indispensable. The maintenance of the clergyman must be provided for from some other source than from seat-rents higher than the people can afford; and it was to obtain this, that a petition, subscribed by no less than 618 of this small but interesting locality, was sent to the Legislature in order to have some small pittance from Government for the lowering of their rents, and which would serve them instead of that Edinburgh stipend, that might have achieved the same benefit of cheap sittings for the people of Cowgate. I would not have dwelt with such particularity on this one instance, were it not an example and a prototype for several hundreds of similar instances in Scotland. We hope to obtain the requisite churches by the subscription of benevolent individuals. But the object will be made

utterly abortive, if the maintenance of the clergyman shall be altogether thrown on the seat-rents; and it is to lessen and lighten these that we want some small provision to be made from another quarter than from the means of the people themselves. This is the single object of all our petitions; and from whatever parties opposition to it might have been expected, we at least, after we had retired from their territory, thought ourselves secure against any disturbance by the rulers of Edinburgh. But that malignant genius which presides over their counsels, and under whose baleful influence their city has become a moral desert, has broken forth, it would appear, beyond their own limits, and is now working adversely against every attempt that is being made in the country to provide a Christian ministry, under whose care, and under whose culture, we might be enabled to reclaim all the dry and deserted places of our land. People of Scotland! many are the deluded thousands amongst you who know not what ye are doing,—working against the best and highest interests of the humbler classes in society, and weakening the hands of those who have not another wish than to raise both the character and comfort of the poor man and of the labourer. But the effervescence will at length clear away; and after the mock-patriotism of these our modern reformers has made full demonstration of its hollowness and its heartlessness, the scales will fall from your eyes, and you will come to see and understand who the real friends of the common people are.

While engaged in the composition of this pamphlet, I, by a fortunate coincidence, received the following letter from a person then altogether unknown to me, and which on reading, I could not fail to observe how seasonably, how providentially, it had come into my hands. It is from a citizen in the Old Town, confirming and illustrating, by the unvarnished tale of his own personal hardships, the mischief of the Ecclesiastical System in Edinburgh far better than I can do by any elaborate demonstration of it. I cannot withhold any part of it from the reader, but will present it to him entire; feeling as I do, that the simple statement, given in the words of a plain but respectable workman, is of more worth and more weight than a thousand arguments.

“EDINBURGH, *April 6, 1835.*

“REV. SIR,—I have just read a pamphlet bearing your name, on ‘Churches and Chapels,’ and from the concern you show for

that large portion of the community, 'the handicraft,' I feel persuaded that you will not take it amiss to be addressed by one of them, as I wish to tender my thanks to you for thereby furnishing me, and others of the same class, with arguments in defence of the Establishment, when assailed, as we often are, by those who differ from us. As it is my lot to have daily intercourse with many in the same grade of life with myself, you will at once see how important it is, when attacked, to be prepared to show that our ground is not just so untenable as they would have it. Yet, pleased as I am with your pamphlet, I am truly sorry to say, that your arguments are in a great measure neutralized by the fact that the seat-rents, so far from being low, are very high, and thus the precious blessings of Christ's kingdom, viz., 'The poor have the gospel preached to them,' have been in a great measure torn from them. Even the well-disposed poor handicraftsman, born in, nurtured by, and attached to the Church, has been driven from it, and forced to seek for spiritual food elsewhere, at a price within the compass of his means. You must be well informed on this subject already; still, I think that the following statement of facts as regards myself, may place this much-lamented matter in a still stronger point of view. About thirty years ago, I formed a connexion with a family who had been members of, and had several sittings in, the New North Church, for I think nearly half a century; and a short time after I also joined the church, then under the charge of the good old minister, David Dickson. When he died, Mr. Grey was appointed to the church; a great demand for seats was anticipated, and the church was enlarged to meet this. When Mr. Grey came, we had four sittings at three shillings each. On the following term, when we went to the Cess-office to retake our seats, judge of our surprise when told they were now to be twelve shillings each. We had no previous intimation of this most unreasonable advance in the seat-rents, and it fairly put us to a stand. We thought of leaving the church, but we liked Mr. Grey, and were loath to leave the church; and having put off till the time allowed was nearly expired, we even submitted and paid three pounds, for we now took five seats; and be it noted, our seat was the third from the door, and therefore ought to have been spared, or at least some mitigation of the rise allowed. But many poor people had seats near us, and not a few old widows, who had a hard struggle to scrape a living, and to whom the very walls of the church were dear, from long-cherished family

and other associations of forty or fifty years; but alas! they had no alternative but to pay or leave the kirk. Deep and loud were the lamentations when compelled to choose the latter, but all was of no avail; our civic rulers acted upon the worldly maxim, viz., everything is worth what it will bring in the market, and they found plenty of customers for the seats, high as they were. But mark the consequence;—the parish kirk, without any great stretch of metaphor, was virtually blotted out of the parish. The plebeian portion of the congregation, or parishioners, it mattered not which, had thus their sacred patrimony filched from them by their patrician neighbours—brethren they were not—and left to go to what place of worship they pleased, or to no place at all for anything those cared who were invested with power. No one amongst them, as far as I know, with his heart in the right place, stood up and asked in council, What is to become of the poor who cannot pay these high rents? Much akin to this was the desecration of the outer court of the temple, in the days of our Lord when on earth, the place allotted for the worship of the Gentiles, but then chiefly, if not wholly, occupied by the money-changers, dealers in cattle, &c., which was conducted with such fraud and exactions from strangers as to procure for them, from Him who knew the hearts of all men, the epithet of thieves or robbers. Yet we do not read of any one pleading the cause of the poor Gentiles on being then so basely supplanted by such characters; and if they had, the reply probably would have been, Poh, they are only Gentiles. I need not tell you, Sir, about the deceitfulness of the human heart, nor how much of the old man lurks in our fallen nature. An eminent writer says, ‘I can compare it to nothing more fitly than the sea; it is sometimes as smooth as a looking-glass, but then you may be sure it is a calm; a small breeze will ruffle the surface, and in proportion as the wind rises so does the sea.’ O how it raves and rages in a moment! So sometimes the heart is smooth and quiet, if it be a calm season with us; if all be well with us and about us, the heart promises mighty fair, but there frequently comes a blast of temptation, a slight, an insult, a wrong done us, and all is in an uproar at once. Sometimes a mere trifle will make the heart swell, and foam, and toss up its billows even to the clouds as it were; and is it to be wondered, Sir, that an occasion like this should tempt many to leave the Church in disgust and join the dissenters? It has been said, ‘It is in the body politic as in architecture, ruin is the more fatal if it begin at the bottom.’

I leave you to draw the inference. A year or two after the rise of the seat-rents, we wished to take the whole pew, as we occupied five seats, and the pew held six, a man having left the remaining seat whose wife sat in another place of the church; but, on applying, were told we must petition for it. I spoke to a gentleman who had recently left the Town-Council; he said he would speak to one of the Council who knew me, to support my petition, but did not think it would be of any use, as there might be a hundred petitions for twenty seats which would never be opened, so that it mattered not what the claims might be, the seats would be given to favourites; and sure enough so it was, the seat was let to a person living at the back of the New Town. But notwithstanding all this, we still adhere to the Church, for I learnt that it was rather the misfortune than the fault of the church, as the ministers had no hand in these unholy doings of raising the seat-rents. I may mention that, on removing to our present place of meeting, another sixpence was laid upon the seats, but this was what they called *equalizing* them—a very *consolatory* reason to a working man; this was taken off last term. In stating these particulars to you, Sir, I would be glad to know whether there be any possibility of the ministers obtaining a voice in fixing the seat-rents, as this great bar to filling the churches must be evident to them all, for it has been observed, ‘A majority of the Town-Council may happen at some future period to be unfriendly to the Establishment, and so raise the price still higher, and drive away many more.’

“I hope you will excuse me for occupying so much of your time. But I have taken the liberty, because I know you have great influence in the community, and the cause of the working man at heart, and will not fail to exert it for their benefit. I remain, Rev. Sir, with much respect, your very obedient servant,

“ STEWART BELL.

“ NO. 6, MILNE’S COURT, BOW-HEAD.”

I could not have desired a clearer or more impressive statement than the one given in this letter of the Edinburgh ecclesiastical system, and the havoc made by its mischievous working on the character and habits of the general community. While we cannot but admire the strength and tenacity of principle wherewith, though at the heavy expense of £3 a year, the writer of this communication and the members of his family still cling to the tabernacles of their fathers, we need no longer

wonder, (the mystery is quite dissipated,) that only 727 individuals out of above 28,000, being the population of the Old Town, should have seats taken in all the Established Churches of the city. But while we cannot sufficiently deplore this great moral calamity, what shall we think of the recklessness of its authors, who would lay upon the heads of others, beside themselves, the burden and disgrace of that sore evil which their own hands have inflicted?

I cannot adequately express the satisfaction and the delight which I felt when, on inquiring into the situation of Mr. Stewart Bell, I made the discovery that he was an operative journeyman in the shop of a silver-plate worker. Edinburgh will never be restored to a right ecclesiastical condition, till its Establishment is restored to its proper and legitimate functions by each parish church becoming what it originally was, the rightful inheritance and common good of its own parish families. Would that the great majority of all our Old Town congregations consisted of the operatives and journeymen of Edinburgh, each in his own well-filled family pew. The ladies and gentlemen of the New Town can shift for themselves.*

SECTION V.

RE-ASSERTION OF THE EVILS OF THE EDINBURGH SYSTEM OF SEAT-LETTING.

MR. ADAM BLACK has not at all mended the case. Nothing has been said that sensibly extenuates, or, still less, that casts a

* For the process by which to reach this blissful consummation, we again refer to Section I.

We trust that we have not incurred even the appearance of disrespect to the affluent and existing seat-holders of our Edinburgh churches. It is true that, in as far as they are extra-parochial, they occupy their places by usurpation. The usurpation, however, is not their deed but that of the Magistrates, who in the first instance have assumed the church-room as their property, and in the second, compel the most extravagant prices for the use of it. When we say of our affluent seat-holders that they can shift for themselves, we mean that the same wealth which is competent to the payment of their high seat-rents is competent to the erection and endowment of churches for their most ample and honourable accommodation. The annual sum of £7000 a year from seat-rents, which now enters into the coffers of the city corporation, were, if not so appropriated, a sufficient guarantee for the provision of ten new churches, with all their annual expenses, including the maintenance of the clergyman.

doubt over the reality of that great practical evil which we have tried to demonstrate—whatever the defects or the blemishes which might be alleged against our representation of it. The great mass of the families in the Old Town of Edinburgh have been ejected from their own parish churches by the cruel hand of power. This, we re-assert, is the mischief that has been inflicted on the people by the hands of their own magistrates ; and all that has been yet told us in the way of palliation, is but the mockery of redress—not justice, but the hollow and unsubstantial semblance of it.

And, first, in regard to the preference of the parishioners in the letting of seats, I should certainly have been at pains to ascertain whether there had been any distinct or authoritative statute-law upon the subject ; but I held it enough to state what I then believed, and still believe to be true, that such a law had been little acted on, that the public at large had no distinct or confident understanding of it, and that *if ever proclaimed as a rule*, or given as an instruction—practically, it was of no effect. On the consideration of an inoperative preference, I did not think it worth while to dwell ; because I felt that all the good of such an arrangement, even had it been most rigidly acted on, was defeated by the operation of another cause, which, of itself, hath effected an almost entire disruption between the plebeian parishes of the city and their respective clergymen, that is, the extravagant seat-rents. But there are a few low seat-rents, behind which the vindicators of the Town-Council make their retreat from our charges ; and from which, however, it will not be difficult to unferret them, though at the trouble of some explanation both for the author and his readers. Let us see then what this preference amounts to. In regard to the vast majority of the sittings, the plebeian hearers, for whose interest alone I appear in this controversy, can have little or no benefit. These sittings, in the great and general bulk of them, are hopelessly beyond their reach, more especially for aught like family occupation ; and a preference for any article is of no value, when the price is such, that we should never think of aspiring after it. And then, coming down to the low-priced sittings, it is not enough for us to state, that these are very few, and therefore not worthy of being made to figure at all in any general argument ; but the conclusive demonstration against them is, that it is of little or no consequence their price being low, seeing the article is almost or altogether worthless. A preference is of no value,

save when there is a competition ; and accordingly the pauper sittings of the High Church, the retired corners of the Tolbooth, the unseeing and unhearing places of the College Church—these, and the sittings similar to these in the other churches, are unlet. The preference here is of no value, just because the article is of no value. In regard to the high sittings, their price alone wards off from them the parishioners of the working classes; and in regard to the low sittings, they are equally warded off by the utter worthlessness of the article. Between them the value of the preference is annihilated to the artisans and labourers in the parishes of Edinburgh,—excluded by the high price when the thing is worth the having, and certainly not invited by the low price when the thing is not worth the having. Let us see two-thirds of the sittings in every church held forth at an average of three shillings each ; and then the preference to parishioners would be really worth the talking of,—for it would prove a main instrument for the restoration of the parochial system to Edinburgh. But as matters stand, it is adding insult to injustice to tell us of a preference, either for the many high-priced sittings, which, because of their cost, workmen cannot, or for the low-priced sittings, which, because of their inconvenience and meanness, they will not take. It is only when the price is low enough and the article good enough, that a preference comes into play ; and in the present instance, speaking mainly and generally, either one or other of these indispensable qualifications is wanting. Till both be conjoined, and that too in sufficient number, this boasted preference can be of no sensible advantage to the great body of parishioners in the Old Town of Edinburgh. Let it not then be taken advantage of, as a loop-hole of escape by those who have bereft the people of their rights, and would now put them off with the jugglery of a name.

But, again, we are told, that there is not only the advantage of a preference, but the advantage of a lower price held out to parishioners. This I was quite aware of, and have upon one occasion adverted to it,*—though from its practical insignificance in point of effect, or of real accommodation to the people of the Old Town parishes, I have not given to the abatement in their favour that notice or that place of promineney and high consideration which has been claimed for it. But let us now see what it really amounts to. There is, first, the abatement of one shilling

* See Section IV.—“ On the Evils done to the Established Church in Edinburgh by the Seat-letting being in the hands of the Magistrates,” *ante*, p. 328.

to parishioners in certain of the Old Town parishes on all sittings at or beneath five shillings; in other words, a reduction in the price of such sittings as, in greater part, are worth no price at all,—a cheapening of the whole of that church-room about which my informer probably exaggerated, when he represented it as not fit for a dog, but which certainly is not fit for a hearer; such seats, in fact, that according to the report of my friend, Mr. Marshall, his parishioners declared “that they would rather continue occupying seats where they could find them, than pay for sittings so disadvantageously situated as they found those to be which were to be had at such prices as they could afford.” But let us go upward from these to the higher sittings, on which there is an abatement of two shillings to parishioners, and we shall soon, very soon, in our midway passage through the seats to be had by them at four shillings and five shillings, come to the great majority even of the church-room in the Old Town; and find, that notwithstanding this abatement, it, to all sense, is as inaccessible to the general population as before. I call it an intolerable oppression, that Mr. Stewart Bell, a journeyman silver-plater, should have to pay twelve shillings a year for each of his five sittings, or three pounds upon the whole; and that, too, in a pew so far back as to be only three from the door; and from which, by the way, we may judge what the quality or attraction of the pews might be which are at inferior prices. The reduction of this enormous seat-rent for a workman to ten shillings a sitting, would scarcely have been felt by me as any alleviation; and I should have denounced it as an intolerable oppression still. Between the low and worthless sittings, too dear at any price, upon the one hand, and the commodious but high sittings, which, after the abatement, are still greatly too high for the working classes, upon the other,—we wonder not, that in parishes composed almost entirely of the working classes, the abatement should have been so little called for; and, accordingly, the whole of this boasted relief that has been granted to parishioners of the Old Town for the last twelvemonth, amounts to £8, 13s. But the rule of the abatement for the New Town still more strikingly demonstrates with what skill, and at the same time with what safety to the funds of the corporation, the whole of this abatement scale has been constructed. In those Old Town churches to which this regulation applies, the abatement in behalf of parishioners on the higher sittings is universal, taking place at all prices. But in the New Town churches, it ceases when the

price of these sittings exceeds 15s. each. The truth is, that in these Old Town parishes, poor and plebeian as they are, very few indeed of the parishioners can afford to enter their churches at a rent above five shillings; so that an unexcepted abatement in their favour on all prices higher than this, is but a mere show of relief to the great body of the parochial families. Whereas in the wealthy New Town parishes, the great majority of the parochial hearers sit, and indeed must sit, at a rent higher than 15s.; there being only 1140 sittings at prices of from 6s. to 15s. inclusive, whereas there are 4326 at prices above 15s. In other words, the abatement on the higher prices is declared to be unlimited in favour of parishioners to those churches where *few or no* parishioners can receive the benefit of it; but carefully limited in those other churches, where *many*, without such limitation, would have received the benefit of it. And, accordingly, the whole of this pompous and paraded abatement for all the parochial hearers of Edinburgh, both in the New and Old Town, came last year to £24, 19s.* In the abatement itself, there is nothing wrong; and sorry should we be to detract one jot or tittle from any paltry credit which is due to it. But abatement though it be, it must become our complaint, and not our congratulation, when the use that is made of it is to gloss over what is wrong; or when employed as an instrument in the hands of a little reasoner, who, by dint of a wretched pettifogging, can manage to cast an obscurity over the large view that should be taken of the question, and so to blind the public eye against the deep and wholesale injustice that has been done to the commonalty of Edinburgh. The first and faintest symptoms of a returning conscience should be hailed; and the pettiest acts of restitution, more especially on the part of heirs for a wrong done by their predecessors, should be thankfully and liberally acknowledged—but not when accompanied with a systematic vindication of the wrong, or with the intimation that in its main and general character it was to be perpetuated. This abatement, even this humble and fractionary abatement, were not to be despised but to be rejoiced in, had we been permitted to regard it

* Why should it after all have come to an amount so paltry? for surely there are as many parochial hearers in Edinburgh, even at the rents on which the abatement is due, as to have made up a larger sum for abatements upon the whole. Is it that they only receive the abatement who claim it; and that unless they make themselves known as parishioners, the privilege is withheld from them? If this be the solution, it is in harmony with the fact, that other decrees of the Council, as that of the parochial preference for example, may for some time have passed, and long before being understood or acted upon by the public at large.

as a tribute to principle, or as the pledge of a large and effectual reform ; but not when made use of to palliate or rather to purchase toleration for a crying evil, not when turned into an auxiliary on the side of abuse, or for bolstering up the policy of men who strain out a gnat while they swallow a camel.

But a single example is often of more effect than whole pages of general reasoning. I therefore felt my plea to have been prodigiously strengthened by the case of Mr. Stewart Bell. The following communication, received about a fortnight ago, will perform the same service for me, and show far better than any words or arguments of mine, how unabated the real and practical hardships of the common people are under all the abatements that have been provided for them by the Town-Council of Edinburgh.

“In the above district there is a case highly illustrative of the operation of the present system. The individual referred to is a widow, aged eighty-two, residing in a single room of a top-flat of a stair in the Castlehill. She continued to be a member of the New North Church for about fifty years. During the first fifteen years of that period she occupied a sitting for which she paid *four* shillings. At the end of that period her sitting was raised to eight; and she continued to pay that sum for the next fifteen years. At the end of the thirty years her sitting was again raised to twelve shillings: and even this sum she continued to pay, though with *great* difficulty, for ten years. At that time, partly from the difficulty which she found in paying the twelve shillings, and partly from the distance to which the church was removed, (to Nicolson Square,) she ceased to take a seat. Since then, however, she has continued a *regular sitter* in Mr. Marshall’s. She is quite alive to all the disagreeable feelings connected with not being in possession of a seat which she can call her own, and although she does not think it consistent with her duty to offer again twelve shillings, she professes her perfect willingness still to give six or even eight shillings for a seat in the Tolbooth, *provided she could get one where she could hear the minister*. Such a seat, however, though labouring under no defect of hearing except what necessarily arises in every instance from the advance of years, she *cannot* obtain.”*

* This communication is from the Rev. John Thomson, 2, East Broughton Place. The name of the aged and respectable person herself is not given from obvious considerations of delicacy towards one who is constrained by dire necessity, in opposition to all her better feelings, to occupy a seat without a legal right of occupation.

We shall now know how to estimate the preamble in the act of the Town-Council, or rather in the adopted recommendation of their committee, to ordain those abatements on which so much of the vindication of their system has been made to rest. This preamble is as follows:—"In order to accomplish, as far as practicable, the desire of the Council, that the petitioners should be enabled to obtain seats in their respective parish churches, and that the seat-rents should be accommodated to their respective circumstances, so as not to prove a barrier to the admission of any, even the poorest of the people."* And the Town-Council accordingly resolved, that, "as it is an object of great importance to encourage church-going habits among the lower classes, if it shall be found that the number of seats set apart for their accommodation is inadequate to meet the demand, any additional number that may be required shall be reduced and set apart for their accommodation."† Now nothing can be more full of promise to the ear than all this; but let the public look narrowly and not superficially as heretofore to the actual working of the actual system now in living operation. Let them attend first to the real practical grievance suffered by the common people of Edinburgh at the hands of its Town-Council on the one side, and then to the remedy devised for them by the same Town-Council upon the other. The thing complained of is, that the sittings *which are worth the having* are, in the great bulk of them, only to be had at a price much too high for the circumstances of the general population—so high, in fact, that the abatement upon these in favour of parishioners does not nearly bring them within reach of the families of our workmen. And the answer to this is, that there are certain other sittings to the amount of so many hundreds at low enough prices; and low enough, in all conscience, we admit, if the sittings were but good enough, or if the people who have a taste for their own convenience and their own respectability could be induced to pay for them any price at all. The thing wanted is commodious church-room at a moderate price. The Town-Council tell us that, if the number of seats set apart for the accommodation of the lower classes is inadequate to meet the demand, any additional number that may be required shall be reduced and set aside for their accommodation. In other words, the commodious church-room will then be brought

* "The Church its own Enemy," by Mr. Adam Black, p. 35.

† This last extract is given on the authority of a recent statement by the Central Board of Scottish Dissenters, p. 6.

down to a moderate price—yes, *but not till the incommodious church-room has all been previously taken.* Who does not see here that the bringing down of the good seats is suspended on a condition which never has been, which never will be fulfilled—on the bad seats being all previously occupied and paid for? In other words, we shall give you, Mr. Stewart Bell, and you, the old and venerable matron who occupies a single room of a top flat of a stair in the Castlehill—we shall give each of you your twelve shilling articles even at half price, if you can first prevail on your townsmen and acquaintances to take off our hands so many hundreds of our three and four and five shilling articles which are not worth a sixpence. And this is what they call accommodating their seat-rents to their circumstances, so that they shall not prove a barrier to the accommodation of any, even the poorest of the people. Why, these low-rented seats are nothing else than a barrier. Instead of so many open portals for the admittance of the poor into our churches, they have barricaded all round the entrance against them into such places as either rich or poor have any value for. These pauper and low-priced sittings which the Town-Council of Edinburgh point their finger to, as the evidence of their great desire to encourage church-going habits among the poor, when viewed in their true character and tendency, are but so many scarecrows for scaring them away. They serve not as a stepping-stone to our churches for the parochial population, but in truth as a parapet of defence against their inroads. They form a sort of cordon for the protection of the city revenue—a wall of circumvallation, as it were, by which the people are kept from breaking in so numerously as to bring down the monopoly price which the Magistrates have set on the goodly places of the interior. It is thus that a plebeian aspirant after a fair ordinary seat, but who has only a plebeian price to pay for it, is most effectually debarred under the actual system from becoming a seat-holder at all. The answer given to him in effect is, Before you can be admitted to the good church-room here at the price you can afford—you and the people of your class must first occupy and pay for all the bad church-room there, which is now lying vacant and at a price you can afford. These sittings, poor and worthless as they are to all the world beside, are nevertheless of great value in effect to the city corporation; and could I believe, which I do not, that the effect was foreseen and calculated, I might further say, that from the double purpose which these sittings serve, they were exactly

suited to the designs of a policy of which duplicity and low cunning were the characteristics. In respect of being low-priced, they can be appealed to as evidence of a merciful consideration for the poor. In respect of their being not worth any price, but still with the condition affixed to them that they must all be taken ere the other sittings are reduced, they do in fact sustain a cruel and oppressive monopoly against the lower classes of society. We speak of effects and not of motives. Our object is not to characterize the Magistrates, but to assert, and, if possible, recover the rights of the common people—to obtain plenty of good berths in church for them at prices which they can pay, and not put them off with so many bad berths at prices which they can but won't pay—to release them, in short, from the mockery of a system which bears the aspect of being framed on the principle and with the purpose of letting them all in, yet in reality with the inevitable effect of keeping them all out, at least of keeping out from the great and general body of our Old Town churches the great and general mass of their parochial families.*

An entertainment, a feast, might be proposed to a thousand people, with all the good dishes on moderate terms, but having this servitude annexed to it, that there are so many bad or nauseous dishes on very low terms; and that unless a hundred of the company are to be found who will engage with the worse fare, the better fare will be kept back from the remaining nine hundred, and reserved on better and higher prices for another and a distinct party of applicants altogether. Who does not see that the landlord might easily get quit of all his plebeian customers in this way; and, when they are off the field, have none but patrician customers to deal with—with whom, if he can only make his own terms for the eatables of his preparation, he will take care not to press the uneatables upon them? But these very uneatables, worthless though they be in themselves, are nevertheless of great worth and service to the master of the festival. They secure for him his monopoly price, by enabling him to exchange the worse for the better market. A man might be prevailed on to swallow a bitter potion, if it was to pur-

* The general worthlessness of the low-priced sittings will have the effect of repelling *generally*. And yet there may be a few individuals whom the strength of their principle and their poverty together may have constrained to be the anomalous payers as well as occupiers of this refuse accommodation. If there be even one such, logicians of a certain cost are to be met with who would point to that one as a sufficient and satisfactory reply to this whole reasoning.

chase for himself the subsequent enjoyment of a good and satisfactory repast. But the difficulty is to get one hundred men, who, not that themselves, but that nine hundred others shall be comfortably regaled, will submit to the same ordeal, and pay for it to the bargain. Now, the difficulty that, to make out the preliminary disposal of the noxious and unpalatable draught, there would be in getting so many vicarious cup-bearers for the good of others—is the very difficulty that, to make out the preliminary disposal of the noxious and unpalatable church-room, stands in the way of getting so many vicarious and self-denying seat-holders for the good of others. We cannot find so many hundreds among the operatives of the city to occupy and pay for the worthless sittings, in order that as many thousands individually distinct from themselves, though of the same class of population, should be admitted to the good sittings on cheap and practicable terms. And so the common people of Edinburgh are kept out; and the Magistrates are left to pocket their monopoly price, with the credit at the same time of being very kind to these common people; and the ladies and gentlemen have all the good room of the city churches to themselves.

This will explain an otherwise puzzling discrepancy which obtains between the statements of two different bodies, greatly too respectable for any wilful misstatement on any subject whatever, the Town-Council of Edinburgh on the one hand, and the Kirk-Sessions of Edinburgh upon the other—the one affirming that there are more sittings at adequately low prices, even for the poorest of the families, than there is any demand for, nay, that they are ready to make further reduction so soon as the present supply of low-priced sittings is exhausted; and the other affirming as strenuously, and therefore complaining loudly, that the high prices form a let and a grievous impediment in the way of a general attendance on the churches of the Establishment, and more especially by the common people. The mystery is dissipated when we come to individual converse upon the subject with any of the city clergymen. Mr. Marshall's great desideratum, for example, is not that the worthless sittings of his church should be made lower by any abatement upon them for the seeming benefit of the poor in his parish; but that there shall be a great and general reduction in the price of the good sittings for his respectable parishioners, or rather for the attendance *en masse* of his parochial families. This is the way of disentangling the perplexity; and we trust that henceforward the public will

clearly understand, how it is not by a few scantlings of pauper accommodation that the Magistrates of Edinburgh will acquit themselves of the justice which we demand from them; but that for a right and well-conditioned economy of things, we hold it indispensable, that the great bulk and body of the seat-rents in every parish church should be adapted to the circumstances of the great bulk and body of the residents in its parish.

But there is a third act of liberality on the part of the Town-Council that has been stated in opposition to our charges; and a very few words will suffice for expressing our acknowledgment of what this amounts to. They have reduced the seat-rental of somewhere about £9000 by £493, 2s. 6d. The reader will understand by this, not that the sum actually received by the Town-Council, but that the sum which would be yielded, if the seats were fully let and all paid for, is now less by £493, 2s. 6d. in virtue of the now lower prices that are set upon them by the Magistrates. I have not the least disposition to make any abatement on the credit due for this liberality, but to recognise it at all that it is worth. In the absence, however, of the necessary documents, I feel myself at liberty to imagine that part of this reduction is owing to the circumstance, that in the preceding year they had over-estimated the number of their sittings—having assigned, for example, fifty-five too many to St. Stephen's, thirty too many to St. Mary's, thirty-two too many to St. George's, and no less than seventy too many to St. Andrew's. I have confined this research to the New Town churches; and I presume, that when all these over-estimated sittings, with their rentals, were struck off, there would be a corresponding reduction in the rental upon the whole. I speak in ignorance on this point; and also on the question, in what particular description of seats, and in what churches, the reduction was made, for it were perfectly safe, and might infer no loss whatever, to make a reduction on the price of the refuse sittings—just as the tradesman who takes stock, does not make himself really, but only nominally, a poorer man than he was last year, although he should make any reduction he pleases in his estimated price of the articles that nobody will buy, or strike them off from his inventory altogether. But I am quite ashamed to make these paltry observations on a thing in itself so paltry; and more especially as it is clear that an actual diminution of revenue has been sustained in virtue of the somewhat reduced rental—there

having been an increase of let sittings, we rejoice to observe, to the extent of 392, and yet in spite of this increase, a decrease of revenue consequent on the reduction in the rental of £7, 18s. 11d. This is a clear evidence, as far as it goes, of the present Town-Council having done better than their predecessors; and we have nowhere asserted that, in respect of pecuniary exactions for seats or anything else, they have in any one instance done worse. Our charge on this particular ground, is not against the present Town-Council as contrasted with their predecessors, but against the Town-Council for many years back, and of course against many distinct generations of Town-Councillors. The plausibility of the opposition which has been set up against us all hangs on the imagination, that our main attack was directed against the existing Town-Council as compared with previous ones; when, of course, every little superiority on the part of the present administration over the past, would have told conclusively to the discomfiture of the cause that we had adopted, had this been indeed our argument. But, in truth, our main attack is on a system which began many years ago, which may have vacillated slightly from one year to another; but which, in the length and breadth of it, is, to all sense, and to every practical purpose, as injurious now to the moral interests of the community as it ever was.* But the present Council stands distinguished from its predecessors as one of pretence, and promise, and great profession; and it is on this ground that we have lifted, and shall ever continue to do so, the fearless front of remonstrance when these professions are not substantiated. When an unflinching advocate of the rights of the common people comes before them, it is precisely because they are a reformed Town-Council that they must expect to be all the more closely reckoned with. And it is in this spirit, and not without the hope of a favourable hearing, that I venture to enter with them a second time on the question of a plebeian church in the Cowgate.

But let me not forget that I am dealing with a *corporation*; and that in the composition of such a product the results of what may be termed a moral chemistry in the world of mind are often not less marvellous than those of the physical chemistry in the

* There has a scantling of *real good* been done lately by the Council for the Tron Church parish; and it is because only a scantling that we have forborne hitherto to acknowledge it—for, ambitious as we are of a wholesale reform in this department of our civic affairs, we are fearful of ministering in the least to such a sense of satisfaction in the doing of small things as might cause the great things to be left undone.

world of matter—where the properties of the compound are often wholly different from, nay, opposite to the properties of each of the single ingredients in a state of separation. It is thus that I would distinguish between the body and its constituent parts; and though I must, at all hazards, and for the sake of justice, characterize the doings of the municipality, and expatiate in full on the mischief of these doings; this I know, for in myself I feel, to be consistent with the utmost kindness and respect for the individual members of it. In a gregarious or corporate movement there are a thousand misleading influences at work, which in the private relations of life have no place or operation. There is the difficulty of casting off the authority of precedents. There is the slow and insensible progress of abuse to which each distinct race of functionaries, by moving almost unconsciously in the track of their predecessors, may have contributed so small a share as to make each living man of them scarcely responsible at all; and most certainly not responsible for the whole evil accumulated in the course of generations. And then it should be recollected that it is not for any personal interest of their own, but for the common good of the city, however erroneous their views of it may be, that they are all the while devising. I could have added to this list of palliatives the prodigious moral courage that one must have, and which is so rarely to be found, ere, in the capacity of an individual reformer, he will denounce a mal-practice sanctioned by antiquity, or face the overwhelming majorities which are arranged upon its side; but what deprives the present Town-Council of this particular apology is, that they entered office on the principle of casting off the trammels of antiquity; and so they began with almost all of them being reformers and denouncers together. It is this which throws them open to a scrutiny and a challenge, and, if so be, a condemnation, that one would never have thought of laying upon their predecessors. It is just because we hear so much from them of the name of reform, that we are tempted all the more loudly to call upon them for the thing; and, more especially, to feel the awakenings within us of an honest indignation, if we can detect in any of their proceedings a heartless and a lordly indifference to the rights of the common people. The flagrant injury which we have laboured to expose, done by the rulers of Edinburgh to the moral wellbeing of its plebeian families, was begun by their predecessors, and, under the old regime, persisted in for many years, till at length, in its maximum state both as to extent and

inveteracy, it was bequeathed into their hands; and they must lay their account with a reckoning of tenfold severity, if, satisfied with a few slight touches of reformation, they merely dress up an enormity which ought to be altogether destroyed. But there still remains for them one apology, under which I do feel a relenting sense of any severities that myself may have uttered, and which I shall certainly feel it my duty to retract and to expunge on the moment that the tokens of a substantial, a thorough, an out-and-out reformation are at all discernible. And the apology is this: these men do not know how great the evil is which they are still perpetuating. It is no more than even-handed justice to extend in their favour the benefit of the same consideration on which alone we can vindicate the resistance made both by Sir Henry Moncreiff and Dr. Thomson to a chapel of ease in the Cowgate. They did no better, because they knew no better; and were but our Saviour's dying prayer* at all times present to our thoughts, what a restraint to the asperities of debate!—even our argumentative vehemence would give place to “the meekness of wisdom.” The recollection of that utterance from Him when pouring out His soul for us, what an unction of blessed charity should it lay upon the heart,—what an emollient should it prove in all our controversies!

But we are again forced by the pressure of other engagements to abridge our remaining observations; and can only present a very brief summary of the leading points involved in the question of new territorial churches, of which we select the one that was proposed for the Cowgate merely as an illustrative specimen of all the others. The few statements we have now to offer, succinct as they are, we submit for the consideration not only of our city rulers, but of all who take an interest in the moral well-being of the community at large.

1. The proposal was to build a church on strictly territorial principles for behalf of a contiguous population in the Cowgate, amounting to 2500. The objection to such a church is, that it would be a pauper church, and that as such it would have revolted the upper and middle classes of society from attendance upon it. In other words, a whole section of contiguous families, making up a population of between two and three thousand, is to be consigned to abandonment on the footing of its being a pauper section; and that without any commensurate provision for the Christian instruction of its inhabitants. For where, we

* “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.”

ask, is this provision to be found? Not in their parish church. The district is wholly in the Old Greyfriars, whose population is 4345, and in whose church there are only 153 sittings at or beneath five shillings, or at and beneath four shillings, taking into account the abatement in favour of parishioners. A hundred and fifty-three such sittings for a population of 4345, will just afford eighty-eight sittings for a population of 2500. And are eighty-eight sittings enough for 2500 people? sittings of such a description, too, as that not one in a hundred would be induced to pay anything for them. No; but it may be said that there are a good many of these 2500 who can afford to pay higher than four shillings for their sittings, and such higher-priced sittings are to be had in their own parish church, with a preference too in their favour. But it is forgotten that a new church was denied to these people—a denial vindicated on the express ground that the church would have been a receptacle of paupers; and all that we contend for is, that if so, and that as this receptacle has been withheld from them, there is no other receptacle, in the Establishment at least, that can possibly take more than about a fifteenth part of them in.* In other words, upwards of a thousand human beings in a state for church-going, and that too in a very small slip of the city territory, are left to shift for themselves; or, corresponding to this number, considerably more than 2000 immortal creatures are consigned to abandonment by our magistrates—and that too in the character of a penniless and pauper tribe, whose Christian instruction is not worth the caring for. Still we shall not call it heartlessness, but heedlessness. It is done ignorantly and in unbelief, therefore we only pronounce it to be reckless. If done knowingly, and with their eyes open to the whole truth of the case, we should call it remorseless; and should, in the conclave of that council-chamber, the ignorance of this woful destitution ever be removed, but there still remain behind the iron insensibility that with coldness and contempt would spurn it away, “O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united.”

2. But it is said that there is no destitution, on the contrary, enough of room in and out of the Establishment, and that room cheap enough for all who will. There might not be a sufficiency of provision in the churches, but quite a sufficiency in the churches and meeting-houses together—enough in short to meet the demand, enough of accommodation for all who desire to avail

* $85 \times 15 = 1320$, very little more than one half of the 2500.

themselves thereof. Now this is the very hinge of the controversy. Whether, in the work of Christianizing, are we to regulate our measures by the necessities of the people, or by the demand and desires of the people? When it is said that the provision for the religious instruction of the inhabitants of a town is as great as is *required*, the question altogether turns on the meaning of the term; and we ask, whether are we to understand of this existing provision that it is as great as the *wants* of the inhabitants require, or as great only as the *wishes* of the inhabitants require? In other words, whether is it our part to do as much for the Christianity of the people as the people need, or only to do as much as the people themselves are suing for at our hands? If the taste of the people for goodness have languished into extinction, does that absolve us from all further responsibility; and shall we therefore do nothing for the revival of it, nor make one effort more to seek and to save them? Is their zeal for their own best interests the barometer by which our zeal in their behalf is also to be regulated, so that we shall cease caring for them, the moment that they have ceased caring for themselves? If I understand Christianity in its spirit or its actuating principle, it is altogether of a missionary and aggressive character. This character it bore at its commencement, when it came down a message from heaven to earth,—a message to the dead, and the lost, and the sunk in deep insensibility. This character it sustained throughout the first ages of its progress in the world, when, instead of the nations seeking after the apostles, the apostles and first teachers of the gospel went forth among the nations. And this character, if I mistake not, must be kept up till the latest ages, at least of our present dispensation, else Christianity will take its departure from the world. That the two parties, the teachers and taught, should be brought together, there must be a movement; and it is made by those who have the will going in quest of those who have not the will,—instead of waiting, according to the process of our modern Voluntarism, till they who have not the will shall go in quest of those who have it. There must be an active warfare with the sluggishness, and the torpor, and the deep indifferency of the human spirit—a forthgoing by them who are Christians on them who are not Christians. Now, how does this suit with the new principle of demand and supply? The two are at perfect antipodes. On the first principle, should there anywhere be five hundred contiguous families, with some rare ex-

ceptions, in a state of profound irreligion—the philanthropist who is conversant both with the nature of Christianity and the nature of man, would recommend a *territorial* church there, having a minister attached to it, charged with the work of busy visitation among the streets, and the lanes, and the by-ways, that he might compel them to come in. But on the second principle, there are philanthropists of another description who hold it enough if they can point to a *general* church, with its unlet and half-empty sittings, in the midst of a population lapsed by thousands, and lapsing in greater numbers every year, into a state of moral and spiritual apathy. And so, for example, we are told of the places of worship which stud the very margin of the Cowgate; more especially of one of these places, an Independent meeting-house in North College Street, with one-third of its sittings free, and many of these unoccupied; we are told of this as an acquittal in full of all further obligation to the people of its vicinity—and that, at least, the building of a new church for them was wholly uncalled for. And so it would, could we only have obtained this old church, and converted it into a territorial one for the benefit of its contiguous families. And accordingly, this very church we attempted to get the possession of on the death of the late pious and venerable Mr Aikman,*—before making the proposal to build a new one for the householders in the Cowgate. So there it stands unrelated by any local tie, save that of juxtaposition to its immediate neighbourhood, and of this we are told in argument for no new church being necessary there. Surely, if this or any other chapel have done enough for its neighbourhood, this can best be ascertained from the state of the neighbourhood. And we can tell of two distinct household surveys, both of them made several months ago, of localities whose remotest points are within a few

* We ascertained from his brother that we could not succeed in obtaining the purchase of it. By the way, Bailie Maclaren has given himself unnecessary trouble on the subject of an attempt made by us to obtain Lady Yester's as a territorial church, an attempt from which we desisted, so soon as we learned on satisfactory information, that, both from the previous measures of the kirk-session and congregation, and from the present circumstances of the Town-Council in relation to the city creditors, the execution of such an idea was impracticable. It did not come the length of a formal proposition to that honourable body any more than the other proposal came the length of a formal proposition to any body of trustees, if such there are, connected with the North College Street Independent Meeting-house. The old Greyfriars Church would not, in the circumstances, have done for a territorial experiment. The parish is too large; the church is a collegiate one; nor was I then acquainted with a single member of the kirk-session, whose zealous approval and co-operation in the enterprise would have been so indispensable to its success.

hundred yards of this said meeting-house—the one consisting of all the tenements on the south side of the Cowgate, between the Horse Wynd and College Wynd, with the west side of the College Wynd; and the other being the Horse Wynd itself. In the first there is a population of two hundred and sixty-two, with only nine seat-holders among them *in all places of worship*, or one in twenty-nine: and there is not an individual of these nine seat-holders who has rented a sitting in the Independent chapel. But its free sittings may perhaps have proved a great accommodation to the families of this quarter. Why, it is a quarter containing seventy-four families,* and of these, but one family call themselves Independents—the rest in general stating, that they are of other denominations; and there is only one member of that family who professes to go occasionally to that Independent meeting-house in North College Street. The Horse Wynd again is the better district of the two. Of the fifty-nine families surveyed in it, the rest being from home or out of the way, there are fifty-three seat-holders in a population of two hundred and sixty-one, or less than one in five. But it strikingly marks a distinction sadly overlooked by our confident reasoners on the state of society, and more especially on the habits and condition of the working classes,—the distinction between the *lower* orders and the *lowest* order,—that, if we abstract but a very few of the better families intermingled with the rest, we shall soon arrive again at the whole masses of fearful moral destitution. Even from this more respectable locality, the Horse Wynd, at the head of which the Independent meeting-house stands, we have only to abstract eleven families, who have so many as twenty-seven sittings among so few as thirty-six individuals—when there remain twenty-six sittings among a population of two hundred and twenty-five, being little more than one for every nine of the population. In this second district of fifty-nine families, there are, upon the whole, three families of Independents, among whom, at the time that our survey was taken, there were six seat-holders in the North College Street chapel, besides one or two more who meditated to become seat-holders. This is very well so far as it goes; but is this a state of matters in which either a Christian public or a Christian magistracy ought to rest satisfied? Here are two localities with a population of five hundred and twenty-three, from which number, if you subtract double the number of all its seat-holders, there remain four

* Of these, however, the ecclesiastical state of one family was not ascertained.

hundred in a state of entire ecclesiastical destitution; or, extending the survey to the whole of the proposed Cowgate parish, a population of two thousand five hundred having not more than two hundred and fifty sittings amongst them in *all places of worship*, and with about two thousand therefore in the same state of total unprovidedness. Is nothing to be done with these? and are we to be told of an effete meeting-house which attracts and harbours none of them, with its unlet and unoccupied sittings so preposterously gloried in, though the very badges of its impotency—are we to be told that its useless juxtaposition is to be accepted of in full of all demands for the moral and Christian wellbeing of so many families? Is it for a moment to be endured that there shall be a reduction in the number of our clergymen—when to reclaim and gather in such a population would require the undivided services of one of them, and there are at least ten such other populations within the limits of the Royalty? Are we, at the joint recommendation of city members and city councillors, to trench on the fund set apart by the men of other and better days for the Christian education of the people; and, by an act of most magnificent delinquency, make offering of the highest interests of the commonalty as a sacrilegious bribe to the constituency of Edinburgh? We speak for the unfranchised in opposition to the unjust and arrogant claims of the represented population; nor can we consent to the families of the Cowgate being sacrificed in order that the landlords of the city, its great household proprietors, might more magnificently attire or more deliciously regale themselves.* We had rather an ostensible and avowed despotism, than a system like this, gilded with the name of liberty—with the perpetual annoyance of its little measures, the craft and the tyranny of its little men.

3. My third and last remark upon this subject is called forth by a very general misconception that obtains in regard to the real state, to what may be termed the internal structure of every plebeian community. Each such community is apt to be viewed by the superficial observer as if spread out on the same level of degradation—forming throughout an unalleviated mass of crime,

* The commutation of the annuity levied for the support of our city ministers from occupiers to owners were the greatest improvement that can be made upon it. But whether this shall be effected or not, it were certainly most desirable that all payments from tenants of houses under £10 of rent should be abolished. They do not make up more than a twentieth part of the whole produce; and on this part being given up, along with the establishment of low seat-rents, then the annuity-tax would stand forth in the entire and unambiguous character of being paid, not *by* the lower orders, but of being paid *for* them.

or ignorance, or pauperism. Now, instead of this, there is a gradation everywhere. There are magnates in the Cowgate. And we will venture to say that nowhere is an aggregate of a thousand human beings to be found, without a scale of rank and precedence being, on a narrow inspection, discernible amongst them. To the moralist and the Christian they present the materials for a most interesting process, whether of spiritual or intellectual cultivation ; nor can I imagine a more delightful task to one imbued with a taste for those higher philanthropies which blend together the moral and economic wellbeing of society, than the prosperous management of human nature in localities like these. What revolts one is to observe the unfeeling way in which whole sections and breadths of peopled territory are consigned to the outfields of irreclaimable crime or irreclaimable pauperism. The objection to the Cowgate church, that it "would have been stigmatized as the pauper church, being built expressly for the poor ; the wealthy and even the middle classes would reluctantly have connected themselves with it,"*—is akin in species to, though far less atrocious in character than, the following objection to plebeian churches by the authors of the Statement of the Scottish Central Board of Dissenters ;

* "The Church its own Enemy," by Mr. Adam Black, p. 42.

We have met in other controversies with this disposition to regard a plebeian population in a generalized aspect—viewing them only *en masse*, without adverting to the obvious distinction which obtains between one class of them and another. Hence a tendency, on more subjects than one, to reason as if the foundation on which society rested was throughout of homogeneous materials, instead of reasoning as if that foundation was made up of successive strata ; and that the great anxiety should be, lest the lowest stratum of all shall become every year more putrid and unsound, and so endanger the stability of the whole fabric. A superficial observer takes so distant a view of the object, that he comes not within sight of details and distinctions, though this be of vital importance to all our reasoning on the present state and future prospects of society. Like an unobservant by-passer through some plebeian district of a city, who never once dreams of the mighty gradation from the highest to the lowest of its householders, he lumps or amalgamates them all under the one denomination of the common people. He has not entered at all into the depths or statistics of the subject—he has but looked on the upper surface of it—or, if reasoning on a sort of general average between the best and the worst-conditioned of the industrious classes, he reflects not that beneath that average there is a gathering mischief, the inevitable tendency of which is to undermine the stablest community on earth, and to bring down the prosperity of all its orders.

This imagination, that every plebeian district of a town is a dead level of equal, unmixed, unalleviated want and wretchedness, we attempted to expose a few years ago, when discussing an economical subject, in a pamphlet entitled—"The Supreme Importance of a Right Moral to a Right Economical State of the Community." And it is substantially the same error, though in a different form and with a different application, that we now meet with, in our attempt to advocate such a system for the Christian instruction of the people, as might bring down that instruction to the very lowest of the commonwealth.

"In all our large towns there unhappily exists a very large population composed of the avowedly irreligious, and of all those classes who fill our jails and bridewells and infest our streets, for whom to provide church accommodation as the means of reclaiming them from their evil courses, would betray a lamentable degree of ignorance of human nature."*

We now conclude with the more pleasant task of offering a few brief suggestions to the real friends of the common people of Edinburgh.

(1.) Be assured that a great, a monstrous evil exists in the present system of seat-letting. Beware of those deceptive representations which would persuade you to the contrary; and let not the unanimous complaint of the kirk-sessions, along with the depositions of parochial householders on this subject, be stifled or overborne by the special pleadings of those who undertake to defend the practice of the Town-Council. Persevere in your attempts to have the whole matter thoroughly and substantially rectified. If you could obtain such a great and general reduction as that two-thirds of the sittings might be had at 3s. each—the remaining third of the church-room might be allowed to fetch its market-price from among the higher and wealthier classes of society, but with a rigid preference in every instance to the inhabitants of the parish.†

(2.) Should the process of uncollegiating take effect, there is ample room among the population within the royalty for new

* "Statement relative to Church Accommodation in Scotland, by the Scottish Central Board for Vindicating the Rights of Dissenters," p. 8. For the difference in point of effect between *general* and *territorial* church accommodation, see our tract on "Church Extension, viewed as a question between Churchmen and Dissenters."

† It were well if the parochial seat-letting were under the control of the kirk-session, with an office in each parish for the transaction of the business, and the benefit both of a full intimation, and of sufficient time for the parishioners to avail themselves of their preference ere the general seat-letting should commence, and which might take place as at present in a central or common office for the whole town.

The objection brought against the parochial system in towns, from the fluctuations that take place by the constant shifting of families, is one with which I have been familiar for twenty years, and for which I have no other answer to give than at the first. This fluctuation is immensely overrated. It is produced, not by the successive liftings of different families every year, in which case one might very soon part with the whole of his parishioners; but it is produced by the alternate movements of a people who are ever on the wing, oscillating backwards and forwards over the heads of a stable population. The truth is, that the population of a city is more stationary than that of a country parish, exposed at every term to the flitting of farm-servants. At the same time, it were well to obtain precise statistics on this subject, which might easily be had, by inquiring in future surveys at every family, how long the term of their residence within the parish had been, and entering this into a separate column.

parishes to the five uncollegiated ministers. But five new parishes imply five new churches; and in the present difficulties of the town, it were well if the Christian philanthropists of Edinburgh could be led to adventure themselves on the erection of these.

(3.) But there is a still larger and far more destitute field for enterprises of this sort among the suburb population of Edinburgh, subject, however, to the heavy disadvantage of there being no endowment to lighten the seat-rents. To repair this, we are now attempting to obtain a small allowance from government for the maintenance of the clergyman; and that, not to enrich him, but to lower the terms on which the common people might find admittance into the churches that we had previously provided. There is therefore a distinction between new churches within, and new churches without the royalty. At least five new churches may be raised in the former situation by money lent; but all new churches in the latter situation, to be available for the purpose of territorial places of worship for the families of the general population, can only be raised by money given.

(4.) But wherever a new parochial economy is meant to be set up, it is in all cases most desirable that a moral preparation should go before the erection of the material apparatus. I do not know a more useful set of labourers than our local missionaries, who ply the families through the week, and congregate them at preaching stations, either on week-nights or on the Sabbath. If the divine blessing be duly sought and depended on, I should say of these home-missionary operations, that they are far the most hopeful and likely operations now on foot for the regeneration of our city families. There are upwards of two thousand hearers who have thus been gathered into so many little conventicles, under the patronage of the ministers of the Establishment in Edinburgh and its environs—the nurseries, we fondly trust, of future congregations and future churches. They who are engaged in this work of high promise, should be enabled to give all their time to it; and this we can only expect, when instead of gratuitous they are paid labourers. Let me therefore invite the liberalities of the Christian public for the multiplication and support of these men, who by their devoted and successful agency might earn for themselves a title to become the future clergymen of the congregations that shall be formed.*

* Yet however desirable this might be as a preparatory, it should never once be ac-

There is much in the pamphlet of Mr. Adam Black which I leave unnoticed—as his reasoning against an establishment from its inefficiency, when badly administered, which is reasoning against the fitness of a machine from its feeble execution when put into the hands of an incompetent workman: and his vindication of the high seat-rents to indemnify the annuity-payers, which would justify the heritors of country parishes to indemnify themselves in the same way for their teinds, so as to exclude from public worship the great bulk of our rural population, even as the magistrates of Edinburgh have excluded from our churches the great bulk of the city population: and his speaking of the tax as an oppressive imposition on Catholic or indeed any other proprietors, without the perception, or at least without the acknowledgment, that every buyer of a city property deducted the burden from its price, and that every inheritor of the same derived the burden along with the property from those who went before him: and his total oversight of the question as to the real incidence and effect of this so-called tax: and lastly, his charging the degeneracy of our towns on the Establishment, without the slightest notice of the possibility that this may have arisen from the Establishment being greatly too limited for the work it had to do, or the impossibility of clergymen with all their strenuousness and zeal preventing that degeneracy, when saddled either with too large parishes, or with general congregations. Like other merely practical men, he lays all generalized experience, however soundly it may have been generalized into a just proposition or just theory, if it be not in unison with the details of his own daily and routine walk of observation—he lays all such experience to the account of imagination or hypothesis.

quiesced in as a sufficient and ultimate arrangement for the Christian instruction of the people. In this latter view I perfectly agree with my intelligent friend the Rev. Mr. Lewis of Leith, when desiderating instead of a mission station a parish church, and instead of a missionary a minister with a staff of elders and a school-house and schoolmaster to the bargain.—“The missionary,” he observes, “wants the *authority* to compel the people to come in, and his preaching station wants the *attraction* to draw them in.” And therefore, “the number attending a missionary station is not a *certain* test of its utility and efficiency. Above all, the smallness of the number is no evidence whatever that a church in that station is uncalled for, and no reason why its erection should be delayed. A well-filled missionary station is doubtless a good practical argument for a church; but an ill-filled one, provided there be a contiguous destitute population, is no argument against one. We must have the parish church and minister, the system that is consecrated in the association even of the sabbath-breakers and profligate amongst the poor, ere we shall effectually recall them to Christian habits.”—There can be no doubt of a great likely enlargement of influence and usefulness, on the preaching station becoming a parish church.

But without further remark, either on these inconclusive reasonings, or on the lame and impotent conclusions to which they have led—let me gladly acknowledge those gleams of kindliness and Christian feeling wherewith the work is occasionally lighted up, and which serve both to relieve the hardness of controversy and to disarm the severity of criticism.

SECTION VI.

SPEECH ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHURCH DEPUTATION IN LONDON.*

BEFORE entering upon any narrative of our proceedings in London, let me advert to a very general habit of those who make any statement about them, or who speak of the matter at all,—as if what was done there on the part of the Church, was done by the Church's deputation. Now, we composed only a fraction of that body. We were not the deputation, but went as the precursors of the deputation; and the reason why we did not call upon the rest to follow is, that we never till towards the conclusion of our stay could see our way for so much as three or four days before us. The question, without any privity or consent of ours, was brought before the House of Commons previous to our arrival; and then the postponements, often for only one or two nights at a time, left us uncertain whether the business would not be decided ere we could be joined by any of our colleagues from Scotland, or whether they would not like ourselves have to wait interminably till the fit opportunity should come round for acting with any propriety or effect. The only occasion on which we were altogether free from this perplexity was, when made to know, some ten days before, of the time when his Majesty would receive the Address of the General Assembly. Of this we were enabled to send down timeous information to Edinburgh; but none of the gentlemen seemed to think, that of itself it constituted a sufficient errand for a journey of four hundred miles. I state these things for the purpose of satisfying the Church, that we are not chargeable in this matter with the neglect of others; and, most assuredly, not with any wish to

* Delivered before the Commission of the General Assembly, at its meeting on September 30, 1835.

have the whole management or monopoly of the business to ourselves.

This being premised ; and, furthermore, craving your indulgence, though, by the figure of speech which gives to a part the name of the whole, we should fall into the customary style of expression on this subject, and, with the rest of the world, call ourselves the deputation—the first observation I have to make is, that we, the deputation from the General Assembly, entered into no compromise with government ; and if the measure actually obtained was less beneficial to the interests of the people of Scotland than many others that could be imagined or specified, this was not the fruit of any consent or approbation on our part. Strictly speaking, the relation in which the parties stood to each other, and where the power was all upon one side, did not admit of compromise. The deputation had but one object, which was to achieve all they could for extending the means of religious instruction in the country ; and for this purpose, to make the best possible arrangement to which the Government would give its consent. If we acquiesced in a less favourable measure, it was not because we preferred the less to the greater good ; but because, however much we preferred a more favourable measure, and however earnest in our expression of this preference, we had not the power of carrying it.

And, accordingly, nothing could be more distinct or definite than our first proposition to the Government—an immediate grant towards the endowment of all those Chapels of Ease and new places of worship which already existed. Such a measure would have been perfectly analogous to the procedure of Government in other instances,—as in the dispensation of Educational grants, when, on one part of the expense being defrayed by private liberality, the remaining part is advanced by the state ; and in the case often of colonial and foreign churches, when, on a certain proportion of the cost being undertaken by individual contributors, all that remains for the completion, both of the erection and of the endowment, is made up by an allowance from the public revenue. The mere fact of so much money being advanced by private individuals for the establishment of a school or of a church is, in these instances, regarded by the Government as a sufficient evidence for the necessity of such a provision ; and on this evidence they proceed without further inquiry. We certainly conceived, that we had a most abundant evidence of this sort to offer in the very existence of sixty-six chapels, raised

from time to time by private means, under a sense of their necessity ; and, over and above this, in the munificent sum of sixty-five thousand pounds for new places of worship, which nothing could have drawn out but a most urgent conviction of the moral and spiritual wants of the respective localities in whose behalf this money had been raised. We flattered ourselves, that on the exhibition of a proof and a testimony so substantial as this, we might have obtained, and without further inquiry, a grant for at least the partial endowment of all our new churches ; and this is the only proposition for which, absolutely, and in all its entireness, the deputation of the General Assembly hold themselves responsible.

It is true, that along with an immediate grant for the endowment of all actual chapels and new erections, they were not only prepared to acquiesce in a Commission for the ascertainment of all future cases, but they would have rejoiced in the adoption of it. So far was a grant for the immediate object from conflicting with this more general and ulterior object, that the one measure formed the best possible argument in favour of the other. One ground, among many others, on which we pressed an immediate grant was, that if Government would only set our chapels and new churches agoing on the endowed and territorial system, they would present so many experimental specimens to any commission of inquiry which they might choose to institute ; and so confident were we of the result, that for myself I could have perilled the question of a further and future extension of our Church, on the good done or doing, in virtue of the first step which had been entered upon—insomuch that Government should not have been committed to any additional endowments, if it could not be made palpable, that in the effect of the endowment already given, an ample return of money's worth had been made for all the money that had been heretofore expended.

But the truth is, that ere the arrival of the deputation in London, all their hopes of an immediate grant were foreclosed. A previous inquiry in one shape or other had been already resolved upon. Sir William Rae had moved for it in one form, and this was met by a proposal for it in another form on the part of the government. We were not the arbitrators of this question—we were but the observers of movements in an upper firmament, over which we had no more control than we had over the portents and shifting appearances of the sky. The husbandman does not direct the fluctuations of the weather, but he regulates

his proceedings by them; and neither could the Deputation from the Church of Scotland direct, they could not even prognosticate, the incessant changes that from day to day were taking place in the feelings and purposes of the men in power. Their single business was to make the most for their cause; and they did succeed in effecting some wholesome alterations on the Government measure, previous to its being submitted to the House of Commons. In one word, we did not move from our posts till we had prevailed to all the extent which lay within the limits of our opportunities and powers. It was at the expense of much fatigue and great anxiety that, amidst the heat and hurry and hard driving of the metropolis, we gained some favourable points: and then, as if to repair the exhaustion, as if to strengthen us for our journey homewards—the farewell season of our departure, our last days in London, were watered and refreshed by a most exuberant shower of promises.

The points we gained were, that the inquiry should not be confined to the single element of church-room; but that it should be extended to the means of pastoral superintendence also, and more especially to the state of the people in regard to their actual attendance on the ordinances of religion—which last question, if prosecuted aright in poor and crowded localities, is peculiarly fitted to evince both the reality and extent of a great ecclesiastical destitution, and the utter impossibility of relieving it but on the principle of a territorial and endowed establishment. We further succeeded in obtaining a provision for interim reports, without which all Government aid might have been postponed to an indefinite period, instead of its being competent as now to determine on the relief that shall be given in special instances, so soon as the necessity in these instances shall have been previously ascertained.

On the other hand, there are points of an obnoxious, or, at least, of a questionable tendency and character, both in the motion and the Commission founded on it for which the deputation are not in the least responsible. They never gave their consent to the proposed inquiry into the ecclesiastical funds, and they never were consulted as to the appointments of the Commission, or as to the terms of it; and this, notwithstanding their known anxiety on the subject of both. They gave in a paper of proposed instructions for the Commissioners; but of this no notice was taken, nor is it known if any use was made of it in the framing of the Commission. Every

question from the deputation on these topics was met by the general assurance, that all would be done in a way most satisfactory to the friends of the Church of Scotland; and as a proof how satisfactory, and in what a spirit of honest kindness to the Church the whole matter was proceeding, we were told of Mr. Hope Johnstone being one of the Commissioners. If there be a discrepancy between the sample and the stock, this, most assuredly, is not chargeable upon the deputation, who, after the general measure of a Commission had been resolved upon, were no longer admitted to the counsels, nor honoured with the confidence of the Government.

It is painful to speak of the policy which, in some quarter or other, must have been practised against us; but let me give the unvarnished tale, and leave it to its own impression on the understandings of the Assembly. After a Commission had been resolved upon, Mr. Simpson and I remained a fortnight in London: and that for the purpose of looking after the appointment of its members, and lending our professional aid, if it would be accepted, in framing the instructions which should be delivered to them. For our continuance in London, with this special purpose, I received the strongest encouragement from one of the Cabinet ministers to whom I revealed the intention I had formed, and who expressed himself both gratified and grateful in the prospect of our assistance—when settling the details and executive provisions of the measure. We also had received the promise of Lord Melbourne, and Lord J. Russell, that the Commission should be a fair and impartial one; and against neither of these noblemen, nor, indeed, against any known and certain individuals whatever, do I offer any imputation. I know not on whom the burden of any delinquency should light; but certain it is, that when, from the hands of the principals in his Majesty's government who made the promise, we fell into the hands of its subordinates—whose province, I presume, it was to implement the execution of it—then it was that obstructions were thrown in our way, and the veil of a dark impervious secrecy was spread out between us and all that was doing in this matter by the agents concerned in it. There was one gentleman, a member of the House of Commons, in high favour with the government, and who himself had a high favour for the Church of Scotland, who introduced us to Lord Melbourne, and was present at the interview of a whole hour, which took place betwixt us. He was understood on both sides to be the

medium of communication—the person in whom we confided, and to whom they communicated upon the subject. To him we ventured to suggest the names of several Edinburgh gentlemen, the friends of the Church on the one hand ; taking care, at the same time, agreeably to the soundest advice of the Church's best and firmest supporters, that they should be the friends, on the other, of the existing administration. And besides these, we farther recommended the appointment of Mr. Colquhoun of Kilmont, as connected with the great manufacturing region in the west of Scotland ; Mr. Campbell of Islay, because of his paternal interest in the West Highlands ; and Mr. Loch, from whom we might have obtained the greatest assistance in investigating the wants, and devising the requisite supplies for the North Highlands, more especially in the counties of Sutherland and Caithness. We were not told that these would be appointed, but we were told that the appointments would be alike satisfactory with these. We received the strongest general assurances that it would be a fair and a friendly Commission ; and were given to know, as the reason why they refrained from any more special communication, that they deemed it for the good of the Church of Scotland to have it in their power to say, that “we, its representatives in London, had no share or influence in the nomination.” But, along with this, we were told again and again that the Church of Scotland would be satisfied ; and, by way of specimen, as I have already said, they revealed to us one of the names, Mr. Hope Johnstone, on whom we were asked to call for the purpose of announcing his appointment, and obtaining his consent to it. No one, it is certain, could be more satisfactory than he ; and feeling, as we did, that we were in the hands of honourable men, it was impossible to leave London but with a strong general confidence, which themselves had awakened, that all would be right. After this, how could we haunt the offices of government with our inquiries and our suspicions any longer, more especially when assured we had nothing to fear, and that the great objects of our mission were most fully and satisfactorily accomplished ? On this footing, and with this understanding, we left London ; and I will not say what I felt, when, a few days afterwards, the Gazette, with its catalogue of names before unknown and unheard of, made its appearance—with its majority of Scotch working commissioners, who had already made demonstrations which bespoke hostility to our cause ; and a power vested in any three of their number to offend, at least, if

not to invade, the dearest principles of the Church, and, whether of its state or character, to send up their own unchecked representations.

There is one thing which some will think the deputation might have done, and which they have failed to do. They might have acted more on the suspicion that all was not as it ought to be. They might have distrusted the general assurances of friendship, that with so much of strenuousness, and so much of apparent sincerity, had been given to them. However honourable those heads of the Government might be with whom they had personally negotiated, and from whom they had obtained so many satisfactory professions, they might have recollected the possibility that a measure, however ostensibly and avowedly in favour of the Church, might be made over, for the settlement of its details and executive provisions, to some of those lurking and low-minded underlings of office, hard and hackneyed practitioners, uncumbered by the delicacies of truth and honour—and so all the better qualified for the task of dexterously traversing the promises which Government had uttered, and putting a mockery on all the confidence which these promises had awakened. We might, it may be said, at least have imagined such a likelihood as this; and, for making head against it, have called to aid a more refined and skilful diplomacy in the management confided to us, than we seem to have brought into operation.

The instant and decisive reply to this is, that these are not the proper weapons of the Church's warfare. Whatever the cunning and concealment of her adversaries may be, it is not for the Church to enter on the arena of a contest so ignoble; nor, for the purpose of tracking and counter-working their miserable devices, to take up such instruments as they are willing to employ, or ply along with them the devices of "a left-handed wisdom." The least appearance or approach to that manœuvre or trickery, or low jockeyship, which might be helpful to the establishment of a worthless cause, does not comport with the greatness or the simplicity of our objects. An open, direct, and magnanimous policy is far better suited to us; and if, from the hands of honourable men, any business of ours shall have been transferred into the hands of heartless pettifoggers, who care not for the starving multitudes of our city lanes, and enormous upland parishes—this may bring a temporary arrest on the benevolence that would relieve them; but the Church retires

with uninjured moral strength from the conflict, and will find ample compensation for her wrongs, by a fresh appeal to an indignant public, in behalf both of her own righteous cause, and of a deeply injured population.

This is our reply to all those who, either to evince their own shrewdness, or to indulge in coarse and contemptuous ridicule, tell us that we, simple and unpractised men as we are, have been hoaxed by the expert and wily politicians of London. Now that the age of moral chivalry is gone, we can understand the boisterous glee of the Church's enemies at the success of the game which has been practised against us. We repeat, it is a game that we can take no part in; and if men are to be found who can sport and tamper with interests so sacred, to whom the gratification of their own electors is dearer far than the moral and immortal wellbeing of the thousands beneath them in the scale of society, who, to secure their dissenting constituencies, will make a sacrifice of the unfranchised population; and, rather than that own wretched politics should suffer, would have irreligion and ignorance perpetuated among the families of our land; if such men there be, and theirs is a voice of greater ascendancy in the councils of Government than our own,—if the highest objects of patriotism must thus make place and give way before the contests of partisanship,—it is not for the Church to mingle in this unseemly fray; but, having lifted up her testimony, and told her rulers, as became her, both of the duties of the State, and the necessities of the people, to feel acquitted of her office, and calmly wait the arrival of happier times.

And meanwhile we need not be idle, nor must we let the season of disappointment be the season of our despair. It was not thus with the ancients of our Church when spoiled of her endowments by the rapacity of the Crown, and of those nobles who formed the all-powerful aristocracy of that generation. True, there was but the population of a million in these days; but whole tracts of country were rifled by the hand of violence of their ecclesiastical patrimony, and no means were left for the Christian education of the people, who would have sunk into a state of moral barbarism but for the efforts of so many patriots, as courageous and enlightened as the world ever saw,—the fathers and founders of the Kirk of Scotland. The territory had been desolated of its provision both for churches and schools; but they went forth upon it notwithstanding, and chalked out their parishes, and planted their stations for the ministry of the

word, and without the visible means of sustenance or support, laboured both with the Church's plat, and the Church's polity, till the God in whom they trusted overthrew the counsels of their adversaries, and forced out of their sacrilegious hands a hard-won maintenance for an order of men whom now it is the fashion to stigmatize, but who have ever proved, throughout all the periods of our bygone history, and have now the opportunity of proving still, that they are the best friends of the poor man and of the labourer. For the very task again lies before us that was executed by our fathers,—not that we are yet suffering what they did from any recent or immediate plunder, though perhaps we may read a premonitory symptom of what is coming in the threatened infliction on the Protestant Church of Ireland. In these days the population was stationary, but the Church was curtailed; and so a surplus of families had to be provided for. In our days the Church has been stationary, but the population has increased; and so, though by a different process, there results a like, nay a far greater surplus of families who have to be provided for. And if our ancestors had thousands of people cast upon their hands, bereft of the means of spiritual instruction, we have tens of thousands growing upon our hands, by whom these means have never been enjoyed. If they had to find supply for the destitution of thousands who then suffered by robbery, we have to find supply for the destitution of tens of thousands who now are suffering from neglect—the neglect of centuries, in the silent progress of which, from year to year, the mischief has been growing by slow and insensible advances, so as to have escaped observation—till at length arrested by the magnitude of the accumulated result, now become palpable in those enormous suburbs of our larger towns, those numerous and new-sprung villages of our manufacturing districts, where the old parochial management of Scotland has become impossible, and all the blessings of its parochial economy are unknown.

Ours, then, is the very enterprise of two hundred years back; and ours also, it would appear, the very difficulties which exercised the faith and patience of our forefathers,—with an unprovided population on the one hand, and an unwilling Government on the other. Our object in all its particulars is precisely what theirs was—let us follow in the footsteps of their devoted and dauntless perseverance, and like them we shall carry it. If only true to ourselves, we, sooner or later, shall compel the Government to do justice to our cause. I speak of moral compulsion

alone. Nothing told more effectually in favour of our cause than the testimony given to it by the efforts and sacrifices of the people. Let us reiterate this testimony. The sum of £65,000 raised and reported last year was the first blow of the catapulta—before which even the hard and heartless politicians of this iron age, if they had but the liberty of acting as they felt and thought, if not manacled by the necessities of their truly wretched condition and as bereft of their own free agency as any slave in irons, would have infallibly given way. We shall break our way through these entanglements at last. It will require more than half a million to raise our new churches; and our distinct object for the sake of a low seat-rent, and that our places of worship might be accessible, in whole families, to the poorest of the land, is that Government shall endow them. We ask this not as a boon to ourselves, but as a boon to that population whom Government are bound to look after. They may neglect the obligation; but let us make up as we can for their neglect, and they will at length be shamed out of it. Let us persevere in our subscriptions. Let us multiply our fabrics, and pour forth our home missionaries on the moral wastes by which they are encompassed. Let us send abroad our labourers on the plenteous and wide-spread harvest that lies before us. This field, I rejoice to say, is already entered on. In Paisley, and Glasgow, and Aberdeen, and in a few months more, in Dundee and Edinburgh, hundreds of wandering outcasts will have been reclaimed, and men, women, and children, whose footsteps were never before within the threshold of the sanctuary, become obedient to the sound of our church-bells. It is not the miserable statistics of the Central Board that will countervail such a demonstration as this; and let us keep by it steadily, let the friends of the Church support us in it, and ultimately we shall get the better of all the arts and all the annoyances of a tremulous and shuffling policy. It is true we shall be in difficulties, so long as an endowment is withheld from us, between the care, on the one hand, of having seat-rents low enough, and, on the other, a maintenance good enough for the decent sufficiency of our new ministers. But let us do, nevertheless, as our fathers did before us—struggle onward as we may; and I prophesy that even in this our day of grossest secularity and earthliness, the spectacle of our honest endeavours, in the midst of all our defeats and all our difficulties, will at length operate irresistibly in our favour. Nothing can withstand the exhibition of genuine, untired, undissembled kindness,

when its measures are judiciously conducted and steadfastly persevered in; and once the real design of our enterprise is known and its character is fully vindicated—all prejudices will at length give way; and the same God who turns the hearts of the rulers of men whithersoever He will, will make even our enemies be at peace with us.

I have to apologize for detaining you so long upon this subject. But believing as I do that the conduct of Government, or rather, I am inclined to think, the conduct of certain persons intermediate and unknown, by whom the representatives of the Church and the heads of the Government have been alike deceived,—believing that this conduct has placed us on the highest possible vantage-ground for commanding, in behalf of our injured and affronted Church, the services and the sympathies of the people of Scotland, you will forgive the anxiety I feel to make the most of it; and I do hope that, whatever may be the decision of this day, it will be followed up by a vigorous rally and reaction on the part of all our friends, and that the country will take up that cause which the country's rulers seem inclined to throw an unprotected orphan upon their hands.

I would now address myself to the character of the Government Commission, and state very shortly my reasons for thinking that, notwithstanding the manifold provocations and perversities which abound in it, still it is not the wisdom only, but the duty of the Church, to carry its forbearance to the uttermost; and this, however desperate of any good being done or intended for us by the men in power. Even on the worst supposition possible, and though you had no confidence whatever in their friendship to the Church of Scotland—though you carried the distrust so far as verily to believe that they would utterly cast us off, if they thought to make a single ten-pounder by it,—though annoyed almost beyond endurance by hollow professions, by empty and unmeaning compliments, by shifts and vacillations innumerable, by wretched balancings and compromises between the Establishment on the one hand, and the Voluntaries on the other, so as to impart a certain character of piebald or patchwork to every deed and document which might issue from them,—nay, though you stood in absolute dread, as of so many heartless calculators who could inflict their mortal blow on our venerable institute and trample it under foot, if once made to believe that, in so doing, they were offering up a hecatomb at the altar of popularity—we may, indeed, owe little to them; but

what we owe to ourselves is, that no deed or no declaration proceeding from the Church as a body shall have the character of recklessness or inconsiderateness, or headlong and heedless temerity; but that any document of ours shall, in every sentence and every clause of it, be a wise and well-weighed document—without so much as one hairbreadth of excess beyond what is sound and temperate and strictly constitutional. I am the more in earnest on this subject, that as far as I can gather from conversation and from sundry articles in newspapers, there is a certain ultraism abroad on the question of the limit between the Civil and the Ecclesiastical, to which I hold it of the utmost importance that the Church shall in no way commit herself—taking up no other position than what is perfectly tenable; and advancing no other principle than what might stand the ordeal of future discussion, and pass unhurt through the hottest fire of controversy.

I shall very briefly touch on two or three points which I think most worthy of observation, and in a few minutes will leave the whole question to your determination.

First, then, there is in certain quarters a sensible recoil even in its most general idea from a Commission—a Commission of inquiry by the State on the affairs of the Church of Scotland. There is no ground for alarm or violent uneasiness in this. Will gentlemen recollect the Commission for government churches in the Highlands of Scotland, still in existence; and to which I fondly hope that, after all our present mists and misunderstandings have cleared away, the business of government churches in the Lowlands will speedily be transferred? That is a Commission appointed by the State, a Commission of inquiry too, and which has proved a most beneficent organ of good to a large branch of the population of Scotland. Government, when we ask money from them, have, previously to the grant, a right to be satisfied of the alleged necessity on which the application is made; and, after the grant, have a right to be satisfied that the conditions under which the money is applicable are all of them realized. On either ground a Commission is often held to be indispensable, so that there is nothing in such an appointment, looked to nakedly and generally, which ought to alarm us.

But, again, the inquiry is going to extend not to the amount of the means for religious instruction possessed by the Establishment only, but to the amount of the means for religious instruction afforded by the Dissenters also; and this seems to have

been dictated by the erroneous, the alarming principle, that, as far as Voluntaryism provided the people with a Christian education, whatever be its tenets, or whatever the lessons of that education may be,—to that extent an Establishment is uncalled for—inasmuch that if Voluntaryism, however heretical and unsound, will make itself commensurate to the supply of all the people, then an Establishment might be dispensed with altogether. This is an error which, in the eyes of many, seems to lurk in the instructions given to the Commission, and consequently to lurk in the minds of those who framed it. And a very grievous error it is; but remember it is their error, not ours. We may or we may not protest against it, but we cannot resist the inquiry which that error may have prompted; and most certain it is that it is an inquiry which we ought not to resent or be afraid of. If it be the error which suggested the inquiry, then it is the very inquiry, which, if honestly conducted, will annihilate the error. If it be a wrong principle in the legislature which has suggested this practical step to them, let us take fit occasion for rebuking the principle; but the practical step is one in which, of all others, we ought to rejoice. Grant that some baneful anti-establishment theory, unknown to their ancestors, has got possession of the minds of our rulers; and that, under the influence of this theory, they had resolved to gauge the whole length and breadth of our existing Dissenterism,—never then, I will venture to say, were the bane and its antidote brought more closely into juxtaposition with each other; for if the illusion on the one hand have suggested the inquiry, on the other hand the inquiry will dissipate the illusion. There is nothing which I more panted after in the motion of Lord John Russell than that the Dissenters should be included in it; and nothing I was more afraid of, than that, in the conflict of parties in the House of Commons, that clause should have been expunged. Let that inquiry of all others proceed, and you will find it the very touchstone of our question—the divining instrument by which the secret will be conjured, and come up at last—wherein it is that the great weakness of Voluntaryism, and wherein it is that the great strength of an Establishment lies. Without that investigation we may have discovered that the one Established Church of a particular locality left nine-tenths of its people unprovided for; but did we stop here, we should have left the Voluntaries in possession of their argument untouched and entire. We supplement all the deficiencies; we

overtake the surplus; nay, such is the elastic power and expansibility of our system, that if you would but clear away this tottering crazy edifice, this old useless superannuated Establishment, we should make beautiful work of it, and put the whole territory, after the great incubus was swept off, into a state of entire and perfect cultivation. Now, mark how this very inquiry tests the power of Voluntaryism; and enables us to judge of its boasted capacity for filling up the whole territory of a country's population—by the manner in which they have filled up those outfield portions of it which our defective Establishment cannot possibly overtake. While some stand in dread of this investigation, lest perhaps it should make known how very much is done by the Dissenters; I welcome this investigation to the uttermost, and just that it should be known how very little is done by the Dissenters—or rather, to express it more properly, how much it is which they have left undone; and that legislators may know the length and breadth of that moral wilderness which, without the energies and resources of an endowed Church, and on the principle of a territorial establishment, has never yet been entered on. For the accomplishment of this purpose, mark, I beseech you, the importance of that very question which some regard as a damning flaw in the Commission—“the numbers of those who attend places of public worship belonging to other religious denominations”—the very question on which I am willing to hinge the whole of the Church controversy in Scotland; and which, if rightly prosecuted, will prove our firmest stepping-stone to the extension we now seek, and at length to the full establishment of our cause. It is not saying enough in behalf of our Church's extension to tell us of a parish church which cannot accommodate a tenth part of its population. It is saying infinitely more both to accredit our plea, and to stop the mouths of gainsayers, that, in the plebeian districts of that parish, contiguous thousands are to be found where not one in eight of the population go to all places of worship put together; and then the question, as founded on such a survey, is practically urged and brought home to our legislators, what is to be done for the Christian education of that mighty host, whom neither a deficient Establishment, nor a feeble Voluntaryism can possibly overtake? Why, that clause of the Commission which many think looks hard and hostile on our Establishment, is the best clause in it. It places us on a vantage-ground which the blind and headlong enemies of our Church are little aware of.

Take away that clause, and you deprive us of our most essential evidence, of far the most effective data for a right and favourable solution of the question—secreting or smuggling away from us the best of our witnesses, and mutilating irreparably the very statistics which plead most irresistibly in our favour.

I have but one point more to touch upon, and that is the inquiry into pastoral superintendence.

I have no doubt that the question meant, however clumsily and infelicitously expressed in the Commission, is a question which respects machinery, and not the faithfulness or execution of the men who work that machinery. If we have indolent or careless pastors in our Church, it is not to the legislature that we should complain of them, but we would take them into our own hands ; and so our application was, not because our clergy were remiss or inefficient, but because we had too few of them—not that any one of them acquitted himself ill of his task, (it is our own province to look after that,) but that the task put into many of their hands was utterly above human strength, and could not possibly be done without a fuller apparatus ; and so the proper object of our application was that we might be enabled both to enlarge the apparatus, and add to the number of our labourers. The question respects not the working of the instrumentality, in any given district or parish ; but whether, supposing it well worked, it be a sufficient instrumentality for the business which ought to be done by it. The State is not bound to make up for the individual deficiencies of any of our clergymen,—to build another church in a parish because the minister does not, when he might, fill the one he already has ; or to provide an additional pastor, because the pastor already there fails in the discharge of his incumbent ministrations. We make no such unreasonable demand on the State. Our only petition is, that they would supply the defects of our machinery which, in its present state, can with no human strenuousness be made commensurate with the Christian education of the people. We, in the first instance, will not throw away our money by building a church anywhere if not required by the number and the exigencies of its surrounding population ; and all we ask, in the second instance, is that a paternal government should give of their aid towards the maintenance of its future clergyman, or in other words, (for we are always charged with looking to ourselves and to our own personal advantage,) after we have made the present of a church to so many hundreds of unprovided families, we ask government

to make a present to the same families of a partial maintenance for the person who shall officiate there as their guide to heaven and instructor in the way of righteousness. The question is not as to the manner in which our men acquit themselves of their duties of pastoral superintendence, but the question is as to the means of pastoral superintendence. This is a most legitimate inquiry for the State to make ; and in the prosecution of it, no proper limitation need be transgressed by the civil power, nor any aggression made on the rightful independence of the ecclesiastical.

But far the most important of these last instructions given by Lord John Russell, is that which points to the commencement of the inquiry—to what may be called the initial footsteps of the Commission, who are directed to take up, in the first instance, the examinations of those localities where any ecclesiastical destitution is alleged to exist. Now, the most substantial allegation which can be made of the ecclesiastical wants of any district is, that the people best acquainted with that district not only make affirmation of them, but, best vouchers for their belief in the reality of the statement, have actually come forward with their hundreds, and in some instances, with their thousands of pounds for the purpose of relieving them. In other words, we shall have these Commissioners engaged with the statistics of the very localities which we hold the most destitute, and to which we ourselves have been first attracted by the glaring necessity of their condition. It will be a piecemeal inquiry ; and like true inductive philosophers, these men now, instead of taking their departure from theories and prejudices of their own, descending synthetically from the abstractions of their own mind to the individual realities of the outer world, will have to ascend laboriously and by distinct stepping-stones, like the disciples of experimental science, from the truth in particulars to the truth general and the truth universal. I would not for the world that our Church should interpose a single straw in the way of such an inquiry. It is the very measure to which I have laboured for twenty years to bring the authorities in our towns and the authorities of the State ; that they might come and see with their own eyes the ecclesiastical wants of many thousands of our families, and be convinced on the testimony of their own senses, that nothing but a territorial establishment sufficiently filled up, and sufficiently extended, can possibly provide for them. It were the cruellest of all things, if aught either said or

done by the Church could be formed into a pretext for dissolving that Commission—now that either they must do us justice, or we, strong in the truth of all our representations, shall have it in our power to expose the injustice, and put them most flagrantly in the wrong. It is beyond my imagination to conceive by what artifice, by what sophistry, the most hostile body of inquirers could make their escape from that statistical document respecting the Water of Leith which I shall offer to their notice, and on all the details of which I am ready, and have indeed asked, to come before them. And thus it might be with all the other places in Scotland where either unendowed churches are to be found, or new churches are in process of erection. They, the Commissioners, announce their readiness to examine on every alleged case of deficiency—do you, the petitioners, allege the deficiency, each of the district in which he is specially interested, and be prepared to substantiate this allegation by an accurate state of the ecclesiastical condition of the families. Let them be as adverse as they may, I do long to come to close quarters with them on the statistics of the Water of Leith. And will my friend Mr. Buchanan not make out his case for the village of Newhaven? Will the government Commission be able to convict Mr. Begg of Liberton of his needless and chimerical enterprise in labouring, as he now does, for a new place of worship to the householders of Gilmerton? Will Glasgow not be able to substantiate, and more than substantiate, all the allegations which have called forth £25,000 from a willing public—nor to exhibit in such characters of palpable reality the condition of her operative classes, as to the means and the facilities of their Christian education, as irresistibly to tell even on the iron and hitherto untractable policy of an unwilling government? Will the new parish of St. Mark's in that city, abandoned by the Dissenters because the rich had abandoned it, and now furnished with a church by the friends of the Establishment for the poor who have taken their place,—will that parish shrink back from the torch of discovery which now approaches for the purpose of demonstrating the falsehood of all our statements, and making it palpable as day, that over the whole length and breadth of our territory there is no destitution, but—thanks to the power of the voluntary system,—a universal fulness in Scotland? There is nothing which I feel more ardently desirous of than to see the enlightened statist of the west in busy engagement with these Commissioners now upon the out-

set of their work, but who ere they address themselves to their task, must first be initiated in the very alphabet of the whole subject. But I care not how ignorant they may be, if honest, and free from prejudice. I have no reason to believe them otherwise than honest. It is their prejudices I am most afraid of; as but for them I am confident that a few practical lessons would open their eyes, and wholly dissipate that big and baneful illusion which is now arresting for a season, but never will be able to defeat or to extinguish our cause. I call on Glasgow to be ready with its districts of St. Stephen's, and St. Peter's, and its chalked out localities of Bridgeton and Calton,—on Paisley with its three or four new churches and its enormous Abbey parish,—on Mr. M'Qubae of St. Quivox to make known the state of the families of Wallace-ton,—on Mr. Roxburgh of Dundee to do the like with his new parish of St. John's,—on Mr. Gordon of Aberdeen with the newly assigned John Knox parish in that city,—on Thornton and Milton in Fifeshire,—on Buckie and the chapel district in the parish of Boyndie,—on Mr. Lewis of Leith, who can make such abundant verification of his claims on the statistics of his parish there, and which he knows so well how to investigate,—on Dr. Easton, who knows so thoroughly, and has done so much for the interests of his people of Kirriemuir, and—without nearly completing the enumeration—on Airdrie, and Holytown, and Clerkston, and Rutherglen, and Strathaven in Lanarkshire. On the eve, as we are, of such investigations, and with the confidence, the triumphant confidence, that we have in the results of it, figure the depth, the exquisite severity of our mortification, if by any chance this inquiry were not to be proceeded in. Even though it were clear that government had done all they could to make it unpalatable, and every effort had been made to disappoint and to disgust us, I call on the Church to submit to any affront, to surrender its tastes and its likings and its dearest partialities, everything, in short, but its principles, to brook in fact all the disagreeables which can possibly be imagined, and show what it can suffer as well as what it can do for the best interests of the people of Scotland. I know that nothing would minister a more outrageous triumph to our enemies than if anything done or said by us were to furnish government with a pretext for recalling that Commission. It may be made to fall through. I am prepared for anything on the part of our relentless adversaries, who pretend, now that the inquiry has come near to us, that a fear for the result is all

upon our side; the fear is all upon theirs. Inquiry, even with all the drawbacks and the disagreeables of the actual Commission, will be of ineffable value to the Church of Scotland. Let us swallow the pill, it will do us good, though it has been contrived in many ways to make it a nauseous and a bitter one. They will soon find how prodigiously every honest investigation will operate in favour of our claims; so that if ever that Commission is prematurely broken up, let it be their act, not ours. Should that event occur, we know the interpretation which would fain be given to it, as if we had first called for the lifting up of a flambeau over us, and then hated its beams. It was at the request of the Church that the inquiry has been granted; let it be clearly the doing, the unprovoked doing of the State, if that inquiry is withdrawn, or in any way frustrated, or brought to a fruitless termination. Let it lie at the door of others,—but tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon, that the Church had shrunk from the light after that the Church's enemies shall have smothered it.

I now hasten to a close, but have forgot to explain the immense practical importance of that special object of inquiry which has been so much complained of, the pastoral superintendence, or rather the means of pastoral superintendence. Without this we should have a most crippled and imperfect statistics, and all the other data put together would be utterly incompetent for a right determination of the question. Take for example the schedule issued in consequence of Mr. Wallace's motion of inquiry, and which is confined to the single element of church-room, with the respective proportions of the let and the unlet. No sound practical conclusion whatever can be grounded on these data alone; and without this additional item of pastoral superintendence, we shall never get the better of the sophistry and the endless mystifications of our adversaries. Take for example, the Water of Leith, with its 143 seat-holders among 1356 people, or subtracting 286, being double the number of these seat-holders, from the whole population, with no less than 1070 individuals in this small locality alone, wholly unprovided for either in or out of the Establishment. The informations elicited by Mr. Wallace, make known to us, and within a few stone-throws of this district, a greater number of unoccupied sittings than would accommodate them all. And what is the inference that our friends the voluntaries would draw from this circumstance? Why, that nothing farther is to be done for the religious good of

these neglected families. Now my inference is directly and diametrically the opposite of this. The juxtaposition of these two phenomena—the number of unlet sittings in that quarter of the town, and, at the same time, the as great number of non-church-goers at the very door of the chapels where the sittings are to be had, is with me a practical demonstration of the impotency of voluntaryism, and how utterly incapable it is either to recover or to keep a population. For if we inquire into the causes of their non-attendance, we shall find, that, irrespective altogether of the high seat-rents, there is cause enough just in the very want of this pastoral superintendence. A people never will be reclaimed to Sabbath attendance but by week-day attentions; and for this purpose it is indispensable, not only that there shall be churches with seat-rents low enough, but territorial churches with districts small enough to be thoroughly pervaded by the clergyman, whose business it is to knock at every door, and to visit every family where the door is opened to him. Now this is a pastoral superintendence which a dissenting minister, pre-occupied by his own hearers from all distances and directions, cannot possibly bestow; and this also is a pastoral superintendence which the two ministers of St. Cuthbert's,* the hardest working men I know anywhere, with their population of 70,000, can as little bestow. The conclusion is irresistible. Nothing will avail for the Christian education of these people but a territorial church in the midst of them; and a minister planted there whose distinct office it shall be, not to form a congregation any how, and at the expense perhaps of previous congregations, but to fill that church out of that district—a thing only to be done by the vigorous and incessant appliance of pastoral ministrations; by the power of Christian kindness over the hearts of a grateful and at length subdued people; by labours among the sick, by labours among the dying, by labours among the young—when, as the fruit of his unwearied perseverance in the toils and assiduities of a house-going minister, he will at length earn an abundant recompense in the spectacle of hundreds congregated by himself into one parochial family, and reclaimed to all the habits and the decencies of a church-going population.

To conclude, I hope I have said nothing that will prove offensive to any of the members of the government Commission of Inquiry. I am sure I intend it not; and desirous as I am of conferring with them largely and explicitly on the objects for

* The Water of Leith is situated in the parish of St. Cuthbert's.

which they have been appointed, it is no wish of mine, but the contrary, that there shall be anything but goodwill and confidence betwixt us. I will not permit myself to harbour the imagination which is afloat respecting them, trusting as I do, that it will turn out to be the fantasy of an idle dream. It is an imagination grounded perhaps on the felicitous expression of Mr. Wyndham, who, when speaking of one of the purposes to which parliamentary committees were sometimes made subservient, called them committees of oblivion. Many apprehend that such is the purpose of this Commission; or that the way in which the government intend to honour our cause is, not by doing anything for the promotion or the practical accomplishment thereof, but with becoming reverence for the National Establishment in Scotland, to see it gently consigned to the tomb, though at the same time, as is meet, with all the pomp and circumstance of a decent funeral. And so, when they hear of its noble chairman and its honorary and its working members, the majority of which are said to be hostile to the object for which they have been ostensibly appointed—they seem to regard these last as so many active and efficient grave-diggers, with this most befitting qualification for the office, a hearty goodwill to the business of it—while in the higher grades of the procession we have a chief mourner, and a goodly train of pall-bearers to grace the obsequies of our procession, and conduct it onward with all due solemnity and respect to the land of silence. But this I hope will be but the fancy of a passing moment; nor for myself will I view the Commission in any other light than under the character of a grave and momentous reality, of whose members it is my fondest expectation, whatever I have said or think of the appointment of some of them, that everywhere in Scotland they will be received in perfect good taste, and be treated with perfect good manners. God grant that the acerbities of this most unseemly and unnatural warfare, which so agitates and distempers the whole of Scottish society, may be softened by the intercourse; that the controversy may at length be decided by the calm and enlightened judgment of what is practically best for the moral and Christian interests of the great mass of the people; and that all, under the blessing of Heaven, may issue in the secure establishment amongst us of the cause of truth, and charity, and righteousness.

SECTION VII.

AN ATTEMPT TO POINT OUT THE DUTY WHICH THE CHURCH OWES TO THE PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND, AND MORE ESPECIALLY TO SETTLE THE QUESTION OF PRECEDENCY BETWEEN THESE TWO OBJECTS—THE WORK THAT SHOULD BE DONE, AND THE PAYMENT THAT SHOULD BE MADE FOR THE DOING OF IT; BEING AN ARGUMENT ON CHAPEL BONDS.

1. THE number of people in Scotland has increased since the period of the Reformation from one million to two millions and a half, without a corresponding increase in the number of its places of worship. The Establishment had done something to repair this deficiency—for, previous to the commencement of the scheme for its extension, which is still in embryo, it had raised sixty-six chapels,—being about one chapel for every twenty thousand of the additional population, or in the ratio of a twentieth part to the provision which existed in the days of John Knox, when there was about one church all over Scotland for every thousand of its inhabitants. Over and above this, the Dissent has contributed between three and four hundred places of worship, leaving still a fearful amount of ecclesiastical destitution; insomuch that thousands are to be found, both in our large towns and recent manufacturing villages, in a state of utter alienation from the calls and opportunities of the gospel—it being generally, if not universally, the result of our statistical inquiries, that whenever a district in any of our more populous cities or new-sprung villages is occupied chiefly by the working classes, not one in five, or in eight, or in ten, or even in sixteen, and twenty, are the regular attendants of any Christian congregation.

2. One of the first duties surely of the Established Church is, if possible, to reclaim these—to make invasion on such fearful masses of irreligion and profligacy, now that she has made discovery of their existence—to arm herself with the powers and equipments of a great home mission, for the purpose of bringing the gospel of Jesus Christ to bear on the tens of thousands who are strangers to the word and the ordinances of religion—to knock at the door of these outlandish families, now sunk in apathy and moral degradation; and who, though to be found in hundreds and hundreds more within half a mile of us, stand at as great a moral distance from Christianity and from all its revelations,

as do the artisans of China, or the wandering tribes of Tartary and New Holland.

3. But one essential part of a missionary equipment is, that the missionaries shall be paid. Nor it is generally expected that they should be paid in the first instance by those among whom they labour. It is undisputed on all sides, that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel; but a great controversy hinges on the question, who the parties are that should afford this livelihood. In the vast majority of such enterprises a maintenance is not looked for, especially at the commencement, from the people for whose direct benefit the enterprise is set on foot. They are not the Hindoos who support Dr. Duff and his coadjutors—nor were they the Otaheiteans who either furnished the missionary vessel, or even for a time subsisted the messengers that carried the first tidings of the gospel to their shore—nor are they the New Zealanders who defray the expense either of sending forth or supporting the men, who now labour in the work of instructing or civilizing them—nor even, in turning from our foreign to our home undertakings, are they the householders of our neglected city lanes who award sustenance to those visitors whose office it is to pass from family to family, and ply them both on Sabbath and through the week with the offers of salvation. Without the maintenance of these living agents, the work could not possibly be done; and who in general are the parties who bear the charges of this maintenance? Not, at least to begin with, the parties to whom the benefit is rendered; but the parties by whom the benefit is conferred. It comes not in the shape of a recompense from the former; but in the shape of a gift, of a donation, in short of an endowment, from the latter. The missionaries who go abroad are not supported by the free-will offerings of those to whom they preach; but by an endowment from the funds of their respective societies. The home missionaries are supported in like manner; or from sources external of the people, or of the means of the people among whom they operate. At all events, the expenses of the ministration must be paid; and generally speaking, both in home and foreign missions, the payment is voluntary. But there is a difference of the utmost argumentative effect, and which has been marvellously little attended to, between one species of voluntary payment and another—between the voluntary return made by those who receive the benefit, and the voluntary contribution of those who confer the benefit. The one is a voluntary recompense. The

other is, to all intents and purpose, an endowment, though a voluntary endowment.

4. It is by confounding these two species of voluntarism—the voluntarism *ab extra*, and the voluntarism *ab intra*, that the combatants in this sore dispute are so long of coming to a common understanding. The men who join their means to build a church, not for themselves but for others, are represented as having come over to the Voluntaries, although it is their distrust in the efficacy of the one species of voluntarism which has prompted all their efforts and their sacrifices according to the other species—convinced as they are, that if no attempt was made *ab extra*, it never would be made *ab intra*; or the people of the district within which the place of worship is raised would have remained without one to the end of time. When after this they apply to government for the maintenance of the clergyman, they are represented as traversing their own principle, or as renouncing the voluntary for the endowed system; when, in fact, they are but seeking to add one external contribution for the moral good of the population to another. They, in the first instance, have obtained so much at the commencement of their object, from the liberalities of so many virtuous, philanthropic, and Christian men; and they now seek to obtain so so much more for the completion of their object, from a virtuous, patriotic, and Christian government. What they have done in part by the help of willing individuals, they expect to finish by the help of willing rulers. The real controversy then is not so much between compulsion and voluntarism. It is between one species of voluntarism and another. We should be glad if the liberality of individuals sufficed both to build and to endow; but we find it a laborious and tardy enough process, though we call in the aid of two parties, and that as individuals build government should endow. These two parties are moving in one and the same direction. They act as concurrent forces; and the same character of beneficence to others beside themselves, is impressed on their respective contributions to one and the same object. It is because internal voluntarism never does suffice for supplying in full the means, whether of common or Christian education to the people, that this external voluntarism is set in motion. The negroes in the West Indies never would have combined to educate themselves. A spontaneous movement for this purpose would never have been made from within. But it has been made from without; and government, it is said, has

joined this latter movement, and placed £20,000 at the disposal of the London Missionary Society. What enlightened philanthropist does not rejoice in such a destination? or who would carry his sensitive and senseless antipathy to endowments so far, as to reclaim against a grant of this sort from the public treasury? The truth is, that government on the one hand, and the private contributors on the other, from the princely benefactor of a thousand guineas to the penny a week subscriber, may all be regarded as the endowers of these West India schools. The same principle was in exercise at the outset of Christianity; and without its continued operation, the world will never be Christianized. When Paul would take nothing from the churches of Achaia, he in that instance abjured our modern voluntarism; and may be said to have endowed these churches by the aid which he received from other churches, or other Christians. Nay, he may be said, *pro tanto*, to have endowed them himself. The produce of the handicraft of Paul the tent-maker, was turned into an endowment for the maintenance of Paul the Christian minister, who laboured in word and in doctrine among the people. There is an identity of application between this grant made by the liberality of the apostle for the benefit of the churches in Achaia, and any other grant made for any other churches whatever, in the present or bygone ages. The blind and headlong zeal which confounds, when it ought to discriminate, and makes distinctions when it ought to identify, is repelled by the very name of an endowment, however rightly and benevolently it is applied, or however virtuously it is administered,—not reflecting, or rather not knowing, that the principle which dictates such an endowment is in truth the actuating principle of every generous effort for the propagation of Christianity both in ancient and modern times.

5. But the misapprehensions of which we complain, are not peculiar to the voluntaries. They are exemplified by churchmen, who, however attached to the principle of an endowment, as expressed in the terms of a general doctrine, seem at times, as will appear in the sequel, to lose their hold of it, when called on to make application of the principle to particular cases. The instance which we now proceed to offer, appears strongly to illustrate our assertion.

6. The inadequacy of the Established Churches to the religious wants of our population, has been felt in Scotland for many years. And till of late, an occasional erection in one place and another, of a Chapel of Ease, was the only expedient for repair-

ing it. Historically, and in fact, it has added about one place of worship to the Establishment, for every addition which has taken place of twenty thousand to the numbers of the people,—sixty-six chapels having been constituted, during the increase of nearly one million and a half in the inhabitants of our country. For each twenty thousand, then, of new people, one church has been provided, which on the average will certainly not accommodate more than two thousand of them—leaving eighteen thousand of every such section unreached by the Establishment; and certainly not overtaken, beyond the extent of a very small fraction, by the Dissenters. This calculation is in full accord with the ecclesiastical surveys which have been made in all the more destitute places of our land—in the large towns, where, from a vicious practice of seat-letting, the churches are nearly monopolized by the higher and middle classes of society—in the recent suburbs of our increasing cities—in the recent villages or hamlets of our country parishes.

7. But the interesting observation to be made of these twenty thousand people is,—the relative condition of the two thousand, who, by means of a Chapel of Ease, have found harbour within the Establishment, and of the eighteen thousand who have been left without its pale. Every addition to the general population of the country, implies an addition to the various ranks or classes of the community—to its capitalists and shopkeepers and respectable artisans at least, if not to its landed proprietors; while the great addition will be found to consist of the lowest class of its mechanics and labourers. They are two thousand, then, of the wealthier and better sort, who have been provided for under the old chapel system, or rather who under that system have provided for themselves. They are able to afford the high seat-rents which are indispensable in every unendowed place of worship; and it is the united sufficiency of their means, which has both built the chapel, and maintains the clergyman. They present us with a good specimen both of the powers and the limits of internal voluntarism—able, it would appear, to secure the means of religious instruction for two thousand out of twenty thousand; but not able to overtake the mighty remainder of eighteen thousand that is left. Had it been so able, the aid both of external voluntarism and of state endowments would have been alike uncalled for. We have no quarrel with this internal voluntarism. We are thankful for its services, as an auxiliary in the business of Christian education, and should like to foster

and call forth its capabilities to the uttermost. We rejoice in the little which it does, and only lament that it can do no more. It is never with its performances, but only with its pretensions, that we have held any hostile reckoning—more especially when it makes boast of its own omnipotence; and when nothing will satisfy it but the destruction of the Established churches, and of all their endowments, that it may be furnished with a clear territory for the exercise and display of its own energies. Had it but overtaken the surplus which the Establishment has left out, we should have felt more confident in its ability to fill the whole length and breadth of the land, on the Establishment being destroyed. But we must have better experience of its efficiency than we have yet had, ere we can resign with comfort the whole territory into its hands.

8. But let us now attend to the footing on which our Chapels of Ease have been hitherto constituted and maintained. Generally speaking, the minister is supported by his hearers who built the chapel at the first; and who, by their seat-rents, aided to a greater or less extent by their Sabbath collections, defray all the annual expenses of the concern. The heaviest of these expenses is a requisite income for the clergyman, which, generally speaking, is not left to fluctuate from year to year with the proceeds of the chapel; but is a certain stated annuity, which does not preclude however its being augmented from time to time, if the increase and prosperity of the congregation should admit of it. This annuity is liable, on the other hand, to diminution from the decline of the chapel revenue; though, to prevent this diminution from going beyond a certain point, there did obtain till recently in the Dissent, and does obtain still in the Establishment, the practice of requiring a bond for the stipend of the minister. By this bond more or fewer individuals, of sufficient substance and credit, become sureties for the payment of a certain annuity to the clergyman. Such bonds for yearly payments to the minister have been of very various amount—in one instance, we believe, so high as £400 a year; though, were we to strike an average on the practice, till within these two or three years, we might state it perhaps at £150. Now, it never was the imagination in any of these transactions, whether in the church-courts or by the minister or among the subscribers themselves, that they the subscribers were necessarily or even probably to become donors or endowers for the stipend, by the step into which they had entered. The eyes of all the

parties were open to the circumstances of the chapel; and the transaction proceeded upon the imagination that its likely proceeds would more than cover the obligation that was incurred—would at least indemnify, and generally even with a surplus, those individuals who had thus come forward as securities for the regular payment of at least so much of the stipend. When the engagement was contracted at all, it was never with the belief that they would need to supplement by their gifts the insufficiency of the concern for the support of the clergyman; but with the directly opposite belief, that the chapel would be able of itself for all its own expenses. It was in fact an expression of confidence on the part of the subscribers in the productiveness of the chapel; and, virtually then, upon this productiveness the granting of its constitution was made to turn.

9. Now, premising that in every district chapel *where a bond can be had*, we are not unfriendly to the practice, but conceive it to be attended with many advantages; still we can understand how, viewed as an object of contemplation, and for the purpose of appreciating its effect and character, there should be such an exceeding diversity in men's feelings and judgment regarding it; and that, of all others, it is the very object on which, if a dispute shall be raised, Voluntaries and Churchmen will be seen either to change places, or to stand in motley conjunction together, sometimes on one and sometimes on the other side of the question. It is a question, in fact, which of all others requires to be viewed completely and comprehensively, else the respective parties will strangely traverse their own principles, and as strangely misname and misapprehend the principles of their opponents. There is in truth a curious assemblage of elements which meet together in this matter of a bond—some dipt in the very essence of voluntaryism, and others in that of the Establishment; and so as to require a work of somewhat painful disentanglement, ere the nature and tendency of the whole can be fully appreciated.

10. First, then, a chapel bond, when it can be had, has its advantages. For first, it affords a security for the continuance of a Christian ministration in that chapel during the incumbency of the existing clergyman, who at least is not compelled by absolute starvation to relinquish it. Second, when it is a bond for a sufficient income, it insures a decent provision for the clergyman. And lastly, which is greatest of all, it saves him from that glaring and immediate dependence on the people who

enjoy his services, which is fitted in a certain way to injure the moral effect of them. There are a thousand benefits of a precious and very high order, attendant on the practice of week-day and household ministrations; and, more particularly, as being the likeliest expedient for bringing together or keeping together a congregation. Now we cannot conceive a more hurtful imagination, should it once enter into the minds of the people whom the minister labours to reclaim, than if they begin shrewdly to suspect that he is seeking not them but theirs; or, in other words, that by all this activity, he is but beating up for recruits to his congregation, and that, to enlarge his seat-rents. Every idea of such an imputation, as if he laboured not for their benefit but for his own income, is enough to make a minister ashamed of his exertions; or, if he do persevere with them through good report and bad report, to injure their effect for a time at least, and till the Christian worth and benevolence and genuine nobility of his soul have been fully manifested. Now a bond, if it do not altogether remove, at least alleviates this grievous inconvenience—lightening somewhat this great moral incubus on the influence and usefulness of a clergyman, who, if truly devoted to the objects of his high calling, would acquit himself with far greater success, and obtain a far more powerful ascendancy over the families of his vineyard, were he in the enjoyment of perfect independence, and above the reach of any possible aspersion on the disinterestedness of his labours. And besides all this, there is an incidental good in a bond which ought not to be overlooked. When its subscribers reside within that district for the benefit of which the church has been raised, it gives them an interest in the seats being well occupied, and enlists their natural influence among neighbours and acquaintances on the side of a general attendance. There is no such drawback attendant on this lay interest in the concern turning out a prosperous one, as on a clerical interest being directly and immediately bound up therewith. It is well that the clergyman is removed, though but to the distance of one step, from such a gross and ungenerous association. If but made sure of his income, this restores the aspect of disinterestedness to his ministrations—an aspect and a character so important for the proper effect of them. And even though justice to the men who have hazarded their property by affixing their signatures to his bond should be one of the motives which prompts the unwearied assiduity of his ministerial services, this is but the right feeling of

every honourable and conscientious man ; and there is nothing in the manifestation of such a feeling, to alloy the character or effect of his ministrations.*

11. Such are the undoubted advantages of the bond ; but ere we make it a *sine qua non*, it should be well considered, to what extent it is possible to realize it. Let it never be forgotten that bonds are practicable only in as far as voluntarism itself is practicable ; and that both the one system and the other have precisely the same limits and the same capabilities. It is curious to observe the zealots of an Establishment contending in every instance for the necessity of a bond, and refusing to take a single step for the extension of the Church without one—when in fact, if the Church could be extended on such a principle, and so as to meet the wants of all the population, this were the strongest practical demonstration that voluntarism was all-sufficient for the country, and that an Established Church was therefore uncalled for. Each bond in fact carries in it the expression of a homage to the sufficiency of the voluntary system, inasmuch as it is to the produce of the seat-rents that the subscribers of our bonds look for their indemnification and their

* The reader will observe that we annex a virtue to the circumstance of the bond being subscribed by residents and people of natural influence within the chapel district, which would not be realized if the bond were subscribed by men of wealth from beyond the district, who had no acquaintance with its families, and no natural influence over them. Such men might be the builders of the chapel ; but were they over and above this to subscribe a bond for the maintenance of the clergyman, they might incur the risk of becoming virtually its endowers also. The danger is greatly aggravated, if the person who has been appointed to the charge shall be devoid of all sensibility and all conscience on the subject of their losses ; and if, alike careless either of their interest or of his own solemn responsibilities and duties, he shall be at no pains to attract or to retain a congregation. The independence of a good clergyman has in it a great moral advantage, but where is the remedy when this independence is so abused by a bad one ? We are aware of no remedy but a virtuous exercise of authority on the part of the Church, whether by presbyterial visitations or otherwise ; and, if the church will neglect its own obligations, we cannot imagine a stronger practical triumph to the cause of voluntarism on the one hand, or a stronger practical argument against either bonds or endowments on the other, than what the Church herself would, by her own culpable neglect, put into the mouths of her deadliest enemies. In England there may be a legal necessity for which the Church there is not responsible ; but in Scotland there is no such necessity, save in as far as it may have been created by the ecclesiastical pettifoggers of her own body. In the black catalogue of human offences, we are not aware of a more grievous delinquency, or of one which more imperiously calls for the exercise of a vigorous discipline, than the enormity of that man's transgression, who enters on the duties of a parish or congregation under false colours, and who, after he is securely fixed in the temporalities of his office, abandons himself to his own selfishness ; at one time, if in possession of a stipend, bidding defiance to the patron or the electors who have appointed him ; at another time, and if in possession of a bond, bidding like defiance to the men who gave him their confidence, and whom he in return for it has grossly deceived.

safety. It is the likely amount of this produce which inspires their confidence, when they affix their signatures to the written obligation. And, accordingly, as if to avoid everything that could shake this confidence, it has not been the habit of the Church to lay any restraint on the seat-rents. In general, the managers are left at liberty to exact as high seat-rents as can be had—an object in which we might proceed without embarrassment so long as our only aim is the provision of an income sufficiently high for the minister, and not of an accommodation sufficiently cheap for the common people. But this last, it is well known, is the great object of the efforts which are now being made for the extension of the Church; and there is the utmost difficulty (amounting, we think, to impossibility, till endowments shall be granted) in combining these two objects—the object on the one hand of a right status for the minister, with the object on the other, of sittings low enough for the working-classes. This is not a difficulty of imagination, but of experimental feeling, growing every day more intense with every multiplication of new places upon our hands; and pressing upon us more and more with every new erection. If not adequately met, we foresee that it will lay an arrest, or at least inflict the evil of a very grievous retardation and delay on the whole enterprise.

12. It is perfectly clear, in the first instance, that, if we ask a bond, we impose the necessity of a seat-rent high enough for its liquidation. This was all very well, so long as the newly erected church had no special direction towards the lower orders of society, and was not made specially to bear on any given territorial district, with a view to the accommodation of one and all of the families, however poor, within its limits. Before our enterprise of Church extension took its present distinct and particular aim, that is, to the Christian education of the people at large, chapels were erected, and constitutions were given, to which bonds were always held as indispensable prerequisites; but then they were left at liberty to exact such seat-rents as they could obtain, and to range over the whole circumambient neighbourhood for hearers, rich enough to pay, and who might come to them from all points of the compass, and at all distances. At this rate each new chapel operated far and near on the superficies of society, and drew its congregation, made up of scantlings, from the higher and middle classes of the widespread neighbourhood around it. But it scarcely told on the

general mass of the common people beneath ; and, accordingly, chapels can be named, and to which, too, parishes have been recently annexed of three thousand people, and where not one in a hundred in very many of the districts, especially if they be at all of a plebeian character, go to the place of worship that has been nominally assigned for them. The truth is, that all these new churches, with their high seat-rents, graze over the heads of the great majority of our working-classes, and leave in their respective vicinities a mass of irreligion and ignorance as entire and unbroken as before they had a being.

13. The question then recurs, how shall we manage so as to get at these common people ? It is quite clear, that if we continue, as heretofore, with such bonds as compel us to strain at the highest seat-rents which can be had, we make no descent among the working-classes of society, but only enter into competition with all the previous chapels, on the higher arena of the upper and middle classes. Now let it well be observed, that this is but a limited market, affording only a certain number of customers ; and that this market is already overstocked—yes, and will always be more and more so, with every addition made to the number of our new erections, which, so long as we persevere in our present system, must, to be filled at all, just go into conflict with their predecessor chapels, and, if successful, make out an attendance from the thinnings of previous congregations. At this rate, little or no progress is made among the outfield population. We only play and alternate along the limit that we have reached already ; but scarcely, if at all, carry that limit onward among those whom yet it is our distinct and specific aim to bring within the pale of gospel opportunities and gospel ordinances. With these erections of ours we shall, if compelled to do as heretofore, but injure the ministers of the existing chapels by the drafts that we make on their existing congregations. We shall but do them harm ; and with little or no good to that humbler, but greatly more numerous class, whose peculiar benefit in truth is the moving principle of the Church Extension Scheme. If saddled with such a bond as compels the necessity of a high seat-rent, we must lay ourselves out for such customers as can make it good. We cannot afford to keep within our districts ; but going in quest of the wealthiest hearers that can be found, the peculiar care of the poor and the principle of territorial cultivation must continue as heretofore to be disregarded.

14. The only way, then, by which to benefit the yet unreclaimed mass, is to keep ourselves distinct from those previous congregations which have been formed on altogether another principle than ours; is to meet the circumstances of the labouring classes with seat-rents low enough, and at the same time to retain a preference for our sittings to the people of the district that we have assumed for the place of worship which we have raised in the midst of it—assigning to the minister or missionary who shall officiate there, not the task of filling his church any how, but the peculiar task of filling that church out of that district. At Newhaven in North Leith—at St. Mark's in Glasgow—at the Water of Leith, Edinburgh—at Gilmerton, in the parish of Liberton, and innumerable other localities, there are materials for filling one and all of their respective churches, without drawing one hearer from any of the pre-existent congregations. But then, to gather in these materials, a low seat-rent is indispensable; and there is positively no other way in which the extension of the Church can be effectually carried forward. This alone is real Church extension. The other is not an extension: it is but an alternation or a transference—an addition to the dead architecture of the church, without any addition to the number of its living worshippers. To make out this last is the great object of our Assembly's scheme; but, without a territorial principle and low seat-rents together, we repeat, the scheme will turn out a miserable abortion; and if we do persevere in a system that necessitates a general high seat-rent in our new churches, we defeat the very purpose on which our hearts are set, and with our own hands stultify our own enterprise.

15. Little do those Churchmen imagine who think they do homage to an Establishment, when they keep so tenaciously by a bond—little do they imagine how fondly all the while they are clinging to the principles of the voluntary system. They are refusing to extend the Church any farther than the seat-rents of the hearers will allow them. By refusing, in every instance, a constitution without a bond, they are proclaiming to the world, that they will carry out the Church only to the extent that the voluntary principle will let them. They in truth are circumscribing themselves within the limits of voluntarism, and of the worst and weakest species of it too, within the limits of internal voluntarism. They are in fact saying to their beloved Church, "Thus far thou shalt go, and no farther;" and with

all their expressed, nay honestly felt antipathy to voluntarism, they would manacle the Establishment within its narrow enclosure, and are inflicting upon the Church which they profess to idolize, all the decrepitude and all the helplessness of voluntarism.

16. We repeat it, and all the more anxiously, that on this subject we have been misrepresented and misunderstood; take a bond when you can get it, but don't insist upon it in a locality so poor, and with seat-rents so low, if that locality is to have the benefit of the erection, that no bond can be obtained, because of the precarious and insufficient guarantee for the safety of the bondsmen. Above all, do not expect that the generous and disinterested builders shall become the bondsmen also, for the payment of stipends to the clergymen. Do not tell them, after they have done so much by their past or present sacrifices, that their benevolence will be altogether frustrated, unless they furthermore will take upon themselves the burden of a future and prospective obligation. Observe the altogether new and different footing on which these churches are placed at your disposal. The managers do not come now and say, This is our property from the proceeds of which we are to receive interest for the sums advanced by us, and at length a principal for the payment of them all. They make it over to us, the church, as our property; and bid us dispose of its whole proceeds for the Christian good of the neighbourhood in which they have raised it. It is brought to us, not as their speculation, but as their gift. So long as it was a speculation in their hands, their object was to make the seat-rents as high as possible; and then it was a very right proposition from us—out of their anticipated proceeds, how little will you appropriate to yourselves, and for how much will you become bound to the minister? But, now that it is a gift in our hands, it is our object, for the sake of the families of our general population, to make these seat-rents as low as possible; and in this altered state of things, we are not in circumstances to ask these men to become bound for anything. They have already acquitted themselves fully and nobly, not as lenders but as givers; and we cannot ask these men, after having incurred the burden of a large present sacrifice, to incur the further burden of an unknown and prospective obligation. In the erection which we ourselves have to do with, we have got a number of individuals to subscribe, and that most liberally, of their money. We could not look them in the face, and ask them after this to subscribe a bond. We could not follow up our experience, and

our grateful sense of their generosity, by a fresh exaction of this sort. And observe a twofold obstacle here. First, we have now donors, and not lenders to deal with; and though we can ask the latter to give up a part of the produce, of which they retain the other part, we cannot ask the former, who have made over all part and interest in the produce whatever. But, secondly, the bondsmen on the old system had a high seat-rent to come and go upon; if they are to be bondsmen on the new, they will have a low seat-rent to come and go upon. Over and above the present which they have made to us, shall we ask them to incur the same obligation with their less generous predecessors, and without the same means for making it good? A bond under the old system was based on a hypothec which could sustain it—the good and solid foundation of a high and well-paid seat-rent. A bond under the new system, where the object is to provide for the poorest of the land, has no such basis to rest upon; and of such bonds, we ask, are we to make the best benefactors of the church the bondsmen? Is this to be our return for their liberality, that ere we give effect to it, they must come under the yoke of such a bond or bondage as this—the Egyptian bondage of making bricks without straw?

17. Now this is beginning to tell, and to tell adversely on our cause, in various parts of the Church of Scotland. If not provided against, it will lay an arrest on that enterprise of Church extension which has begun so hopefully. Men will not subscribe for a fabric, if they find it is to land them in the burden of a responsibility for a stipend also. Even the most liberal of men, and the most willing to make a large present sacrifice, if justified by their present means, will not commit themselves to the unknown future by an engagement ever so small, or even by a prospect of liability ever so unlikely. There is human nature in this. Man will encounter a certainty, and brave it even to the surrender, and willing surrender too, of a very large sum; but he shrinks from coming under the power of a contingency; or, in other words, he will give a handsome subscription, but he will not sign a bond. He will cheerfully suffer a definite loss, but he will not suffer an indefinite liability to hang about him, and to haunt his imagination and his fears. This feeling is now coming into sensible operation, where fabrics are on the eve of their completion; and the next topic has succeeded, of an arrangement for ministers to fill them. And it is working most injuriously to our cause. For example, it has suspended the

progress of the subscription in Glasgow. The munificent sum of twenty-four thousand pounds raised in that city, might now have reached to thirty or forty thousand, had it not been for this very question. A controversy has arisen, and rather than become bondsmen, even the most generous and free-hearted of these munificent contributors, who have put down their £200 each to the enterprise, begin now to experience a painful recoil, and would sink one-half of the whole money raised in endowing, before proceeding any farther. In other words, we shall only have half the number of new churches that we might otherwise have had but for this matter of the bond; and individuals must be called upon to endow as well as to build—thus taking the whole duty out of the hands of Government, and striking on the head that goodly arrangement so hopeful, I had almost said, so sure of its completion, in a very few years, if but once entered on—even that the country should supply fabrics, and that Government should supply a small or partial endowment for them. Sure we are that the only way to bring on the endowment is to multiply the fabrics. The only way to prevail on Government to do its part, is to exhibit the spectacle of the country, from one end to another of it, nobly doing theirs. There was nothing which more staggered even the deadliest enemies of our application last summer in London, than the fact of sixty-four new churches being raised, or in process of raising, by the hands of private benevolence, and that under the impulse of a felt and practical necessity. Nothing gave a clearer demonstration to the reality and magnitude of the crying evil, which it is the object of this whole enterprise to provide against. The architecture is the precursor of the endowment. If we lay an arrest upon the one, we shall have to wait, and to wait everlastingly for the other. To multiply the fabrics is the way to make sure and effective aim for the endowments. It is only thus that we make a right outset for the object, and only thus that, by the power of moral compulsion, we shall carry it.

18. To bring more distinctly to view the precise effect of these bonds, if they are to be insisted on in all circumstances, and whatever be the poverty of the districts for which the new churches are designed, let us look to each of the two great parts of our undertaking separately. For the extension of our churches, what we want is, first, a sufficient number of fabrics in which the people might congregate as their places of worship; and, secondly, a sufficient maintenance for the clergymen who

shall officiate in these places. For the former of these objects we are attempting to acquire a fund from the liberality of individuals. For the latter we are attempting to obtain an endowment from the State.

19. Now as to the first, the effect of these bonds in cramping and discouraging private liberality, in every case where that liberality is most needed, or for the supply of our most destitute population, must be quite obvious. They will prove, if persisted in, a sad incubus on the generosity and the spirit of contributors; and if that incubus be not removed, we prophesy that the Assembly's fund will soon shrink into a very little thing. Fabrics will cease to be multiplied; and even the cause of endowments will lose the benefit of that moral compulsion which lies in the number of these fabrics, and in the influence of their supporters. This effect was not palpable so long as high seat-rents could be obtained; or, in other words, so long as chapels were erected mainly at the instigation and on the demand of the middle and higher classes of society. But now that their specific aim is the accommodation of the working-classes, now that a low seat-rent is an indispensable element in the success of the operation, we shall positively strangle our own enterprise in the birth, if we do not greatly reduce these bonds; or, what perhaps is better on many accounts, in certain instances at least, dispense with them altogether. They work a twofold mischief, first, a direct one in lessening that fund by which new churches are raised; and, second, an indirect one, by lessening the argument which the very magnitude of that fund, and the very number of these churches supplied—an argument, the efficacy of which, if not thus checked and impeded, will at length prevail upon our rulers in favour of an endowment.

20. But perhaps the most decisive consideration which can be adduced against them is, not their indirect, but their direct or immediate effect as a bar in the way of an endowment. A bond for the support of the minister, and this too sustained on means which somehow or other exist among his sitters and his supporters, argues a sufficiency in the whole concern which seems to leave any interference of aid from the hands of government as a thing wholly uncalled for. They will not step forward to help a thing which looks as if it rested on a good firm basis of its own. They will not endow for the mere purpose of releasing these bondsmen from their engagements. It is true that, with some difficulty, their claim to an endowment, and that notwithstanding their

bonds, could be made good. We could tell them, if they had patience to listen, that with a bond and the necessity of a high seat-rent to discharge its obligation, the chapel was altogether unavailable for the Christian education of the common people. This may at length be made out to their satisfaction, but at a far greater expense both of time and trouble than folks have any notion of. It is not so easy a matter when a question comes to be complicated with an element that requires explanation to dispose of, it is not known to what extent that single element will operate against it, and how year after year it may stand as an obstacle in the way of our success. Once get our adversaries to harp upon a bond, and this will deafen our application for an endowment we know not how long ; but we know well that if there be but one plausibility in the way, it may require years to dislodge it—whether from the minds of our rulers in London, worried as they are by thousands of questions which follow each other in trooping succession all the day long ; or from the minds of commissioners out of London, mystified as they are by the conflicting testimonies and representations of hostile witnesses. And meanwhile this said bond does act as a screen of interception between the eyes of government and the real merits of our claim. It in fact veils from their discernment what we call the *ipsa corpora* of the question. Take away this delusive intermedium ; and when they look to the case in its nakedness, they in the first instance see an ecclesiastical labourer accomplishing a great service—reclaiming the families of a territorial district, aliens before from the decencies of a Christian land, to habits of regular attendance on a territorial church, and a willing submission of themselves to the teaching and moral surveillance of their new minister ; and, with no other support than what is derived from the collections and seat-rents of the people, themselves in destitute circumstances, and which support must therefore be either a very penurious or a very precarious one. On the other hand, though it be a great deal too little for him to receive, it is also a great deal too much for them to give, (for we shall never be able to let down the seat-rents sufficiently till we have gained an endowment,) and more especially if out of their hard-won earnings they strain after that most desirable object, the occupation of a whole family pew for themselves and their little ones. On such simple data, the government will listen with a willing ear to us, when we ask them to step forward and make these odds even,—give an endowment that, in the first

place, this man might have enough to live upon ; but couple this endowment with as low a seat-rent as possible, that, in the second place, these people may have cheap enough pews to put themselves and their children into. This is the proper and presentable condition in which to place our cause before the eyes of a patriotic government. The bond throws a disguise over the strength and the sinews of our argument; and should we persist in these bonds in all possible varieties of situation, then, if our zeal for the extension of the Church be indeed an honest one, we commit the egregious folly, first of hatching an enterprise, and then of killing that enterprise at the birth. We inflict a twofold blow; and both together will prove a finishing stroke to our cause, reaching as it must to each several branch of our twofold dependence—we mean the fund for new churches, produce of the liberality of private individuals ; and the fund for the maintenance of the clergymen, produce of the endowment we are now seeking at the hands of government. These bonds, if we will adhere to them, doggedly and universally, must discourage the one fund ; they must utterly defeat the other.

21. But here we are met with the demand that, before meddling with an old system, we should be prepared to substitute another and a better system in its place. We have been urging the monstrous inconvenience of bonds in certain localities ; but ere they shall be set aside, we are required to propose a scheme that shall be free of inconvenience. The church, it is said, will not consent to give up her invariable practice of requiring a bond, even in a few instances, because of the one exception that we allege against it, unless some new practice can be specified that shall be unexceptionable, and have no difficulty, no inconvenience attending it.

22. Now, this we hold to be met, and adequately met, by the question, If we really could lay down a system free of inconvenience, what becomes of our plea for endowments ? It is because of the great, and the urgent, and the unavoidable evils attendant on every scheme wherein endowments are wanting, that we can hold up our faces to the application which we now make for them. When you ask us for an unexceptionable scheme without endowments, you ask an impossibility at our hands. The legislation that we now propose is not for a permanent state of things, but for the likeliest means by which we shall arrive at it. Ours, let it ever be recollected, is not a terminating scheme, but a scheme *in transitu*. We are not considering at present what

is the best landing-place, but what is the best road to that landing-place. We have not yet the means in our hand for instituting a system of optimism, or that state of things which is best for endurance; and meanwhile we do all that we can, all that ought to be required of us, if we propose what is best for speeding on our transition to the system of optimism. And we feel confident that it is not the bonded system which is the most effectual for this object. So far from helping forward the most desirable consummation, they form an obstacle in its way. An endowment never will be granted, but on most clear and palpable demonstration being given, of its subservience to the Christian instruction of the common people. The mischief of a bond is, that it will not only be urged, but, we fear, prevailingly urged with any administration; and nothing in these times of misplaced economy will avail our object, but as unambiguous a case of necessity as was made out for those immense parishes in the north, those Highland clachans which obtained, and on the plea of their poverty alone, not an endowment only, but an erection and an endowment for upwards of forty new parishes. We, on the other hand, have met government half-way. We have made the first step in the enterprise. We have erected upwards of a hundred new churches by means of private liberality; and our expectation is, that, on the strength of an application so accredited, coupled with the undoubted poverty of the people, we shall carry the acquiescence of Parliament in our views. But we most certainly will not succeed, if we persist in keeping bonds upon all these churches. Take the case of so many mendicant persons; it surely were not their best policy for drawing forth the liberality of the benevolent, that they put cockades upon their hats, or held themselves forth to public observation in any of the insignia of gentlemen. Now, in the spirit of unfeeling obloquy, our fabrics, raised as they are for the accommodation of the poor and working-classes (and it is they, and not we, who have been cruelly taunted with the appellation), have been stigmatized as so many mendicant churches. And it is most true that they are so; and all I want is, that we should not insist universally, and at all times, on putting these bonds, these cockades upon them, or in holding them forth with the insignia or under an aspect of sufficiency which they really do not possess. We cannot imagine a more infatuated policy than that of decking them out in these borrowed feathers, when in fact the great moving force by which we can ever hope to expedite our cause,

and at length to carry it—is the monthly increasing number of these plebeian, territorial, but withal bondless churches. It is only a united cry from these that will wring the indispensable boon from the hands of an unwilling government, whose eyes may yet be opened even to the economical wisdom of the measure—convinced perhaps, at last, that the education of the common people, and more especially their Christian education, is the best and cheapest defence of the nation. We have been complained of in some quarters of the Church as if our application for the endowment of new places of worship had swamped the first, the original application for the endowment of pre-existent chapels. On the contrary, instead of obstructing these endowments, it will pioneer the way to them; and it is on the strength of our far more convincing, because unambiguous claims, that a universal provision, a provision for all the unendowed churches, will be ultimately carried.

23. The whole of our argument may be resolved into a few distinct considerations, each of which we shall now state separately, and in order.

24. First, we do not plead for the abolition of the bond, but for a dispensation from it in special circumstances—in those circumstances, we mean, of extreme poverty, where no people within the new ecclesiastical district are to be had, of substance, and security enough for such an obligation; or when the obligation, if incurred, would compel a seat-rent that would shut the doors of the new church against the mass of its own territorial families. Let every constitution that may be framed for such a locality embody, as one of its articles, a condition for low-rented sittings, so low, at least, as three shillings each, for one-half of the whole accommodation; and let a bond be rigidly exacted in every instance where the managers refuse to purchase their exemption from it, by giving over this number of low-priced sittings for the good of the parochial community. In this way the article of dispensation from a bond will be made to turn on the article of a reduced and regulated scale of seat-rents. It will be an indulgence given by the Presbytery, in return for the sacrifice made by the proprietors of the new place of worship. There is no indiscriminate or sweeping innovation here. The old system of the bond will continue, wherever the old system of high and general seat-letting is continued; and the new system will only take effect in those particular cases where the great and obvious purpose is to be served by it, of insuring an accommoda-

tion cheap enough to meet the peculiar exigencies of a church which realizes the two characteristics of being both a territorial and plebeian one. All we want is, that whenever a case of this kind occurs, a bond shall not be held imperative and indispensable. Let not the church tie itself up by the enactment of a bond, that, without regard to peculiarities or distinctions of any sort, shall be held compulsory in all cases. Let there be a discretion in this matter in the hands of the Presbytery. Else there will ever remain a barrier in the way of new churches, which all our efforts cannot force. There are many aggregates of population, both in town and country, where the exaction of a bond were tantamount to an authoritative edict by the Church against the preaching of the gospel to the poor. We are not at present discussing the alternative whether a bonded or a bondless church is the better institute for the Christian education of our people; but the alternative is forced upon us, and it is for Christian ministers to determine between the two sides of it, whether it is better to provide a given district with a bondless church, or that it shall have no church at all.

25. But it has been said that though a bond cannot be had from the poor residents within the district, such a bond may be had from the rich and benevolent who are without. In other words, it is expected that individuals shall endow as well as build, and there is a sort of presentiment or hope, that they who have done so much as provide the fabric, will do so much more as become bound for a stipend to the minister. We can imagine nothing more revoltingly ungenerous than this; or more fitted to exhibit the Church in the light of a voracious shark, never to be soothed, never to be satisfied. Because philanthropists have done perhaps their uttermost to build the church, this is the advantage to be taken of them. Rather than that their benevolence should be frustrated, they will surely, over and above this, subscribe the bond. In other words, because men are to be had who love the Church, and make it the idol of their affections, the Church, in return for their costly offerings, becomes a Shylock to these men; and the recompense for their present sacrifices is that they, and their families after them, shall be loaded with prospective obligations. The subscriptions and liberalities of the Church's friends will speedily terminate, if this is to be the hard and the thankless upshot of them.

26. And here it may be asked, when so much is expected at all hands for the Christian education of our now destitute

thousands—is the Church, seeking in every direction the means and facilities for this great enterprise, to make no concession, no sacrifice of her own? To make good the high object both of patriotism and of piety on which she is now set, government are asked to give, for at least the partial maintenance of the clergyman; benevolent individuals are asked to give in the way of external voluntarism, for the erection of a place of worship; even the people themselves, on the principle of internal voluntarism, are asked to give, and make up by their collections and seat-rents, the full support of their minister; and will the Church, in the midst of these contributions from various quarters, make no offering, and evince no liberality in the cause? It is not enough to say in her excuse, that she has not the power to give, whatever may be her disposition. We do not require at present that she shall enlarge her disposition to give. It will answer all our immediate purpose, if she will only lessen her disposition to receive. When all others are applied to for a surrender to the cause, will she make no surrender herself, nor move a footstep—unless, guaranteed from all inconvenience, her provision be first made sure, and the mantle of protection against all privations, poverty, and pain, be first thrown over her? Doubtless, all this ought to be provided for her by the wealthy, when she labours among them; by the wealthy too when she labours to reclaim a people who are neither able nor willing to repay her ministrations; and, in defect of these, by the magistrate, whose duty it is, in the capacity of a nursing father to the Church, to devise measures for the moral wellbeing of the commonwealth. But in this day of indifference and hostility, must the Church do nothing to supply their lack of service? Are others left to make all the sacrifices, and must all the safety, and none of the risk and suffering be hers? Will she encounter no hazard, no contingency, for the sake of the thousands who are perishing at her door? Has the gospel, in these sunken and degenerate days, now lost its distinctive character of being preached to the poor? Has the Church renounced the apostolical character she had at the commencement of Christianity; or the Church of Scotland ceased from that missionary zeal wherewith she overspread the then desolated parishes of the land, at the commencement of her own reformation? Have the devotedness and self-denial of former times altogether fled? And unless upholden in the secure temporalities of the ministerial office unless the safe and sufficient bargain has been previously struck

are these masses of irreligion to be left unentered on? and, while thousands of families around us are sunk in spiritual destitution, must no effort be made to seek, must no arm be stretched forth to save them?

27. We do not put these questions reproachfully, or as if to awaken a zeal in the Church that is now lying dormant; for we are confident of a full sympathy and response in the breasts of many hundreds of our clergymen. They are willing that the Church should throw herself abroad over the million at least of her surplus population, even as she did two hundred years ago, when this formed the number of her entire population; and the land, rifled wholly of its endowments, was overspread with labourers at a venture, who gathered in the families as they could, and at length created such an interest in the cause, as to compel from the hands of an unwilling Government the stinted allowances of the present day.* Another such effort would bring the same moral compulsion along with it. Wherever labourers are to be found, qualified and willing for the service, let not the Church discourage them, nor put any let and hindrance in their way. Let her go forth fearlessly to the work, even with the hazard of a scanty remuneration. Our new churches would multiply under such a system; and the united call of the ever-increasing numbers that congregated around them would at length prevail over a reluctant or incredulous administration. Nor would the liberalities and the efforts of the benevolent be wanting to smoothen this midway passage to endowments, and to uphold both that Church and those churches' servants and sons who had so nobly braved the perils of the enterprise. Let us but seek first the extension of Christ's kingdom and its righteousness, and all other things shall be added unto us. Let the Church make full demonstration of its Christian patriotism in behalf of the poor, and both the wealth and the power of the land will at length acknowledge her.†

* Dr. Mc'Crie informs us, that at a meeting of the ministers, in the Little Church, Edinburgh, "David Ferguson, the oldest minister in the Church, rose and gave an account of the first planting of the Reformed Church in Scotland. He was one of six individuals, he said, who engaged in that work, when the name of stipends was unknown, when they had to encounter the united opposition of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and could scarcely reckon on the countenance and support of any person of note or of worldly estimation; yet they firmly and fearlessly persevered, and Providence crowned their labours with success."—*Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. ii. p. 60.

† On this subject Bishop Burnet expresses himself as follows:—"Certainly nothing can so much dispose the nation to think on the necessity of relieving the many small livings, as their seeing the clergy setting about their business to purpose.—This would, by the blessing

28. But without resting on generalities alone, let us make distinct exposition of the various practicable steps by which we propose to reach the consummation that we seek after,—practicable in large towns certainly, though not so much so, it is to be feared, in our remote and Highland parishes. We pre-suppose, first, a missionary supported by the benevolent, in his attempts to reclaim the families of a particular district to a Sabbath ministration—conducted by himself, in the largest school-room, or perhaps warehouse, that is to be had within its limits. This is the first step. The second is, when encouraged by the success wherewith he has congregated an audience, a subscription for a new church is entered on for the object of their better accommodation, and it is at length erected at the expense of so many contributors. The next is the partial filling of this church by the people of the district, but at such a moderate seat-rent as is suited to their humble circumstances. Then and not till then let the application for a constitution be made to the Presbytery, who can take cognizance both of all the present means and all the future likelihoods of the undertaking. It is only when, in accommodation to the peculiar indigence of the territorial families, an article of limitation on the seat-rents is proposed—then, and then only is it, that we contend for a dispensation from the article requiring a bond. The one condition is suspended on the other; so that, unless the obligation of the first is submitted to, the obligation of a low seat-rent, the indulgence held out by the second will not be expected. There is no enactment against a bond here, but only a release from it in certain circumstances, brought under the notice and arbitration of the Church courts. All we require is, that they will not interdict a church when a bond cannot possibly be had. The controversy is not whether a bonded or a bondless church forms a better apparatus for the Christian instruction of the families in a given district; but whether the families of that district shall be allowed the services of a bondless church, or shall have no church at all. Do not let the enterprise for such a church be blasted, because you cannot command a legal security for a stipend to its minister. You may have a reasonable security notwithstanding, for a time at least, until an

of God, be the most effectual means of stopping the progress of atheism, and of the contempt the clergy lies under. It would go a great way towards the healing our schism, and would be the chief step that could possibly be made towards the procuring to us such laws as are yet wanting to the completing our Reformation, and the mending the condition of so many of our poor brethren who are languishing in want and great straits.”—*Pastoral Care*, p. 207.

endowment shall be granted ; and the following are the items of which that security is composed :—First, the same benevolence which supported the missionary, and erected a church for him, forms in itself a temporary guarantee at least for some sort of maintenance to the clergyman,—the same annual subscription for his maintenance as a missionary being prolonged, when necessary for his maintenance as the minister of the new church. The bond would at once repress this subscription, and dry up one supply that we at present are counting on. Second, the Sabbath collection of the church-doors should be reserved for the same object, to be given up for the support of the poor in the district, in exchange for that endowment of which we never lose sight as the landing-place of the enterprise. A bond would certainly tell unfavourably on the amount of this collection, and so lessen another of the supplies which we at present are counting on. But, third, in defect of the absolute security that is now given, there may be a conditional security, in many instances of far greater value than the absolute one. After the deduction of certain necessary expenses, the whole produce of the seat-rents might be secured to the minister,—moderate certainly, because the seat-rents are low, but tolerably sure, and more especially if the Presbytery will defer giving a constitution till a certain specified proportion of the sittings shall have been taken by the people within the district. And to strengthen this security the more, there is not the same objection to high present demands that there is to prospective obligations. The constitution may be deferred till the chapel be wholly unindebted, or at least till the debt shall be reduced within a certain fraction of the expense of the fabric. We do not say that all these provisions will supersede the desirableness of an endowment, which, both for a still lower seat-rent to the people, and a more stable maintenance to the clergyman, should be prosecuted to the uttermost. But we say that, altogether, they form a reasonable security for the being and continuance of the church till this object be attained, and such as to make wholly inexcusable the denial of a constitution in these circumstances—tantamount to the unfeeling denial of the gospel to the poor, and because they are poor. We cannot imagine a more revolting exhibition than this, or one in more glaring contravention to the spirit of an apostolic church. If persisted in, the contempt and detestation of society will be its unfailing and rightful consequence. Desertion and overthrow will be the

bitter fruits of such an apostasy from the method and principles of our forefathers.

29. It will be marvellous if the Church shall persist in rejecting this facility to its own indefinite extension, and at length its ultimate triumph over all its enemies. Let it but make the most of these new erections which, if but encouraged by itself, will multiply almost at pleasure upon our hands; and then will the Church be on a patent way for taking immediate hold of the population, and so obtaining a complete and unrivalled ascendancy over them. All are aware of the virulent and too successful opposition that has been made to endowments. The undoubted effect of these, we admit, were to give an advantage to the Establishment over Dissenters, by enabling us to meet the public on lower terms; and, viewing church accommodation in the light of a marketable commodity, by enabling us to undersell our competitors in the disposal of our seats. But who does not see that this very advantage might, to a certain extent, be secured to the church by her dispensing with a bond? It is instructive to observe the history of the process during the last century,—the sixty-six places of worship which, throughout that period, have been added to the Establishment, while between three and four hundred have been contributed by the Dissenters to the great cause of Christian education. The truth is, that the new accommodation within the Establishment was only to be had on higher terms, because bonds were more rigidly exacted, and stipends were necessarily higher. Even with stipends not lower than those of the Dissenters, we could, with the advantage of our gratuitous fabrics, raised by the friends of the Church, in noble testimony of attachment to her cause, and munificently offered in free donation to the common people—we could hold out that cheaper accommodation which so alarms our enemies, and forms, with some at least, the animating principle of their resistance to our undertaking. But this is the least of the two great facilities within the Church's command, for, indispensable though moderate seat-rents be, for removing a barrier in the way of a general attendance, the great and efficient impulse to this movement, on the part of our now unprovided families, is the power which lies in her methods of territorial cultivation—an engine scarcely ever attempted by the sectarians, and to be wielded with full effect by the Establishment alone. Would the Church then but put forth her own great capabilities, the victory is hers. The great bulk of the population would give way be-

fore her. The people who now live in thousands without either a Sabbath service, or a pastoral and week-day ministration, would be reclaimed. This is the great, the desirable conquest—a moral conquest over the profligacy and irreligion of those unhappy aliens, who are alike strangers to the church and to the meeting-house. Yet a certain collateral effect, along with this, would unquestionably follow. The same influences which are of power to recall these exiles within the pale of an ecclesiastical ministration, are also of power to detach the families of every cultivated district from one ministration to another. We should on this new system outrun the Dissenters, instead of being outrun by them, as on the old system; and that, in the proportion of three or four hundred to sixty-six. We should infallibly shoot ahead of them; and every year would witness the decline of their congregations, the greater part of them thinned, and a great part of them dispersed or broken up. It is in the language of confident, not of triumphant anticipation, that we thus speak. It is not a transference of old, but a creation of new worshippers, that our hearts are set upon. The annihilation of a meeting-house, if the lessons of the gospel were delivered there with fidelity and effect, is not an event to be rejoiced in. But it may become so, if instead of a seminary for that religion which inculcates a good and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, it becomes a school of disaffection, and of violent hostility to the best institutions of the land. They are the Dissenters themselves who have changed the character of this warfare. When we would have cherished them as the coadjutors, they have made themselves the enemies of the Church; and thus, in the estimation of all who hold the Establishment to be a national blessing, they have made it a patriotic thing, a matter of Christian philanthropy, to weaken and if possible remove the hostile influence which is bent on our destruction. It is clearly their opposition which has deferred, and perhaps defeated an endowment; and the Church, on the other hand, will never force this barrier in the way of her own enlargement, if she cling so tenaciously to her bonds. She is fighting the cause of her deadliest adversaries by thus adhering to them. If she mean to prevail in the contest, she must throw aside this rusty and impracticable armour of former days. If she would only come down free-handed on the arena of this conflict, she were sure to carry it. If she fall, it will be by her own infatuation—because alike forgetful of her own great duties, she has failed to discharge them;

and unconscious of her own great powers, she has abstained from putting them forth.*

* There is a peculiar difficulty in characterizing the views and principles of an adversary, when, instead of a single individual, we have whole bodies of men to deal with. Dissenters are not all voluntaries, neither have all voluntaries become so because alarmed for the stability of their own congregations. We should not indeed have ventured to allege this motive, had it not been openly avowed by some of their own number. But whether our opponents of this class be many or few, certain it is that we have men of undoubted piety and worth, who are voluntaries on principle; and, unless in those cases where there is glaring evidence to the contrary, we are not at liberty to utter any other imagination respecting them. Such is the powerful though insensible effect of one's circumstances upon his opinions and views, that we might often find an adequate reason for the adverse judgment of others, without ascribing it to aught that is discreditable. When the chapel ministers were admitted into presbyteries, we took the liberty of predicting that the measure would prove unfavourable to the future extension of the Church—not, most assuredly, because we thought worse of their disinterestedness or their integrity than of that of other men; but because we apprehended that the situation which they occupy might so far bias their understandings as to make them more indifferent than otherwise, if not hostile, to the multiplication of territorial churches. This carries in it no impeachment whatever against their honour or the purity of their motives—only it is fair that the same allowance which is made for the voluntary ministers within the pale of the Establishment, should also be made for the voluntary ministers beyond it.

We have lamented this new principle of voluntarism ever since its commencement; and that, not because of any apprehended danger to the existence of the Church, but because of the obstacle it has raised in the way of the Church's extension among the poor and working classes of society. For the accomplishment of this object we hold an endowment to be indispensable; and it might have been an endowment not confined to the Establishment, as existing at present, but comprehensive of Dissenters on certain terms—terms which, but for this recent and unfortunate controversy, would have every day become more practicable. Mainly speaking, our theology is the same; and our points of difference, with the one great exception of the principle of an Establishment, are fast dwindling away both in number and estimation. What then should prevent a re-union, if not by a corporate act on the part of the Dissenters, at least by their individual ministers being welcomely received on the part of the Church, and in every instance where the position of the meeting-house and the circumstances of its population made it expedient, having parishes assigned to them? The statesman who carried an endowment that should apply, not to new erections alone, but to dissenting chapels on the moment of their incorporation with the Church, would confer a rich moral blessing on the people of Scotland.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to correct a misreport which appeared in a passage of our speech before the Presbytery of Edinburgh on this subject. We did not single out Dissenters as the objects of any severe or satirical remark. We spoke of voluntaries, that is, not of the species but of the genus—for in as far as the ministers of our Establishment derive their whole remuneration from the means of their own people, they too, in circumstances, if not in principle, are voluntaries. And again, we spoke only of those, (we trust only a very small number, for the feeling by which they are actuated is indeed a monstrous one,) who grudged the Christian instruction of the poor, because of the encroachment which it threatened even on the rich or paying members of their own congregation. Certain it is, that the same territorial church which draws to it the families of the working classes, may also draw to it the families of the middle and higher classes in society—just as in pulling up the tares there is a likelihood of pulling up the wheat along with them. And if there be men who can look with an evil eye to that process by which the many are reclaimed to the

30. In conclusion, let it be observed that, while, on the one hand, it seems highly inexpedient for the Church to tie up her own hands, and in the terms of a rigid enactment, absolutely to prohibit a dispensation from a bond in all time coming, thus

blessings of the gospel, because a comparatively few who attend their own ministrations are carried off along with them, they may well be said to look on the population of a city as they would on the fry of a rabbit-warren—that is, as a preserve for the voluntaries, so that when the Church-Extensionists dare to enter with invading footstep on that domain which these voluntaries hold to be rightfully and peculiarly their own, they are scowled upon as so many poachers. Such a monopoly as this is truly a hateful one. It is a sacrifice of the Christianity of the people in the bulk, that the voluntary ministers may be left in undisturbed possession of the seat-rents which they draw from the wealthy hearers. Such treatment even of the inferior animals it is painful to think of; but it becomes quite dreadful when thus applied to human beings—or, in other words, in order that the voluntary minister shall be protected in the secure hold which he now has of the best and fattest of them, we must leave all the rest to perish. Such is the wretched aspect and character of this question, a question between the Christianity of the many and the incomes of the few.

Before concluding this lengthened note, we cannot but advert to a preference which has been expressed by certain parties, who would meet the Church-Extensionists with a sort of half-way proposition, which, though better than nothing, is still far short of an act of justice to the population. Instead of new churches, they would have preaching stations, and these served not by ordained ministers but by unordained missionaries. Now it is well to begin and to break up the ground by means of missionaries; but it is not well to end there. The truth is, that the ordination which enables our ecclesiastical labourers to baptize the children of the people, and admit the people themselves to the sacrament, invests them with a tenfold influence over them. We were for postponing the admission of the chapel ministers to presbyteries until they obtained an endowment; for we really look on this preferment, (provided that they had sessions of their own, and that they were admitted to deliberate in presbyteries in every question which was brought by appeal or reference from these inferior judicatories,) as bestowing no sensible addition to that ascendancy, which they might earn among their people by household and congregational services. On the same principle, we should not object now to a seat in the presbytery being made to depend upon a bond, even as before we would have made it to depend upon an endowment. Could this but reconcile the Church to a dispensation from bonds in those cases where it is necessary, we should rejoice in such a practical adjustment of a difficulty, which we fondly hope that the measure of a general endowment may soon put an end to. But here we are met with another difficulty in the strong juridical conceptions by which another class of our brethren are actuated—who, though friendly to a dispensation from bonds, would insist on all, whether bondless or bonded ministers, being alike members of the presbytery. In this warfare of clashing opinions, one is sometimes tempted to renounce all hopes of a right practical guidance for the vessel of the church, drifting in the midst of elements as wayward and as much beyond the reach of all calculation and control, as are the breezes of the capricious atmosphere, or the waves of the restless ocean.

Will those ministers who see a grievous anomaly in conferring ordination without a bond, but consider the multitude of licentiates in the Church of England, all of whom are in deacons' orders, and can baptize; and many of whom are in priests' orders also, and can administer the Lord's Supper,—yet have no parochial charge, and no church living of any sort? And do any evil consequences follow on this? None such at least as are apprehended by the sticklers for a bond,—none of that sectarian irregularity or extravagance, and certainly none of that degradation of the order in the estimation of general society, whereof they seem so mightily afraid.

forestalling cases of most urgent necessity and desirableness, which she leaves herself no discretion to provide for,—on the other hand, she has nothing to apprehend from the occasional dispensation for which we plead, lest it should rise into an evil of indefinite magnitude that will seriously affect either the usefulness or the respectability of our Establishment. She has the remedy against this in her own hands. On the moment that such an evil is experimentally ascertained, and threatens to be more pernicious than profitable to the Church, she can instantly put a stop to the further extension of it. The Barrier Act forms, we have ever thought, a most important and beautiful feature in our constitutional machinery—both as affording a protection against all rash, and, at the same time, affording a facility to what may be called an experimental or tentative legislation. When we strenuously advocate the occasional dispensation from a bond, to be determined by the church-courts as the cases occur, we should regret if the overture embodying this provision, were to be made the subject, for some years at least, of more than an Interim act, to be renewed from year to year in the General Assembly. In this state we should like it to remain for a time upon its trial, during which presbyteries might be looking on, and taking the lessons of experience from the actual working and progress of the new system. We of course would regret the instant rejection of the measure of our inferior judicatories; but we should even regret the instant and too speedy adoption of it. It is a measure on which we should like to wait the evolutions of actual experience—that it may pass into permanent law, only if found on the whole to be innocent and beneficial, or be rejected by a majority of presbyteries. The mischief would thus be put a stop to; and what is better still, be easily repaired—amounting, as it would, only to a certain limited number of ill-constituted churches, for which the means might be provided of putting them on a more secure and sufficient foundation. We avow our own confidence in the happy result of such a process—that, under it, the spirit of liberality again let loose from that chilling apprehension of a bond which now has damped and well-nigh extinguished it, will continue to multiply our new churches as heretofore, and along with this, to build up an augmenting interest on the side of their endowment, which will at length extort the needful boon from the hands of a reluctant administration. The opposite policy to this—the policy of at all times, and with unexcepted rigour, exacting a bond—we can view in

no other light than as a monstrous infatuation—planting an obstacle in the way of that extension, by which alone the Church can come into effective contact with the great bulk of her now unprovided families—limiting her own opportunities of great usefulness, and great consequent influence thereupon—and so cramping her own energies by the self-created fetters of her own forging, as to maintain an unequal struggle with those hostile sectarians who range, without any such impediment, over the whole length and breadth of the land. With but the same freedom—such is her native force,—she could make good an inconceivable superiority over all who now vilify and oppose her. Let her only break the withs that now encompass and restrain her; and like Samson of old, she will rise with giant strength, and make her enemies to wonder wherein it is that the secret of its greatness lies.

THE PAROCHIAL SYSTEM.

ON THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE PAROCHIAL SYSTEM.

PREFACE.

THE substance of the following treatise was delivered in occasional lectures to students of Theology, for their instruction in one branch of parochial management—on which should they proceed in after life, it will exempt them from those secularities wherewith the office of a clergyman is too often overladen; and enable them to give themselves wholly to the ministry of the word, and to such other duties as are strictly ecclesiastical.

This will account in part for that style of personal address from which it will appear that the work has not been wholly delivered, in its transition from the chair to the press.

But there is another species of personality which requires an explanation, if not an apology; and for which I must throw myself on the indulgence of the candid reader; I mean the egotism which pervades the whole narrative of the operations that took place in the parish of St. John's. This, in some respects, was plainly unavoidable; but might perhaps have been forborne in the treatment of certain objections, and on which many resist to this hour the important lesson to be drawn from the success of our experiment in Glasgow—now become experience; and capable, with the most perfect certainty and ease, of being realized in all other places. The only defence which I can offer is, that one should be willing to incur many hazards—even that of appearing ridiculous—rather than omit whatever might conduce to the establishment of a principle, which, if carried into effect, will be found charged with the most beneficial influences both on the character and comfort of the great bulk of mankind.

SECTION I.

ON THE ENCOURAGEMENTS FOR HOLDING INTERCOURSE WITH THE COMMON PEOPLE, AND THE VARIOUS WAYS OF DOING THEM GOOD.

1. THERE is a certain political antipathy, the characteristic of a whole class, which disposes many to look coldly and adversely on the differences of rank in the world ; and which has also misled them into a wrong philosophy, when speculating on the principles and the mechanism of human society. The homage which is generally if not universally felt towards men simply as the holders of wealth, or station, or family distinction, is treated by such, not merely as a pusillanimous affection, but as a prejudice—an illusion of the fancy which it is the prerogative of reason to expose and to dissipate—an arbitrary or factitious sentiment, which, in the progress of light and of larger views in the world, will at length be extirpated from all breasts by a sounder and better education than that which now enthralls the spirit of our race, and holds it in still remaining bondage to the senilities of an older period at length wearing fast away. It is thus that deference to rank is held by them to be rather a conventional feeling than an attribute of the species—having no place of stability either as a primary law, or even as a necessary result of laws in the constitution of our nature.

2. This is fortunately one of those speculations which Nature is too strong for—who asserts her own supremacy, and visits the transgressor with her obvious displeasure, when the wayward resistance is made to any instinct or tendency which her own hand has implanted. This is never done with impunity ; and so all history demonstrates the evils and sufferings, which, in the shape of so many chastisements, come upon society—when, broken loose from her ancient holds, the distinctions of social order are set at nought ; and a universal lawlessness of spirit becomes the precursor of a universal anarchy. It is with political as with physical theories when the lessons of experience are disregarded,—that experience, always steadfast and true to her own processes, gives forth a practical refutation of both. But,

when the hypothesis is of inanimate matter, all the harm of the disappointment might be the mockery of a confident anticipation. Not so when the hypothesis is of men, to be acted on or carried into effect by a change in the framework of human society—the misgiving of which might be followed up by a general derangement and distress in the unfortunate community that has been made the subject of some headlong adventure, some rash and reckless experiment. Such is the invariable result, when any of the special affections of humanity are uprooted, or rather when, in some period of epidemic frenzy, they for the time are kept in abeyance. The inequalities of condition in life are often spoken of as artificial. But in truth they are most thoroughly natural; and it would require the violence of a perpetual stress on the spontaneous tendencies of every society in the world to repress or overbear them. The superiority of one man to another in certain outward circumstances of his state is not artificial but natural; and the consideration in which the occupiers of the higher state are held is natural also—insomuch that the public feeling of reverence for the grandee of a neighbourhood has an ingredient of nature in it, as well as the domestic feeling of reverence for the father of a family. Now what we affirm is, that neither of these affections can with impunity be violated, or without injury being done—in the one instance to the good order of a household, in the other to the good order of a commonwealth. More especially of the social affection do we aver—that when superseded in its operation, one main buttress of the social and political edifice is thereby damaged or destroyed—a lesson which the finger of history has often recorded in characters of blood; and chiefly in those seasons of revolutionary uproar, when in the absence of this wholesome and balancing restraint, society vibrates between the fitful excesses of popular tumult and the severities of a grinding despotism.

3. There is a very general foreboding in our day—that even now we are fast ripening for such a catastrophe; and we will not say that they are the common people of our land who are altogether to blame for it. It is true that on their part there might be a criminal dislike and defiance to superiors; but it is just as true that these superiors, on the other hand, might deserve the forfeiture of all that influence and respect which their place and their circumstances could otherwise have both gotten and maintained for them. For though a reverence towards the holders of rank be natural, the resentment of their oppression is

also natural ; and so even would be the return of this pained and irritated feeling, though there were no higher provocative than their mere indifference or neglect. The very distance at which the rich keep themselves from the poor, were enough of itself to engender a hostile feeling in the bosoms of the latter, and to fill them with all rankling and suspicious imaginations. The alienation becomes mutual ; and even though, on the one side, there should be nothing more or nothing worse than the habitual inattention of minds otherwise taken up, this might bear to the general eye the aspect of a lordly or aristocratic scorn ; and if so interpreted, will separate by a still wider moral interval the patrician and plebeian orders of the community from each other. It is true that this reverence of which we have spoken forms part of man's nature. But this is a compound nature, made up not of a single but of various affections—any one of which, as the affection of rank, might be neutralized, even prevailed against, by the operation of the rest. The deference for rank is by itself so strong, that when not overborne by other influences, it mightily conduces to the stability of our social system ; and for this beneficial end is inserted, we have no doubt, as a principle in the human constitution, by the Author of our frame. Yet it is not so strong, but that it might be nullified, nay reversed, by passions stronger than itself ; and it is of vast account therefore to the peace and wellbeing of society, whether a tendency so wholesome shall be thwarted by conflicting or aided by conspiring forces—a difference this, for which the upper classes themselves are deeply responsible. Were all great men good men—were the natural respect for station at all times harmonized with by the natural respect for virtue—were the homage spontaneously given to every holder of superior rank strengthened by the homage given as spontaneously to the intelligence or the accomplishments of superior education, and still more by the gratitude which substantial kindness, or even but the passing attentions of frank and honest affability never fail to awaken—With such a concurrence of the natural influences all on the side of order and goodwill, there might still, by a series of pacific changes, be the progressive amelioration of human society ; so as that all anarchy and tumult might be banished from the land, and a revolution become a moral impossibility.

4. Should there ensue such a crisis, then, it will not be the multitude who are alone to blame for it ; but the holders of fortune

and rank will have their full share of responsibility for its atrocities and its horrors. The truth is, that people of humble estate are most feelingly and gratefully alive to the notice of those whom Providence has placed in a more elevated station than their own; and never does this principle stand more demonstrably forth as a real ingredient in the constitution of our nature, than in the superior charm of those recognitions or personal kindnesses which descend from the occupiers of a higher sphere on the children of poverty and toil. Even a passing smile of courtesy on the street is not thrown away, but has in it a certain influence or power of graciousness; and this is enhanced tenfold, when any son or daughter of affluence enters the houses of the poor, and is sure to find in consequence a readier access into their hearts. It is in the power of any to make the trial and satisfy himself of the truth of this averment. Let him go at random to the lowliest of their tenements, though with nothing but a question on which he wants to be resolved, and therefore not to serve them but to serve himself with the information which he is seeking at their hands; and see whether his interrogation, if but put in the language of courtesy, is not followed up by the language of respect and of kindness back again. This, however, is but a first and faint intimation, the outset signal as it were of a disposition which might afterwards be cultivated into a most close and beneficial alliance. Instead of a question of indifference, let it be a question of family interest—relating for example to the education of children, and bespeaking a kind desirousness on your part to ascertain their scholarship and stimulate them onward to a higher proficiency than heretofore—we say there is not one in a hundred who would not welcome, and that most cordially, such an approximation for such an object; and with whom it might not ripen into an intercourse of charity or mutual goodwill, between them of the lower and you of the middle or higher classes of society. On their part there is an open door. It is for us to make it a “great and effectual door” * of usefulness. If our commonwealth is to fall by the dark and angry passions of the multitude, there will be something more in that coming tempest than the ferocity of a misguided, there will be also in it the vengeance of a neglected population.

5. One fears to indulge so far as to give, though no more than an adequate description of this intercourse with the common people and its attendant results, lest he should be charged with

* 1 Cor. xvi. 9.

luxuriating in the picturesque ; and carrying his readers through a sort of moral fairy-land, greatly too beautiful for this our rough and actual world. It is all the more fortunate that the means and materials for observation are within our reach—so that any man may test and ascertain for himself what, in sober earnest, the experimental truth of the thing in question really is. Let him assume then, for the enterprise on which we would set him, a given population, say of the worst and poorest—for the lower down, both in the moral and the economical scale, the better for the purpose of a substantial verification. Let the number not exceed what any lay officebearer of the Church might easily and beneficially overtake. Let him however not be afraid of three hundred as too many for either the strength or time he may have to bestow on this undertaking. But we must provide him with an errand which might explain and justify his entrance into every house of this his special and selected territory ; and we shall only at present single out one from the many, wherewith, in the course of his growing intimacy with the people, he might afterwards charge himself. Let us suppose it then to be his resolute aim, so to influence and control the habit of all the families, as that each boy within its limits shall learn to read, and each girl to sew. For carrying this benevolent purpose into effect, let him look out the best and nearest seminaries which might suit the convenience of the children ; and then let him try all which can be effected by counsel and persuasion for gaining the consent of parents—and never desisting from the prosecution of his self-imposed task, so long as there remained any exceptions in his district to a universal attendance on the means of education. He will be astonished to find how near he shall have gotten to a full accomplishment of his object ; and it will greatly expedite his success, if he make a study of the best and most judicious methods for helping it forward. A little personal trouble on his part will be of prevailing force with the parents in the way of securing their co-operation. In particular it is not to be told how kindly it will be taken, should he give an occasional half-hour of an evening to inspect and examine the scholarship of his juvenile clients—whether in single families, or in little groups from a few of the contiguous households. I will say nothing now of pecuniary advances—whether in presents of books, or prizes, or the payment of fees. One of the most pleasing discoveries perhaps which awaits him, is to find how marvelously little he need be called upon for any sacrifice of this kind ;

and what I want you to understand, is the influence for good that might be obtained by nothing more than a series of cheap and easy attentions—involving the occasional appearance of himself in the dwelling-places, and occasional acts of converse and companionship with the inmates. Let any man who delights in doing good, and has a taste for the cordialities of human intercourse, but embark in the walk which I have now pointed out for him ; and he will not miss even of a present reward, in the reciprocations of confidence and kindness which meet him on his path. But on this we must not expatiate—else we shall provoke the incredulity of those hard and heartless utilitarians who imagine that nothing can be true which is beautiful, and that nothing can be beautiful which is true. They will suspect us of dealing in fancy pictures ; and, merely because they are realities which are pleasing to look at, or admit of being feelingly told, would they repudiate them as so many glittering imaginations fit only for the poet's pen—instead of being, what in plain earnest they are, the realities of truth and soberness.

6. In this question, the experimental is all on our side ; and the ideal all on the side of our antagonists. When they think of the plebeian swarms who are huddled together in wretched tenements, throughout the lanes and alleys, the dark and dismal and putrid recesses of a large city, there is the apprehension in their minds of something so thoroughly outlandish, that they are positively afraid of entering these unexplored habitations—standing in the same terror of their inmates as they would of unknown animals. It was in 1822 that I made a round among the poorest houses which we took at random in the parish of St. Giles, London, along with Mr. Joseph Butterworth, of Russell Square, who told me, that it was only a few months before since they had made the discovery of the movement being safe. We met the same reception that we should experience everywhere—one of perfect civility, even though on our part we had nothing more substantial than civility to offer—a mere question respecting the state of their health, the comfort of their houses, or the scholarship of their children. Instead of ours being the imaginations of poetry, theirs are the imaginations of fear—the great difference in point of authority betwixt us being, that theirs are the fancies of men who keep at a distance ; ours the findings of men who have come close to the subject of contemplation, and, on our repeated and personal encounter therewith, tell what we have seen with our eyes and heard with our ears. We affirm nothing so

fantastic or sentimental, as that our first appearance is to operate like a spell on the affections of the natives ; or with something like the instant force of love at first sight, to bind us together by an affinity of trusty and sworn companionship. We speak not yet of their companionable virtues, but of their companionable manners ; and that what is kindly meant on our part, will be kindly taken upon theirs. It is to the initial facilities that we are now attending, by which the common people encourage and open up a way for our future household intercourse with themselves and their families—leading to an acquaintanceship convertible, if made to overspread the whole community, into the best results, both on the economics and the morals of the general population. In other words, the barrier in the way of this hopeful and beneficial interchange does not lie in any unwillingness or in aught that is ungainly and repulsive on their part ; but in our own selfish indolence, our own callous insensibility to the considerations and the calls of Christian patriotism. And we repeat, that, should the fearful crisis of a sweeping and destructive anarchy be now awaiting us, it will lie as much, we think culpably and inexcusably more so, at the door of the higher as of the lower orders in the commonwealth.

7. Having now said enough of the access which there is to familiar converse with the common people, and that in virtue of a welcome and willingness from themselves—having, we trust, convinced the reader that this is not a romance of Arcadia, but a thing of as firm and home-bred staple as any of the every-day occurrences in human life—let us now, with all plainness and brevity, unfold our own views of the account to which this intimacy, strengthening by every new visit to a family, or every new movement through an appointed district of families, might be turned. We suppose our philanthropist to have charged himself with a population of from two to three hundred, or somewhere about fifty families ; and we shall now specify what a few of the various concerns are, on which, with a very little personal trouble and with almost no perceptible expense of time or money, he might prove of substantial use to them.

8. We have already instanced the topic of education, as forming one of the most profitable occasions for this sort of intercourse. It branches into a great variety of distinct objects, all of which might be advocated on the same principle ; and which, with certain precautions to be explained afterwards, might be presented without alloy, to the unmingled good of the people

among whom you expatiate. We have already spoken of the week-day scholarship, both in reading and sewing, which it were well to foster till the habit had become universal. This applies chiefly to the young—among whom I have recommended it as your endeavour to promote a general school-going. But there is another and higher scholarship applicable to the men and women of all ages—wherewith even the secular philanthropist, who leaves the higher department of spiritual usefulness to others, might properly and beneficially charge himself. We mean the scholarship of Christian instruction; and for the advancement of which, he might at least do all that in him lies to promote a habit of universal church-going. He will find, at the outset of his connexion with such a territory as that in which we have placed him, that the great majority of the people go nowhere; and should there be a preaching station or a new church provided for their vicinity, he will find, that the same influential suasion which told on the attendance of the children at school, will not be altogether inoperative when brought to bear on the adult population, with a view to their Sabbath attendance on the lessons of Christianity. It is true that the subject of our present argument is on the best and likeliest means for helping forward the interest of the common people in things temporal—the wellbeing of their present life. But aware of the prodigious efficacy, even for these secular objects, which lies in the operation of moral causes—we should say of the functionary who hath chosen this, the secular good of the people, for his appropriate walk—that he is not out of place, when he lends a helping hand both towards the erection of a church for the people of his charge and the forming of a congregation out of their families. And on the same principle of its being quite in character that he should help forward a church though he does not preach in it, might he help forward a Sabbath-school though he should not teach it. He might set the little institute agoing. He might provide the services of a teacher. He might stimulate the attendance of the young; or even of the parents, should the readings and the addresses promise to be of wholesome effect on their own consciences and the order of their households. And many are the nameless other services, of object akin to education; and by which, through the medium of books, he might raise the standard of intelligence and worth throughout the families of his vineyard. If he be not enough of an ecclesiastical functionary to press home the lessons of the Bible on their hearts, he may at least see that

in every house there shall be a Bible. He may circulate tracts, whether or not he should expound and urge the subject of them. Nor is it necessary that the humble literature in which he deals should be all of a sacred character. He might, and by the instrumentality of popular authorship, be most usefully employed in adding to the resources and enjoyments of the life that now is—as by means of a district library, in which I should rejoice to find works of household and cottage economy, works of civil and natural history, works explanatory of the various processes of artisanship, works of travel and miscellaneous information purified of all that was fitted to vitiate either the principles or the taste, even works of science as far as it could be made palpable, and that was fitted to enlarge and elevate the plebeian understanding. An increasing demand for such as these would afford the pleasing evidence of an increasing sobriety—a substitution, for the concourse of evening parties in haunts of low and sordid indulgence, of a better habitude among the people—a growing taste for the rational and social firesides of their now more virtuous and happier homes.

9. We know not, we shall not say a more proud, but a more pleasing triumph, or one that gives truer delight to the feelings and well-exercised faculties of a benevolent mind, than what may be called the prosperous management of human nature. We before spoke of a school for sewing. A humble seminary of this sort might be taught by one of the female householders, and held in her own apartment. A most beautiful supplement to this education, is that each scholar in her turn should have the care and keeping of this apartment, and with this special object that the home of her own parents should have the benefit of those habits in respect of cleanliness and good order which she had herself acquired. I had this management introduced into little institutes of my own within my city parish in Glasgow, and with the effect of a great and visible improvement in the interior of many of its plebeian habitations. Now this is a service which, if he but lay himself out for it, could be efficiently done by our visitor of a district. He could take cognizance of every such amelioration in the economy of his households, and give it the encouragement of his applause. His habitual calls might give rise to a habitual preparation for receiving him; and in this way may he be the instrument of raising the taste and comfort of the families. And whatever made for the health as well as comfort of the inmates might come most properly within the scope of

his benevolent consideration. By his influence with landlords, or a little outlay on his own part, or the aid and co-operation of a medical friend, he might carry useful alterations into effect at the doors of the houses or in the tenements themselves—or by some such signal service as helping on the drainage of a street, or the removal of obstructions and nuisances, may earn for himself throughout the little vicinity the credit of a public benefactor. A deal of substantive good might be done in this way—which, as being the manifestation and evidence of his undoubted goodwill, will place him on vantage-ground for a still higher good, and arm his future persuasions with a moral force which in many instances will prove irresistible.

10. What as yet we have mainly required of our philanthropist is the sacrifice of his time and trouble; for with one slight exception—that of a pecuniary advance for the public health of his district, we have not yet spoken of his liberalities in money. Now then, it may be said, is the first time in which this element makes its appearance; and it may perhaps awaken your surprise—it may seem to your eyes like a reversal of the ordinary process—that I introduce it to your notice, not as passing from the pocket of the visitor into the hands of the people, but as passing in the opposite direction or from the pockets of the people into the hands of the visitor. It may not perhaps be the first thing he does; but the first thing we tell him to do, is not to give, but to get from them—an advice which we could offer fearlessly and unblushingly, even in the poorest districts to which we have ever had access, whether in town or country. We shall explain afterwards wherein it is that the great healthfulness of our process lies; but meanwhile we may give a few instances, in which, while devising to the best of our judgment for their good, we, instead of lavishing upon them from our own means, draw on the capabilities of the people themselves. We do so, when we exact a payment, it may be in small monthly or weekly pittances for their education. We do so, when we collect at Sabbath-schools for the expenses of the concern. We do so when we seek their contributions in pennies or halfpennies a week for the formation and maintenance of a library which we make their own. But this is only teaching them to help themselves—a most useful lesson however—though we need not stop at this, for by right management we shall find in them an equal readiness, and not only a prompt but productive liberality in helping others also. For example, we can make an effective appeal to them in behalf of missions, in be-

half of church or school extension, or any other of the best and likeliest schemes of Christian philanthropy which are now afloat in the world. We shall have no difficulty in obtaining their consent to organize an association amongst them, which, on the system of small and frequent payments, will, from the number of individual contributions, yield a far larger amount than is generally counted on. Their interest in these things could easily be kept up and extended by monthly meetings, at which might be read in their hearing all the information of chief moment which comes out periodically; and this, of itself, is eminently fitted to beget a higher cast of sentiment, and altogether to exalt the popular intelligence—by supplying it with larger and loftier contemplations than before. One most precious effect of such arrangements is, that, instead of recipients, the people become donors and dispensers of charity—and that too in the highest of its walks—an invaluable habit, not only as a moral barrier against certain degeneracies, but as the guarantee of other habits, in themselves the main ingredients of plebeian virtue, and which powerfully subserve the blessed result of a well-principled and well-conditioned population.*

11. It may be felt that we are now going beyond the limits of a strict secular philanthropy; and, doubtless, such is the close alliance between the moral and the economical—such the intimate dependence which the comfort of a people has upon their character—that we cannot bestow a full entertainment on the one topic, without trenching upon the other, and so as to establish a line of continuity in our argument from things earthly to things spiritual. Nevertheless, as there is a real distinction between the two services—so is it of great importance to the wellbeing of a people, that, in their behalf, they should be undertaken by separate and distinct agents; or that, in the arrangements of a benevolent association, as of a church devising for the whole good of the families in a given neighbourhood—they should be vested in distinct office-bearers. But this is a matter which will fall to be adjusted afterwards; and meanwhile, we can confidently aver of the philanthropist who limits himself to the services which we have now assigned for him, or who even acquits himself well and in the spirit of kindness of greatly fewer than these—that he will earn by it a mighty influence for good over the people whom he has thus selected as the objects of his

* See the Influence of Parochial Associations, § 22-25, in my volume on "Political Economy," being Vol. IX. of the series.

care. They will not look unmoved on these his labours of love. It is not in nature that they should; for there is a spell and a sway in human kindness, if it but give the unequivocal tokens of its reality, which even the hardiest and most ungainly of our race feel to be irresistible. This is a law which has been mainly lost sight of in the innumerable projects of our day for the amelioration of society—the sweetening effect of mere acquaintanceship, though it should amount to no more than courtesy, between the men of higher and men of humbler rank in the commonwealth; and still more should it rise to cordiality, when it will be found that there are a moral action and reaction in the world of spirits, which, like the reciprocities of the material system, have been established by an all-wise Creator, to maintain the harmony and stability of the whole.

12. But we were going to omit one of the best services, at least of the secular class, which our little community could possibly receive at the hands of a benefactor—a service too in which money is concerned—not yet however money passing from the philanthropists to the people, but money belonging to the people and passing from them into the keeping and care of philanthropists. We mean the help and encouragement which should be given to a habit of accumulation, and more especially by providing for all its little proceeds a place of secure custody in a savings' bank. We may afterwards state, though it must be in the briefest possible manner, the effect of this habit, should it become general, in elevating and that permanently the condition of labourers, by its sure influence on the wages of labour. Its moral benefits are palpable both as a counteractive to dissipation and connected with the high qualities of foresight, sobriety, and self-command; and also as begetting a sense of property, and so giving them to feel a stake and an interest in the cause of social order, in the peace and stability of the commonwealth—thereby providing for their good citizenship, as well as for the respectability and comfort of their families. Certain it is that notwithstanding the absolute amount of such deposits over the whole empire, if one inquire piecemeal, whether among workmen congregated in villages or in the streets of our larger towns, he will find that the habit is very far from general; and can only be made so by the attentions of the benevolent being given piecemeal, each to his own separate group of contiguous families. It were no difficult achievement for each to make it general within the limits of his own selected walk—and to spread

it from household to household, by making the example of one neighbour tell in argument on the practice of another. As it is, we have but rare and scattered instances of such economy among the common people. They have been too much left to find their own way to these most useful depositories for their humble savings. The district visitor could bring the aggressive principle to bear on the habit of repairing to a savings' bank, as well as on the habit of attendance on schools or churches—and we are sure with a tenfold greater result than before, so as to make it nearly universal within his own portion of the territory.

13. But let us now resume the consideration of that in which after all the great power of our philanthropist lies. There is immense material benefit rendered to the people by the various services which we have now specified; but these he could not have done without their own co-operation, and this it had been impossible to carry without a certain mastery over their affections. He had no authority to force, save that moral authority, which has gained for itself a willing obedience, at once spontaneous and sure. It is his goodwill which has earned for him their goodwill. His attentions, the time and trouble which he takes, are the simple expedients, by which he gets his ascendancy over them. They indicate his kind feeling toward themselves and their families; and herein lies the great secret of his power. It may be difficult to explain, but easy to perceive, how this power should become tenfold more effective, by the concentration of these various good offices on the *contiguous* households of one and the same locality. There is in it somewhat like the strength of an epidemic influence, which spreads by infection, and more amalgamates the people both with him and with each other.* We wonder not that Lord Melbourne in one of his speeches should have expressed such jealousy of these household visitations—for though he misconceived the object of them, as if it had been to poison the inmates with a feeling of hostility to government, he did not in the least overrate their power—the power not by which a demagogue, whose element is agitation, inflames the passions of a restless and excited multitude whom he has lured from their occupations and their homes, but the power of Christian charity over human hearts; and which, if once made to pervade, by the assumption of district after district, the great bulk and body of a population, would, in the privacies

* On the effect of this influence see the "Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation," p. 45, being Vol. X. of this series; and also my treatise on Church Extension *ante*, p. 251.

of domestic life, lay a deep foundation of peace and righteousness, not to be unsettled by those fiery spirits who now live by the impostures which they practise on a deluded and misled because a neglected commonalty—who are an easy prey to the bad, only because the good have not yet found their way to them. And it is incalculable by how little a sacrifice each may acquire for himself a lordship for good, and the best of all, because over the hearts of his own little community. I will not tell him beforehand, but leave him to the surprise of his own experience, when he finds by how few hours in the week, or such odd half-hours of the time as he may have at his own disposal, he may obtain that mastery which will open a way for him to the fulfilment of all his wishes. The passing run even of a few minutes among the households is not without its efficacy. Let him ever and anon be making presentation of himself to the same eyes; and he will be the talk of people on the same stair—the object of a common reference and recognition among the inmates of his own locality. And a common object does beget a common sympathy. It is thus that the same numerical amount of attentions and good offices done to fifty families far apart from each other does not tell with half the influence they have, when discharged upon them in a state of juxtaposition—concentrated, as it were, within the limits of one and the same territory. It is marvellous how soon at this rate he might become the familiar of all, and even the friend, the intimate and confidential friend of a few, and these the best among the families of this little neighbourhood; and so it is that all the bland and beneficent influences of a village economy can be most easily set up in the moral wilderness of a city, in the very heart and deepest interior of a crowded metropolis.

14. What we most desiderate in an agent of charity, is to have one with the taste and the inclinations of a thorough localist—one who rejoices in a home-walk, and would like better that it should be pervaded thoroughly, than that he should scatter his regards among the thousand objects of a wide and distant philanthropy. I would rather that he restrained his ambition for what is great, so as that he might give himself wholly to the little which he can fully overtake. Better do one thing completely and well, than a hundred things partially and superficially. It is not to the magnificent survey of him whose eyes like those of Solomon's fool are on all the ends of the earth, that I would look for any solid contribution to the amelioration of our species; but to the humble pains-taking of many single

labourers, each giving himself duteously and devotedly to his own manageable sphere, and satisfied that he has not lived in vain, if he have raised the tone of character, or added to the comfort by rectifying and improving the habits of fifty families. The result universal is made up of many items, and can only be arrived at by a summation of particulars. For the book of philanthropy, like that of philosophy, is a book of many pages; and it is not to universalists that we look for the completion of either, but to the manifold assiduities of those, who, whether by patient study on the one field or persevering action on the other, each fill up a single leaf or a single line of them. It is not by one great simultaneous effort, that even a single city is to be overtaken; but by the piecemeal and successive efforts of men engaged in the humbler but more practicable task of making out one district after another, and one parish after another—each labouring unseen by the general eye on his own little domain; but where the want of *éclat* and magnitude is amply repaired by the nearer approach which can be made to the objects of our benevolence, and so the more intense because the less divided affection—like that which plays in secret within the bosom of families and homes. We read in the New Testament parables, that each possessor of so many talents, who turned them to full account, was rewarded by the charge of as many cities. Certain it is, as we have already said, that there is a delight, one of the best and purest we can enjoy, in the prosperous management of human nature; and it looks as if this, one of the pleasures of the good here, were followed up by a larger enjoyment of the same in the realms of light and blessedness hereafter. We know that there will be service there.* And if they who turn others to righteousness shall shine as the stars in the firmament, we may guess from this their sightlier elevation, that there will be superintendence there—as if the little that was well done on earth were to be followed up by larger powers and opportunities of well-doing in that region on high where charity never faileth.†

* Rev. xxii. 3.

† We have spoken at greater length on the general and magnificent result being only to be obtained by the accumulation of littles in our Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation, pp. 61-63.

SECTION II.

ON THE DIFFICULTIES AND DUTIES OF HIM WHO UNDERTAKES THE OFFICE OF ALMONER TO A GIVEN POPULATION.

1. HITHERTO, and in our description of the good offices which might be rendered to a people, when we introduced the element of money, it was not of money given to, but received from themselves—either as contributors for their own behoof to a savings' bank, or as the helpers in small and frequent offerings of a charitable scheme. But the philanthropist, when he becomes an almoner, reverses this process. He gives, instead of takes; and one should like to know the duties, and as well the difficulties attendant on his ministrations in this capacity.

2. But first let me premise the obligation which lies upon all, of giving according to their means—either to relieve the want, or help forward in any other way the wellbeing of their fellows. Let us speculate on plans of benevolence as we may, benevolence itself will ever abide a stable category in the ethical system, and maintain its own place as the highest of the virtues. The great use of wealth is to do good with it; and though in the spirit of a practical atheism we may call it our own, every thought of the original fountain whence it comes, of the Parent and the Governor above who put it into our hands, should remind us that it is not a property but a stewardship. It is true that when compassion is given way to as a heedless and headlong impulse, it often does mischief. But to regulate is not to destroy; and when told that it is blessed to *consider* the poor, we are not to interpret this into a call upon the understanding to overbear the heart—but a call to bethink ourselves, not how to do little—but how to do the most, or how to do the best for them. And it will sometimes turn out that the best thing is to give, and with an unsparing hand—when benevolence may take to itself a free and full indulgence. In matters of philanthropy, it is not the office of consideration to damp the benevolence, but of benevolence to prompt the consideration. Some are jealous of all thought in the business of charity, as if it savoured of the coldness and rigidity of calculation; but let us remind them, that it is the part of the liberal man, not only to do, but to devise liberal things—and that in the very soul or actuating spirit of liberality

—not the spirit of that avarice which withholds, but of that wisdom which can devise the way that is most prolific of blessings to the poor—and which rejoices therein, not because the least expensive, but because the most effective method of well-doing. His guiding principle, whatever may be the aspect of his proceedings, or the interpretation put upon them, is not to give the least but to do the most for the happiness of the species—and it is thus, when performing his little rounds of humanity in the sphere that we have imagined for him, that he exemplifies in miniature the virtue of his great Master, who went about doing good continually.

3. We believe that the surest method of avoiding all practical inconvenience in the conduct of life, and most of all in the conduct of charity, is a fearless committal of ourselves to the guidance, or a compliance as literal as may be with the counsels and commands of Scripture. That its morality is on the side of giving, and that too in the spirit of a most liberal and unsparing generosity, is a lesson which stands forth upon its pages in clear and uneffaceable characters, for the admonition of all ages—not to be explained away by the pretended discoveries of any science; and, in particular, not to be overborne or frozen into utter heartlessness by the demonstrations and maxims of political economy. Let us in particular take the Bible for our directory in the matter of alms-giving, with all the terms and qualifications which it annexes to the precept, and with all the light thrown upon it by the examples and other precepts of the sacred volume. More especially, let us not forget the secrecy wherewith it tells that our alms should be performed—not with the sound of a trumpet—not to be seen of men; but that our left hand should not know what our right hand doeth, or they on our left should not know what we are doing to those on our right. Now all this is violated, or at least virtually disregarded by him who goes forth on his district, the territory of his benevolent operations, in the *ostensible* capacity of an almoner. He may acquit himself as such, without showing himself as such—that is, be a giver of alms to such needy as he meets on his progress through the families of his charge, without its being known beyond their dwelling-places, without if possible its being anywhere guessed at throughout the main body and bulk of his population. On the principle of a readiness unto all good works, he may act incidentally as an almoner with the few who require or would be the better of such a ministration. But this need not be the

general and far less the avowed character in which he appears amongst them. His moving principle we have all along supposed to be, the doing of that which is best for the good of his fellows—that in particular which is most for the real happiness and wellbeing of the little community within which he expatiates. At this rate, he is not called upon to stand forth in the general aspect of an almoner, but rather in the general aspect of a friend—and so coming under the notice and recognition of the families, at one time in the character of an educationist who has to do with schools, at another as an economist who has to do with popular banks, at a third of a moral or even medical overseer who concerns himself with the health and habits of the people. These are doings out of doors, and in which he cannot avoid being seen of men; but alms like prayers should be done in secret, when doors are shut, and the two or three who are met together are only seen by their Father who is in heaven.

4. As there is a present reward in the keeping of the commandments, so often is there a present chastisement in the breaking of them; and never is this more strikingly exemplified, than when the law of secrecy in our alms is violated. Our philanthropist would be making a most injudicious outset, did he go forth on the field of his operations in the avowed or generally known capacity of a dispenser of money. We are not inquiring whether it be in the spirit of ostentation, or from the imprudent neglect of certain precautions for the concealment of his benevolence, that he should have become a recognised almoner among the families. We are but reasoning on the consequence; and feel assured that if this be their general understanding, it will give an altogether different result to his progress, and land him in difficulties which he will soon find to be inextricable. When once the secret of his liberalities breaks out, it will lead to a sudden expansion throughout his district, of a desire or an expectation to share in them; and many are the families who should have welcomed his visits on any of the errands which we have already specified, and never once obtruded their necessities upon him, who, on this new errand of relief of indigence, will become the keen competitors for his bounty. It would have been altogether different, had he gone forth in another character, or given forth to the people another understanding of his object—as, for example, that his main design was to promote the education of their children, or their own Christian good, or the health and cleanliness of their confined and perhaps overcrowded streets,

or the internal comfort and right order of their own special domiciles, or the accumulation of their little savings in a provident bank; or, lastly, to receive at their hands their own little contributions to some scheme of usefulness, whether in the cause of religion or humanity. Did he but restrict himself at least visibly and avowedly to some one or other of these objects, or rather did he charge himself with them all put together, he might have sped satisfactorily with every one of them, and had the gratification of seeing that each of these benevolent designs prospered and made distinct progress under him. We do not say, that no poverty, whether real or pretended, would ever cross his path. Among his fifty families, there might be applications from some two or three per cent. of his whole number—landing him in a far more manageable task truly, than as if by open proclamation he had summoned one-third or half around him to make their endless draughts upon his liberality. He has himself to blame for the consequent difficulties which will surely come upon him, and the heartless discouraging embarrassments which will multiply around him, and will probably upset his experiment altogether. It is he, not the people, who is responsible for all the clamour and confusion which now beset his person, and perhaps lay daily and regular siege to his dwelling-place. It was he who by his trumpet-call, or money-giving errand made as patent to every eye by the whole style of his proceedings as if it had been placarded upon his forehead, who first set their rapacity agoing; and which may in all probability grow into such strength, and rise in such a flood upon him as to drive him from the field. It is he and not they who should be reckoned with, for the irrepressible host of sordid and mercenary expectations, now sure to be lighted up by every movement which he makes amongst them. Instead of calling it their fault, I would call it a most natural reaction on his own folly.

5. We utterly mistake the common people, and are led to think of them most ungenerously, just from the absurd way in which we ourselves deal with them. Let any man place himself in a conspicuous station on a street or on a highway, and thence scatter money for half an hour among the passengers—we are not to wonder, though in a few minutes many hundreds should throng around him, and join in the scramble or uproar which he has himself created. And the very same exhibition will be made of our nature, should a district visitor virtually though not directly or literally announce himself as a scatterer—whether

of money, or of things purchased by money, among the habitations. There are many ways in which the intelligence can be given; and if once given it will soon spread. A distribution of coals will do it—laid down in visible deposits, by carts or half-carts, here and there at the doors of certain selected householders. Or a general parting of old clothes will do it—made up of cast-off suits from the benevolent in all parts of the town, and piled together in some well-known rendezvous for one of its destitute parishes. Or the notification sometimes made from a shop window will do it—of ladies' work taken in here, and hence given forth in behalf of the poor. Or the local missionary will do it, whom some wealthy philanthropist, be it male or female, has intrusted with money for any necessitous he might meet with in his rounds, and who for the credit of his employers lets out the secret of their liberality. We are not to marvel, if, in the train of such indiscretions, there should ensue among the people a general restlessness—an appetency and demand which never would have arisen spontaneously from among themselves, and which owe all their urgency to the cause *ab extra* that has excited them—a disturbing force that has unsettled many of the families, who, now agog from their wonted quiescence, are plying such claims and applications for relief, as otherwise they never should have dreamed of. It is not to be told how much this new element, of agitation it may well be called, is fitted to embarrass the operations of the philanthropist. In all the other ways of well-doing which we have ventured to prescribe for him, he could have made satisfactory progress—progress in the number of deposits made to his savings' bank—progress in the number of juvenile attendants upon his schools—progress in the number of contributors to his benevolent associations and the yearly amount of their offerings—progress in the style and keeping of their dress and houses and furniture; and as the general result of the whole, even though not one farthing had been bestowed on indigence, a more plentiful enjoyment among the families than heretofore of the comforts and necessities of life. If such a result have never been known to arise from the operations of the mere money-giver—if he have taken a district in hand, and is mortified to find, that, with all his liberalities, he has utterly failed to spread over it the face of a larger sufficiency or contentment than before—if envy and ingratitude and clamour and rapacity insatiable, be all the returns he has met with, and without any sensible abatement of the raggedness and

filth and other symptoms of penury which first lured him to this enterprise—then let him be made to understand, that, for the purpose of doing aught like substantial or permanent good, something more is necessary than to *compassionate* the poor, he must also *consider* them; and let him learn at length that there is indeed a more excellent way of charity, than that to which his own head-long sensibilities have impelled him.

6. But we were speaking in vindication of the common people, and to the higher points of their character if they were but rightly dealt with. The envy, the ingratitude, the clamour of which we have just made mention, are not so chargeable on them, as on the unwise friends who have done all they could to tempt and to evoke the worst feelings or phases of our nature. Another treatment would have called forth another and finer exhibition of those whom, distinctively and not disparagingly, we designate the lower orders—by which we assuredly mean nothing else than that they are of humbler condition, or that Providence has assigned to them an inferior place in the scale of income or society to ourselves. They are fully our equals in all the essential characteristics of humanity; and more especially, on the subject of their wants, may we often observe a high-toned delicacy for which they do not receive the credit that rightfully belongs to them. It all depends on the style of our approach, or the character in which we hold converse with them. If we do not, by our offers and inquiries, obtrude the topic of their necessities upon them—the household visitor will be astonished to find how seldom, or in how small a number of cases, they will obtrude the topic upon us. If we on entering into talk with them, but place ourselves on the level of that equal and reciprocal courtesy which should pass between man and man, they will not often, not generally, step beneath that level, by descending to the attitude of a suppliant for our bounty. Most sensible we are, that we are not speaking the experience of a distributor or agent for an almsgiving society—whether it be in the shape of money or fuel or soup or clothing. But we speak the experience of those who go forth on other and we will say higher grounds than those of commonplace charity—some of which we have already specified, though for the most full and decisive verification of what we now affirm respecting the common people, we should look most of all to the experience of him who goes forth among them on the best and highest of all errands, or in the capacity of a religionist, and who at the same time has the good

sense not to mix up the two ministrations—that on the one hand for their temporal, and that on the other for their spiritual necessities. If there be one topic more than another which puts the distinctions of rank out of view, and places high and low on the same even platform, it is that Christianity which tells of the common guilt and the common salvation, of the death which awaits all, and the glorious immortality alike held forth in the gospel for the acceptance of all. The man who, intent on the souls of the people, plies them with arguments such as these, is upon high vantage-ground for testing the position that we now seek to establish. So long as they mistake him for an almoner, and if they have been much tampered with beforehand by ill-timed or uncalled-for appliances, it is not in nature but that he will hear of their necessities—and more especially, if they have the imagination, either of his own unbounded wealth, or, which were still more fitted to excite their appetency, if they conceived, that, without a personal sacrifice on his part, he could give indefinitely to them, because he could draw indefinitely on the wealth and liberality of employers whose agent he was. But once that this understanding is dissipated, he will be in fair circumstances for verifying the truth of our principle; and it will astonish him to find, the almost instant subsidency of those hints and importunities which assailed the outset of his path. The truth is, that he who speaks religion to them, lets himself down to their own level, or rather brings them up to his—where they meet on the equal footing of the same hopes, the same liabilities, the same interests, as fellow-travellers to the same inheritance beyond the grave, and with the high preferments of eternity alike open to them. When two parties thus come together on the ground of their common humanity, neither will make the voluntary descent which is implied in the act of becoming a petitioner or dependant upon the other. The influence of which we now speak might perhaps appear of too shadowy or ethereal a character for the mere statist; and certain it is, that it does not admit of being expressed in arithmetic, or in that form of numerical registration, which he most relishes, and by which the results of experience become most palpable to his understanding. It is a matter of plain reality notwithstanding, and for this we could make a confident appeal to all who have made full trial of it. Let any friend of the common people go forth on the errand of Christianizing them, and even with the disadvantage of a reputed affluence, let him but keep by his

topic, and urge on them the consideration of their spiritual wants ; and but for his own mismanagement, what we affirm is, that seldom or never will they in return urge upon him the consideration of their temporal wants, back again. For example, we would ask Lord Roden, whether he was exposed to any ungenerous reaction of this sort, in virtue of the Sabbath-morning addresses which he was in the habit of delivering to an assembled peasantry ? And Mr. Cuninghame of Lainslaw, if the Sabbath-school which he instituted and himself taught in the populous village at his door, laid him open, though lord of the manor, to that host of applications for the relief of their temporal wants which his appearance amongst them in another character would infallibly have called forth, and to which his simple juxtaposition had before exposed him ? We know what their delightful experience was, and it tallied fully with my own. On my first movements through the poorest parish in Glasgow, I was thronged by urgencies innumerable, because of my official connexion with the secular charities of the place, and which did invest me with the character of an almoner in the eyes of the general population. . It was a connexion therefore, which, when I had made the discovery, I resolved to abandon ; and I will not forget the instant effect of this proceeding when it came to be understood—the complete exemption which it gave me from the claims and competitions of a whole host of aspirants, who crowded around me for a share in the dispensations of some one or other benevolent trust or endowment of other days ; and yet the cordial welcomes I continued to meet with, when after I had shaken loose of all these, I was received and recognised by the people on the simple footing of their Christian friend, who took cognizance of their souls, and gave himself chiefly to do with the scholarship of their young, and the religious state of their sick and their aged and their dying. This was an experience which impressed me with the profound wisdom of the saying, “ Who made me a judge and a divider over you ? ” and let me add, with a profound respect for the delicacy and correct feeling of the common people. And this will be found even on lower walks of philanthropy, than professionally and by office belongs to a clergyman. The mere economist who busies himself with but the matters of secondary improvement or comfort, will find an open field in any aggregate of plebeian households, for the accomplishment of all that his heart is set upon ; and, if he go rightly about it, without any of those distractions or perplexities

which annoy the path, and are sure at length to upset the enterprise of a mere almoner, who, if he will treat the people as paupers, must not be surprised at the noise and confusion and often the outcries both of unreasonable demand and as unreasonable disappointment which they have brought about his ears.*

7. But are there not cases of real necessity, which, without the utmost hardihood, even cruelty, it were impossible to pass by? Because there is much of counterfeit, is there no actual distress? When we read the denunciations of Scripture upon the one hand on those who shut up their bowels of compassion against the needy, and on the other are certified by the same Scripture that the poor shall never cease out of the land—are we, in the face of these authoritative testimonies, are we to give forth an interdict, not on the virtue of benevolence, but on that special modification of it, the virtue of almsgiving? And does not the Bible expressly tell us, to give to him that asketh, to give even to the evil and the unthankful—nay, most specific of all, to give *alms* of such things as we have? We are aware that to enjoin secret almsgiving is not to proscribe all almsgiving, and we accept of this qualification; but there is such an aspect of cold-bloodedness in the whole speculation of these foes to public charity, that we should like a distinct statement from themselves of what that is which we owe to humanity, when a case of distinct undeniable suffering and want comes in authentic exhibition before us.

8. There should be no blinking of this question; and it were the symptom of a weak or a worthless cause, did we seek to evade it. We desire no exemption for our philanthropist from any of those moral obligations, which, whether morally or Christianly, are alike binding upon all; and all we claim for him is the privilege of ascertaining the real state of every applicant, who lays the case of his necessities before him. It is surely no unfair demand that when one man places himself in the relation of a suppliant to another, that other should be entitled to place himself in the relation of an inquisitor over him; and when we make use of this term, we do not mean that the inquiry should be conducted with harshness or insolence, for, on the principle of rendering honour to all men, it ought to be conducted with the most perfect kindness and courteousness and delicacy. All that we insist for is, that he who seeks of another's bounty, shall also submit to another's scrutiny. In the denunciation just quoted upon him who steels himself against a brother's imploring cry,

* Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation, pp. 168, 257.

it is presupposed that he knows the cry to be a true one—"If he seeth his brother have need." Give him then a sight of the necessity, that he may know what he is doing; and when once it is made to stand unquestionably and unequivocally before him, it were a violence to every principle whether of humanity or religion, should we deny, that if he indeed have of this world's good, it is his duty, his clearly imperative and incumbent duty, not to stifle the impulses of compassion, but freely and fully to give way to them—to clothe the naked, and feed the hungry, and provide accommodation for the houseless and homeless wanderer.

9. It may be thought that by these concessions we beset our philanthropist, that is, our district visitor, with difficulties inextricable; but in truth we have placed him on firm and high vantage-ground. He of all the adventurers in charity is in circumstances for knowing best what he is doing; and thereby escapes the discomfort of those who, in almost every application that is made to them, are exposed to the necessity of giving in the dark. Instead of lying open to the solicitations whether of real or pretended poverty, from all points of the compass and at all distances, he has assumed a definite and manageable field of observation, and can make himself daily more familiar with the habits and condition of the families who occupy his own home-walk—approximating almost to certainty regarding the effect of his operations—either as to the risk of evil, or the real good that might be done by them. Surely he who gives of his own substance, of that which belongs to himself, has at least the right of knowing what he is about; and it is by becoming the cultivator of a district, and making it his chief and special charity to be the benefactor of its families, that he takes the best way of making it good. Once let him be possessed of their confidence and goodwill, which he may soon acquire, and he will be at no loss for the guidance of his proceedings, on every tale of distress which he may be called upon to aid or to sympathize with. All we ask for him is that he shall have time to verify before that he shall be expected to relieve it. And he has means and opportunities without which the mere general philanthropist finds himself altogether helpless. He can inquire at the mouth of the most respectable next-door neighbours, whose favour, even whose friendship, we might well suppose that he has already gained, and who would be as much scandalized as himself by an expenditure of that money on imposture and

worthlessness which should be reserved for the alleviation of genuine distress. It is thus that in each instance of application from his district he can obtain a full and intelligent view of the case; and should he authenticate it as a case of real unequivocal necessity, still more if merit and misfortune stand conjoined in the same individual or the same family—we would divest him of neither the feelings of a man nor the duties of a Christian—it will be at once his obligation and his pleasure to be liberal up to his power, to give according to the ability which God hath given him.

10. We should hope that this our household visitor is a Bible Christian, and if so he must be willing to distribute, ready to communicate. Yet to be the agent of substantial and enduring good among his people, he must not be hurried into acts of almsgiving, but have the privilege first of a searching scrutiny into the state of every asker, and then of a full consideration of what is best as well for his moral as his economic wellbeing. We have already said that if he avoid the error of going forth at the outset as a professed almoner, he will be exposed to vastly fewer applications than if he made this the known errand of his search and entry into the habitations. And as a further experience he will have fewer still, if it be his determined habit to follow up each application by the inquiries which we now recommend to him. This will be the fruit of his nearer inspection, and growing acquaintance with the real circumstances of the people. His first impressions of their helpless and hopeless indigence will be greatly reduced by it. Let him fearlessly enter on the task—in the steadfast prosecution of it, let him face all its difficulties and imaginary dangers—let him not blink a single application or hide himself from his own flesh, but from him that would either ask or borrow, let him not turn away—and the exaggerations, whether of a vice or a misery irremediable, which haunted his outset, will soon be dissipated. He will be astonished to find, as the effect of a proper wisdom and wariness on his part, that one or two simple and manageable cases are all which are left to him. Indeed, one of the greatest beauties and benefits of this district system is, that it gives such advantage for a thorough discrimination; and so, while it relieves from the counterfeit, it enables one more and more to concentrate his attentions on the actual and the deserving poor—in beneficence to whom, there is enjoyment of the highest sort, the happiness and exquisite luxury of doing good. And, beside the enjoyment, we promise that he

will be astonished at the lightness and facility of his task—so as at the end of the year, and after having rightly acquitted himself among two or three hundred human beings, and that in the most unlikely and outlandish territory which he chooses to select, he will realize in the little history of his proceedings Hannah More's exclamation—"O how cheap is charity! O how expensive is vanity!"

11. And it follows not, even though, as the fruit of a previous discretion, his task as an almoner should have been reduced to the needful supply of one or two families—it follows not that the whole burden of these should fall upon himself. It is his duty, as their friend and consulting for their best interest, to point out the other resources on which they should draw, apart from and if possible anterior to his own liberality—as, first and foremost, to stimulate their own industry, or suggest how they might abridge their own expenditure—thus teaching them how far they can help themselves; and secondly, if this be insufficient, to seek after their relatives, and with all proper delicacy on the one hand yet frankness and fidelity on the other recommend the case to them—telling them how right it is that one should help those of his own kindred; and thirdly, if there be a shortness and insufficiency still, and so as yet to exceed either the means or inclination of our visitor fully to provide for, to seek for aid in this work of charity from the benevolence of neighbours, and specially from those whose confidence he has won, and whose moral weight in their own little vicinity might secure a general approval and willing co-operation for all his views. By these few and simple expedients, he will achieve, and that chiefly from the home capabilities and resources of his own little territory, a conquest over all the difficulties of its right and prosperous management. So soon as he has enlisted on his side the kind regard of its families, and earned the credit of being their friend, the experiment is carried. There is not a case of distress or helplessness that he will find too much for him. Should he offer to head a little subscription for any casualty that might have occurred within his borders, it needs but the nearness and so the known certainty of the event to obtain a large concurrence throughout his population both of sympathies and substantial offerings; and should it be a case of recognised merit, as well as signal misfortune, should he be a reputable and well-liked neighbour whom some visitation of calamity has befallen, the impulse could easily be given by which, through the medium of a uni-

versal feeling, to provide for the calamity and even to overpass it. It is thus that even though not able of his own means to relieve a tithe of the necessities in his district, there are both able and willing helpers within its limits by whose aid he will succeed in overtaking them. Their number makes up for the smallness of their individual offerings—by which I mean, not merely the formal contributions which are sometimes made in money, but the nameless daily unreckoned supplies of food and service which pass and repass between next-door neighbours by an internal process of charity among themselves. The amount no doubt is incalculable of these little unseen gifts and liberalities; but, as the fruit of very general observation, we can with all confidence affirm that it is incalculably great. It of course varies with the popularity of the individual sufferer, or in right proportion to the estimation in which he is held by the vigilant and sharp-sighted observers who are immediately around him—of those who have known him, perhaps intimately and long, and are therefore capable of a far more wholesome and effectual surveillance, than can possibly be exercised by the paid inspectors of a poor's-house. The degree of this spontaneous charity, kept up among the contiguous householders of every neighbourhood, may be regarded as a test of the reality of that distress which calls it forth,—a charity to which belongs the invaluable property of suiting itself, as if by a sort of self-regulating power, at once to the wants and the merits of its object. Under its efficient guardianship, and more especially in a district organized as we would have it, there is the moral certainty that none would be left to starve,* and all would experience as the day came that the provision of the day came along with it.

12. Such is our confidence in these various expedients of anticipation, as they may be termed, that we should deem it no marvellous achievement, if, in any aggregate of human beings in any town of Scotland, the formal allowances of public charity were, in virtue of their operation, wholly superseded. And it marks at least our own sense of the internal capabilities which are to be found within the limits of such a district, that we should feel surer of a prosperous result were it in the hands of an intelligent, pious, and well-principled overseer, conversant in the habitudes of the working-classes, and himself scarcely if at all elevated above them—than if it were in the hands of one known

* Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation, p. 253.

to be wealthy, and so far removed from the common people, as to be without the experience either of their wants or their ways. For the purpose of bringing the people into a right economic condition, we should rather that the management of the former than that the opulence of the latter were brought to bear upon them. It was our own experience in the poorest and most populous parish of Glasgow, that the applications for public relief were fewer from sections under the superintendence of a clerk or even a mechanic, than from some that were under the superintendence of an affluent and prosperous citizen—the former intercepting such applications by finding a way to those internal and surely better resources which he knew how to draw upon, the latter finding it easier to meet the alleged necessity by liberalities of his own. It was instructive to observe that the public or sessional fund was not the better but the worse of such liberality—being exposed thereby to the demands of that still unsatiated rapacity which itself had excited and set agoing, and which but for it had never been called forth. Yet we should be unwilling to dissociate the rich from these undertakings, from such works and labours of love as we have now been specifying. There is a right style of management by which even they might neutralize the evil which often springs from the imagination of their unbounded affluence. In the first place, it is the more special duty of a visitor in this condition of life, when he does give, to give in secret. But in the second place, it were well to let the object of his bounty know that what he does give is at his own expense, therefore with a personal sacrifice on his part, and not as the agent of a society or an almoner for others. They utterly misconceive the poor, who do not understand how this simple revelation should call forth a delicacy on their part, which operates as a check on their else indefinite demands and expectations. And there are other and most legitimate expedients by which still further to strengthen this barrier of protection against that rapacity, which, whetted by every new success that its extortions meet with, is never satiated. He should tell them frankly and fearlessly both of their duty and of his own—and that it is as much their part to be moderate in their demands, as it is his to be liberal in his dispensations of charity. He should lecture them well on the virtue of not being burdensome to others; and not be sparing of his most serious remonstrances, when he comes to observe that they have been practising on the simplicity of the benevolent, that they have been making a trade

of their alleged poverty, and that the ill-gotten money thus obtained by them they have spent worthlessly or even carelessly. Let them know that you will not by your heedless and indiscriminate giving counteract the wholesome discipline of nature; and that if they will persist in being lazy epicures or irreclaimable drunkards, they must just be left to the fruit of their own ways, or to feel the weight of those chastisements which both indolence and dissipation are sure to meet with, and rightly, at the school of experience. Proclaim in their hearing, that while you wish yours to be a beneficent, you wish still more anxiously that it should be a moral administration; and that seeing the great use of money is to do good with it, it shall be one of your prime concerns, that you shan't do evil with it, by ministering to the vicious habits or propensities of those whose part it is, ere they draw on the help of others, to strive how much they can help themselves, by doing their utmost to labour diligently and live soberly. They know nothing at all of the common people, who think that they will not bear to be told of these things; nay, that they do not look approvingly on, when they see one of their suppliant but rather ill-doing neighbours thus treated by the visitor of their district with the freedom and fidelity of an honest friend. The man who deals in this peculiar, but certainly most rational and healthful style of philanthropy, is sure to carry in full the popular conscience and sense of right along with him; and there is one way in which he might earn golden opinions, even from those whose applications he may feel it his duty to set aside. He might crave their indulgence. He might represent the other and more urgent demands upon him. He might state what the objects of general utility are which he should like to provide for, and what the cases which are greatly more helpless and destitute than their own. He might point to a poorer family beside them, with its dumb or deranged or otherwise impotent and disabled children; and make it palpable, that the less they draw upon him, the more will he have to bestow on the children of a still heavier misfortune than themselves—and so, that by their forbearance, instead of dependence upon charity, they become fellow-helpers in its cause,*—noble-hearted contributors for the relief of a poverty more abject and pitiable than any which has yet visited their own habitations. Such an appeal he will have the happiness of finding to be often irresistible; and

* See a Sermon on Charity in Vol. III. of this Series, p. 464.

that many under the force of it will not only forego their own complaints and claims upon his liberality, but even in the shape of positive offerings out of their own scanty means will evince a willingness to be his auxiliaries in the cause of humanity, instead of being drawbacks or obstacles in his way. There is no saying how far this principle of most beautiful as well as beneficent operation could be carried downward. We are sure it could be carried so far as not only to arrest the tide but to turn it—and so as to get more from the people of our district for the purposes of benevolence, than we should be called upon to give for the relief of all the indigence that is within its borders.

13. It is of the utmost practical importance, however—essential indeed to the maintenance of his ascendancy for good amongst them—that our philanthropist should stand accredited for consistency and truth of character in the eyes of his population; and that, for this purpose, he should make full and satisfying acquittal of his Christianity in the midst of them. More particularly, if he want to preserve that moral weight, and that hold on their confidence and good opinion which form the real secret of his power, it must be his care not to incur the character of a selfish narrow close-fisted pretender to benevolence, and who belies all his professions of it, whenever he is brought to the trial, and any surrender of money is required at his hands—an impression this which even the most liberal almsgiving, if conducted with inviolable secrecy, is not fitted to dissipate. According to the policy that we have recommended, his refusals may be greatly more manifest than his compliances; and therefore unless it can be made to appear that there is a principle in his refusals, he may suffer greatly in estimation—a thing to be chiefly deprecated, because he would proportionally suffer in his influence over them, and so as to bereave of all their virtue his most honest and disinterested attempts for the wellbeing of his families. It is therefore well that the same Bible which enjoins a secret almsgiving, also bids us make our light so shine before men that they may see our good works, not however for the sake of our own glory, but for the glory of our Father in heaven. While then there are occasions on which the strictest concealment of our beneficence is called for, there must be occasions too on which it is desirable that it should become manifest to all men—not of course for the purpose of display, but at least for the purpose of vindication. And it is fortunate that we need be at no loss for such opportunities of well-doing as might admir-

ably serve this latter purpose. The education of some dumb boy, it may be, in one or other of his families,—the promise, and that by purchase if necessary, of a place in an asylum for one of their blind—the pensioning, when there is no such asylum to receive them, of a poor cripple or idiot or in any way helpless victim of accident or disease—the generous subscription, which if it meet not the whole necessity, might lead the way to others and so enlist the charity of the little neighbourhood for the mitigation of some disaster, that, in the shape of a burning, or the fall of a crazy tenement, or the death of his horse, may have befallen one of the poorest of the householders—We say it is well that our philanthropist can in these various ways make full proof of his liberality, and without the mischief attendant on the publicity of every scheme which is set on foot for the relief of general indigence.* And there are countless other occasions of a beneficence at once prolific of good and harmless, so as to be without alloy—and in which, if he can afford it, our visitor might indulge in a large-hearted munificence, which even though charged with prodigality, at least brings no corruption along with it, nay, might subserve the direct and unquestionable good of all in his locality—As in the erection and endowment of a church, or district school, or hall for a library and savings' bank and well-regulated news-room, where lectures too might occasionally be given, and social meetings be held free of all that can repel the attendance of the virtuous, but rather such as to invite the frequent presence of the best and wisest in the parish. A thousand other things might be specified—a well, a pavement, a sewer; if in the country a little commodious bridge for the benefit of the lieges, or the opening of a play-ground for their young, and many other sorts of liberal devices,† which would soon dissipate every mistake among the people as to the character and views of the humane, Christian, and kind-hearted gentleman who had assumed the benevolent charge of them; and at

* See my Examination before a Committee of the House of Commons, in Polity of a Nation, p. 386, &c.; also my Political Economy, p. 257, being Vol. IX. of this series; and most fully and particularly of all, an Essay on the Example of our Saviour as a Guide to Charity, also in Vol. IX. See also pp. 341-343, of the Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation, being Vol. X. of the series.

† We have one of the best examples of this in the felicitous conception of a liberal and large-hearted friend of my own, who, on a winter day of bitter cold, sent for a glazier, and commissioned him to go along both sides of the Canongate, and replace every broken pane that he found in any of the houses—a measure by which, at the expense of a few pounds, he tempered the pelting of the pitiless blast on the tenement of many a poor family.

the same time invest him with authority to resist and rebuke that spirit of sordidness which is sure to get up amongst them, and be fostered into greater strength of appetency every day, by a profuse and patent and indiscriminate almsgiving.

14. With these cautions, we should think that a poor district might be safe even in the hands of a rich man. In the hands of a superintendent much poorer than he, as of a decent tradesman or clerk or even well-conditioned and intelligent mechanic, we should not only feel no doubt of its safety—but firmly believe, that, out of its own home capabilities alone, he could with a management conducted on the principles that we have now explained, bring it into a state of economic independence, nay of growing comfort, so as that it should gradually rise from year to year to greater heights than before above the level of the destitution in which he found it. Yet, in subjecting a whole parish to this sort of secular superintendence, we should like a mixture of all the classes of society in the agency among whom we parcelled out its various districts—with a preference most certainly in favour of the more plebeian office-bearer who resided within or near to his assigned locality, always supposing him a person of good sense as well as Christian piety. There are many respects in which he could acquit himself better than the wealthy patrician at a distance, who, beside being extra-parochial, is yet devoid of all experience or habits of converse with the common people. Still we desiderate a few such, though not, it is our earnest assurance to each, for the sake of his money wherewith to relieve the general indigence of their families; but for the moral effects of his presence in the midst of them, and for our desire to see a closer and kindlier amalgamation among the various ranks and orders of our commonwealth. His money in fact will make a right management in his hands an affair of altogether greater wisdom and difficulty; and instead of facilitating, as vulgar thinkers apprehend, may, if not given with care and consideration, endanger the success of his benevolent enterprise. Let him lavish it as he may on educational and medical institutes, and so as that the people under his charge may have the full benefit of both; but let there be selection and secrecy and strenuous investigation of cases in all the measures which he adopts for the relief of poverty. Its chief danger at the outset will arise from a tacit comparison in his mind between his own standard of comfort and theirs, and whence he may be precipitated into a strong and exaggerated view of the desti-

tution or even positive wretchedness of the people. He must just take this general standard of comfort as he finds it, and never once think of the herculean attempt, an attempt which never could succeed in that way, to raise the standard by the profusion of his largesses for better food or furniture or dress than that to which they have been habituated. It is not thus that we shall ever elevate the style or enjoyments of the common people—a consummation only to be gained by the gradual rise and refinement of their tastes, which nothing can more effectually speed forward, than—not the money of their wealthy visitor, but—his frequent converse with them, and the moralizing influence of those schools and churches which his money might help to set agoing. We would therefore cordially invite his co-operation in this good work. We promise him a rich harvest of gratification in this precious walk of home charity; the comfort of knowing what he is about; and a perfect contrast in point of satisfaction, between the certainty of that good which is sure to spring up under a system of safe and wise ministrations conducted on a field of benevolent exertion subject to his own immediate eye, and the doubtful or with far greater likelihood the pernicious effects of a miscellaneous liberality called forth at random by applications from all points and all distances. And let him not be alarmed at the amount of time or trouble, far more formidable to his imagination than the amount of money which it may require at his hands. We hope to satisfy him afterwards that by the sacrifice of a very few hours in the week or even in the month, he may rid his territory of all its wretched pauperism, and establish a far more kindly and beneficent system in its place. Or if this time don't satisfy himself, if he find that pleasure in the work which we have no doubt he will, he may by his various devices of liberality be the instrument of a great progressive advancement in the habits and condition of his families. We should not wonder, though it became at length to him the most grateful, as it will be the cheapest of all his amusements—a new method opened up to him, by which to purchase the greatest enjoyment for the least money. He will doubly rejoice in it, that it is an operation twice blest—blessing him who gives and him who takes.

SECTION III.

SUPPOSITION THAT THE VISITOR OF A DISTRICT ENTERS ON THE WALK WHICH WE HAVE ASSIGNED TO HIM, AND APPEARS BEFORE ITS POPULATION IN THE CAPACITY OF AN OFFICE-BEARER IN THE CHURCH.

1. BUT before we proceed further with our argument, we must remove a serious impediment in its way, from the minds of those who may be thinking all the while, that as we spoke of the people in a district being taught to help themselves, or to help each other—we presumed an aggregate sufficiency within its limits which does not exist, and so have reasoned on a nonentity. And certain it is, that when we do propose to commit an applicant for relief—either to his own economy, this should imply that he has something to save ; or to his relatives, that they have something to give ; or to the kindness of neighbours, that the means and materials are in their hands, wherewith to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. But is this true in fact? We have selected as the field of our enterprise a congeries of the poorest households in town, and then tell of its own capabilities for a surplus there by which a process of internal charity might be kept agoing. Now, where in the name of wonder, and of all that is incredible, is this surplus to be found? Can it have any real substantive being among these very poorest of the poor? We admit them to be possessors of the same humanity with ourselves, and as such must be subject to the working of its various laws—the law of self-preservation, and of relative affection, and of sympathy between man and man. There are hearts to feel amongst them ; and we should gladly add hands to give, if, while we see the hands, we could also see as palpably where or how it is, that they can have aught to give away. We dispute not the existence of the requisite *morale* amongst them. But the *matériel* is indispensable also ; and, wanting this, it is poetry and nothing more to talk of a healthful interior circulation, with its ducts of conveyance running along in fancied lines of beauty, from household to household as well as from heart to heart, or from kindred to kindred, to children and parents and sisters and brothers and uncles and as far on as to remotest cousinship. One might be made in this way to figure a system of empty tubes ; but the inconceivable thing is a stream to fill them, and

without this a process of home charity in such a mass of destitution is but an ærial speculation. And whence, it is asked, is the aliment to be had by which alone a body or a substance can be given to it; and apart from which we but listen to a dream or look on a gaudy picture drawn by a man of glowing imagination?

2. And yet it will be found that the imagination is all on the side of our incredulous objector. The first, the capital illusion into which they have fallen, is, that there exists, in this country at least, or we could almost venture to say in the civilized world, an aggregate of two or three hundred human beings living in their own habitations and presenting to view a dead level of the alike helpless and irremediable poverty. There is no such thing. There is a gradation and an inequality everywhere. I know of magnates in the Cowgate of Edinburgh; and scarcely an assemblage of fifty contiguous tenements in the poorest region of Glasgow, where along with operatives who earned for the time but five shillings a week, there were not others intermingled who were earning from twenty to sometimes fifty shillings a week. If these our contemptuous judges, instead of reproaching others with theory, would but enter on the work of exploration and become observers themselves, they would soon find that they too had imaginations to be corrected, certain spectral notions of their own which a little experience, if they but knew how to profit by its lessons, would speedily dissipate.* But to come at once to our proof, it can not only be grasped at conjecturally, but ascertained and stated arithmetically, how much the people of any given town, or even with a sufficient approximation to the truth, how much the people of any given parish or district in it, annually expend on intoxicating liquors; and to make it more applicable for our argument, on such liquors as are used in greatest proportion by the common people. For example, Sheriff Alison of Glasgow, in his recent work on Population, calculates on certain specific data that in that town and suburbs of about 250,000 inhabitants, there is spent no less a sum on whisky than twelve hundred thousand pounds annually.† We suspect a possible, nay a likely exaggeration in his reckoning, and were ourselves in the habit, on very moderate data however, of reasoning on the consumption of a yearly half-million—which, in deference to

* This I have spoken to at greater length in my work on "The importance of a Right Moral to a Right Economical State of the Community," see Vol. IX. p. 345, of this series.

† Alison on Population, vol. ii. p. 119.

the judgment of Mr. Alison, we shall now assume to be eight hundred thousand, or fully three pounds a head for each unit of the population. This accords with the experience of many other places. In our Cowgate alone there are upwards of thirty public-houses, upheld chiefly by the demand of next-door customers, and implying a consumption of more than six thousand a year. It would keep our argument entire, though the yearly expenditure were taken at half of this sum—more especially as it seems agreed on all hands, that the consumption of spirits increases with the descent in the scale of society—so as to be proportionally far greater among the lower than among the upper or middle classes. But this is not the only article of indulgence on which the means of the people might be economized or diverted to other and better objects. We are authoritatively told of the enormous profits of pawnbrokers—amounting it is said to half a million a year in Glasgow; and which with a little benevolent care and attention might all be committed back again to the parties from whom it had been extracted—another mighty enlargement then to the comfort and sufficiency of the common people. But there are many other items of extravagance and mismanagement beside these; and which, all taken together, bespeak an immense internal fund, the real and rightful property of the people themselves; and which if recalled from its present useless, or even pernicious direction, would mightily conduce—not to the present comfort alone, but to the independence and future elevation of the working classes in society. The largest sum yet specified for a poor-rate in Scotland is eight hundred thousand a year, being nearly six hundred a year for each two thousand of the population. But if, instead of this relief coming to them from without, we can find no less a sum than six thousand a year amongst themselves, now squandered to their hurt, but capable of being recovered for a better and happier destination—the achievement of this latter enterprise were surely a far greater boon to the families, and a truer benevolence on the part of their friends.

3. And here it may be felt, that, in thus laying open so large and worthless an expenditure, we speak harshly of the common people. To this we reply, that we know of no exemption for any class of society from honest and fearless remonstrance, when the members of it, be they few or many, call it forth, by glaring misconduct, or the degeneracy of their habits. It is not by flattery or falsehood that any cause of righteousness can be

carried; and we shall never achieve a general good for the working-classes, if restrained from telling them the truth or laying on our merited rebuke—whether by the dread of popular hatred, or by a sickly tenderness of feeling towards them. “Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment; thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty; but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour.”* These are times which call for the intrepidity of an old prophet; and whether in dealing with high or low, it should be alike freely and alike fearlessly with both. The poor, on the one hand, must bear to be told that they do very, very ill—but not without telling the rich on the other that they have done much worse. The truth is, that the greatest palliation for the misconduct of the poor, for their recklessness, their ruinous squanderings, their low and loathsome dissipations, is the cruel neglect and abandonment of them by the upper ranks of society. It is chiefly in towns where the greatest moral injustice has been done to them—abandoned wholesale to ignorance and vice—dispossessed of all their moral privileges, whether in schools for their young or in churches for their general population—spoiled of their parochial inheritance, which had come down from their forefathers, by a griping magistracy who have seized on their places in the house of God, and thus made merchandise of their souls to the highest bidder—the most monstrous, and, with all deference to our demagogues and political declaimers, far the worst encroachment ever made by lordly aristocrats on the rights and immunities of the people. No wonder, that, thus driven from the ordinances of the gospel and abandoned to Sabbath profanation, a general week-day profligacy should have followed in its train; and that families thus made worthless should have soon become wretched; and that filth and poverty and all moral and physical abominations should have accumulated in all plebeian quarters of the town, whose inhabitants, literally cast off by their superiors with whom they wont to have associated as fellow-worshippers in the temple of their God, have sunk beneath the level of our common humanity—with every wild and outlandish habit of gypsies, and only without their locomotion. And to stem the tide of this degeneracy, or rather,—for a moral and Christian reform of our people is scarcely in all their thoughts,—to lay an arrest on the growing and gathering destitution which must keep pace with it, it is thought enough by many to scatter among their habita-

* Leviticus xix. 15.

tions the wretched pittance of an alms-house ; as if the hurried inquiries or cursory surveillance of a few paid inspectors could reach the deeply-seated mischief, which festers like a moral gangrene in the hearts and habits of the people, and can only be met by moral remedies alone. There is a more excellent way, of surer efficacy and far nobler results. There is a sore and inveterate disease—let not the healing of it be gone about superficially. It is not a slight medicine that will suffice ; nor must we think it an adequate compensation for the injury done by us to the common people, that we dole out the allowances of public charity among a few of their most conspicuous sufferers, or of those who in virtue of long neglect have sunk the lowest and sustained the greatest degradation and misery at our hands. It is not enough that we appease the cry of distress where it is loudest, or produce for ourselves a momentary respite by dealing with it in shreds and scantlings. The whole head is sick, the whole heart is sore. The malady against which we have to contend is not that of particular cases, to be treated or disposed of piecemeal and individually as they occur. It is the malady of a system—a radical and generating virus, which we have to go forth and work hard against—only to be counterworked and extirpated by a searching and sanative influence, which shall reach to the inner depths of the popular mind, and pervade the whole bulk and body of the population.

4. We have already explained how it is that even one individual might undertake for fifty families ; and by what footsteps he could with the utmost facility to himself, and far greater success than many have the least notion of, so raise the habit and condition of the whole, as mightily to improve the economics of his district. It were well if this experiment were multiplied by the spontaneous enterprises of the benevolent ; and that too in all various localities—more especially where the poverty was most extreme ; and the population, both in character and circumstances, were the most unpromising and unlikely. The result,—and were the right methods taken and persevered in, we can have no doubt of its prosperity,—would furnish a body of experience, and experience too at first hand, which might at length open the eyes of the most incredulous to the only solution of a problem, that has hitherto exercised and baffled the ingenuity of many speculators ; especially those most egregious of all speculators, who under the title of practical men and with a professed abjuration of all theory, have precipitated a legis-

lation that traverses all the lights of history, and all the laws and tendencies of that nature which God hath given to us.

5. What a single philanthropist could do on a small, a single church with its parish of two thousand people,—and there ought never to be more even in towns,—might do on a larger scale. And this were no novelty in Scotland. It would be a recurrence in fact to the practice and usage of the olden time—when each church had a distinct body of office-bearers, whose special duty it was to manage for the relief of the poor. These were the deacons* of other days, who laboured in their more secular vocation apart from the elders whose higher office it was to minister in holy things, and be the spiritual assistants of the clergyman, in caring for the souls of the people. Such a parish, if divided into six or ten parts, would furnish the very objects and occupations which we have been employed in describing, to as many members of the congregation. Our visitor, of whom we have hitherto supposed that he worked on his own account, or for the gratification of his own taste and benevolence, now becomes the functionary or office-bearer of a church. He appears in a new character before the eyes of the people—clothed in that certain authority, which ever stands associated in the imaginations of men, with the place which one holds in any corporate system of management that is sanctioned by law; and more especially if it receive the designation of a court, whether civil or ecclesiastical. The very title which he now wears makes him a different person from before; and at all events, he is now in different circumstances, which might either be of favourable or adverse operation, depending on the style and policy of his administration. What these new circumstances are, and what the consequent policy or peculiar conduct and method of acting is which they demand of him, we now proceed to explain.

6. There is one very obvious respect in which a parish deacon differs from a private volunteer in the work of benevolence. We have spoken on the secrecy wherewith the latter should conduct his alms-giving; and that this ought not to be his ostensible, not even his chief errand, when he goes forth among the householders of his district. But a deacon has no choice in this particular. By office and designation he stands out as the dispenser of the alms of the church. This is his known business; and he cannot though he would disguise it, whatever the sordid or mercenary expectations might be which the very sight of him

* See the First and Second Books of Discipline.

shall awaken, either among the poorer or more worthless families of his charge. His therefore is a position of all the greater difficulty; and yet it is a difficulty far from insuperable—nay, which might be more than counterbalanced by other influences not at the command of the spontaneous and unofficial philanthropist.

7. Let him therefore make no mystery of his profession as administrator of the church alms among the families of his district; but openly proclaim the system on which he means to acquit himself of its duties. Let there be a full understanding on this matter between him and them; and he will feel no difficulty in soon carrying the consent and approval of his little community as well as their intelligence along with him. Everything must at length command the willing homage and concurrence of a population which has a basis of right to rest upon. He will speedily enlist their consciences upon his side; and once that this is done, he will feel no difficulty in carrying his views into effect. The people themselves will prove his best auxiliaries; and that too with a help so powerful and so productive as to astonish even himself—when he comes to perceive how smoothly and prosperously, and at how moderate a *public* expense withal he can meet and dispose as he ought of all the real and thoroughly ascertained necessities on account of which application has been made to him. It is true that he stands out amongst them in the known capacity of an almoner; and this forms one great distinction between the deacon and the visitor—exposing him, it may be thought, to a greater force and frequency of applications. And it is also true that what is thus sought, will, if granted, be not at his own personal expense; and so he loses the protection of a certain delicacy, which only they who are profoundly ignorant of the common people give them no credit for. But along with this certain delicacy there is a certain sense of dignity too; and which is capable of being fostered into a strong repugnance to aught like a visible dependence on the ministrations of a poor's fund. It is furthermore true, that the popular imagination of this fund is often greatly beyond its real amount; but even this false arithmetic can be rectified by explanation. In a word, let there be a full and friendly communion between the deacon and his families, and a common feeling between him and them will speedily be the result of it. He will find that by frequent household intercourse, or in the bland and intimate converse of private acquaintanceship, the people are vastly more pliant and malleable, as if of different temper altogether, than

when sisted before the tribunal and called to take a part in the argumentations of a parish vestry—often fierce and insolent, and charged as in angry litigation with the spirit of mutual disdain and defiance. In the amenities of social companionship at their own houses, he will breathe amongst them a far milder yet clearer atmosphere—for as the fruit of his nearer and narrower inspection, his will be a tenfold more thorough knowledge and discernment of every particular case, than is at all attainable by the formal inquiries, and columnar specifications, set forth with goodly order and array in the schedules of public charity—the administrators of which, albeit they think not so, have a greatly more superficial acquaintance with the subject of their unwieldy management, than the visitor of a little district, even after he has become a deacon, and so is transformed into an official personage like themselves. In very truth, there is from the place where they sit a wide gulf, a mighty distance between them and the population—and this too filled by a medium not only cold and unkindly, but dark and often turbid, so as both to obscure and distort their vision—a disadvantage this which they cannot repair or get the better of—even with the help of their inspectors whose office it is to radiate across the interval and reconnoitre the case and circumstances of every applicant, and bring their formulary of particulars, all in right place and arrangement, back again. With all their pains and all their possible regulations, let us assure these administrators of charity for a whole city, that they will never reach, not even approximate to our deacon, in that minute and thorough intelligence of every case which his frequent visits, and the constantly growing familiarity of months perhaps years with the families of his own little vineyard, enable him to acquire—far less in the tact and adaptation and flexibility wherewith he can fit himself, precisely as is best in the ever varying circumstances, to the necessities and the condition of every new applicant. The starch uniformity of procedure which is characteristic, because unavoidable, in the affairs of a large superintendence, does not and cannot admit of those manifold adjustments to each individual peculiarity, which the member of a small parochial court, within the limits of his own subdivision, can so easily practise, in the exercise of a discretion becoming sounder with the experience of every day—who, on the other hand, will be delighted to find, that what looks so formidable in the bulk, and when seen from a distance, vanishes like any other bugbear when we enter upon immediate contact with it; and that when

encountered by littles, or in separate and small enough localities, it indeed becomes a very facile and practicable affair.

8. But let us descend more into particulars. And first, let it be a settled maxim, that, while every case of want and suffering must be attended to, of all the expedients for its relief it shall come the last, and only be resorted to after that all the other and better expedients have failed—to provide for it from the poor's-money of the parish. This should in every instance of mere poverty be looked on as the “dernier ressort”—a sort of necessary evil, which one submits to because he cannot otherwise help it, and not till every right method has failed by which to anticipate and avoid it. What the shifts are which ought to be tried, ere the descent is made, or the name of the applicant goes down on the list of dependants on the public charity, we have already in part explained. First, having ascertained a destitution, if possible to stimulate the industry of the applicant, and see what more he might earn—Second, or to improve his economy, and see what the things are upon which he might save—Thirdly, to seek after his relatives, and see what they will give—Fourthly, to make the case known among neighbours, and see whether the necessity might not be got over by one joint effort of liberality; or even whether there is not a willingness amongst them, to keep off for an indefinite time the stigma of pauperism from one, who is so far a favourite throughout his little vicinity that hearts and hands may yet be open to him. It is not known how effectual these shifts might be made, how prolific of relief are these natural and spontaneous resources—all of which ought certainly to be attempted and drawn upon, ere the case shall be suffered to appear in court, or submitted to the board of parochial administrators. It should be the distinct aim of each deacon to provide for the wants of his district in a more excellent way, and so as to intercept if he can every application before it reaches the door of the parish vestry. That deacon in fact does his duty best, who gives his court of deacons the least to do. Such ought to be the reigning principle, the *esprit de corps*, among the members of the body. And what is better still, it were a possible nay an easy thing, for each deacon to awaken an *esprit de corps* akin to this, among the families of his own district or his own deanery—insomuch that each might collectively feel it as their distinction and their glory, to have few or even no paupers within their borders—and either because the hands of all have ministered to their own necessities, or because,

through the ready and generous help of all, every child of misfortune in the midst of them has been saved from the humiliations of public charity. Whatever quadrates with the natural conscience, can practically be carried or made to take effect in any community; and more especially if enforced and exemplified by him who is vested with an official direction over it. It speaks so home to their own sense of right, that each man should work and save for himself rather than be burdensome to others, and that relatives and neighbours should be helpful to each other—as to make it impossible for any management founded on these principles to be either unpopular, or to fail in the accomplishment of its own high and virtuous objects. And there is one advantage which the deacon has over the visitor, when labouring to dispose of any case or application in the way that we recommend. The money thereby saved is not saved to himself—it is only saved to the poor's fund of which he is the guardian and the administrator. His proceedings do not expose him to the suspicion of his own personal avarice. Nay, he may at any time repel, even reverse this suspicion, by taking the ostensible lead in any joint enterprise of good either for his district at large, or for some one of its more unfortunate families. It is incalculable how few and how light the cheap and simple attentions are, by which any deacon, if but a creditable and companionable man, might carry the fellow-feeling and confidence of all along with him.

9. But there is still another advantage which the deacon has over the visitor. His walk is distinct from that of the clergyman or elder; but still in that walk, he is the office-bearer and so the representative of a church—in which capacity it not only becomes him, but he will speak with all the greater authority, when, called to the work of argument with his people and sometimes of remonstrance or rebuke, he deals forth among them the sacred lessons of the gospel. It is peculiarly his part to yield at all times an incorrupt moral testimony—nor ever to flinch, when the occasion requires that he should act as the fearless reprover of their indolence, or their vicious habits, or their beggarly meanness of spirit; or, if able, but unwilling to interpose in behalf of some helpless relative, to lift his indignant protest against the unfeeling selfishness that is shut to the distress or degradation even of one's own kindred, of those who are flesh of his own flesh, and bone of his own bone. It is not to be endured that we should have to succumb to the clamours

or even to the claims of alleged want, when they can be clearly made out to be the claims of worthlessness, which should ever be met, not by a different testimony alone but a different treatment, from that bestowed on those deserving poor whom it is both the duty and delight of all who feel as they ought to sympathize with and succour to the uttermost. Let these be cherished and cared for with all liberality and tenderness, while the others are kept at bay—and so as to make it manifest that the regimen of our parochial charity is at the same time a regimen of virtue. They utterly mistake the common people who apprehend of this style of administration that it must be unpopular. In the long run it will be quite the reverse. It will find an echo in their own consciences. They will know how to discriminate between on the one hand an injurious harshness, and on the other the firm and consistent procedure of him who, armed with intrepidity and force of principle, acquits himself in the midst of them as the declared enemy of imposture and worthlessness. Such a man will be sure to elevate the tone of his families, and to enlist them upon his side; and though his should be one of the poorest districts in town, even he himself will be astonished at the number of months, perhaps of years, which may elapse ere the necessity lies upon him, of making a single draught on the parish fund for the relief of any of his people.

10. For prior to this, and even after he has found the stimulated industry and economy of the applicant, and the stimulated duty of his relatives, and the stimulated sympathy of his neighbours, to be all inadequate for the necessities of the case—there still remains another expedient, which we mention the last because really the least in the order of importance; and of which we should never wish to avail ourselves, save on the tried and found insufficiency of all the previous expedients, each of which we hold preferable to the one that we are now to propose, though it again be preferable to the final and conclusive step in the series—we mean the entry of a new and another name or person on the lists of the public and parochial charity. As the last, if it should be the only remaining effort to save him from this, we recommend that his circumstances should be made known to one or more wealthy friends, though not of the parish, who, whether by a small and regular pension, or by a single gratuity, might interpose for the rescue of some struggling family from the fall of their visible descent on a platform humbler than any which they have yet occupied—we mean that

of a recorded pauperism. And in the great bulk of instances, this, we affirm, can be done with a facility that is quite marvellous—often by a timely guinea or half guinea given but once, say to help out a deficient rent or meet some other occasion of embarrassment, through which if the applicant be carried, and so as to weather it for the coming week or fortnight, you may never hear afterwards, or at least for years, of the necessities or hardships of his condition—thereby warding off a permanent burden from the poor's fund; and what is of far more importance, warding off a permanent deterioration of habit and principle from the man himself, who starts anew on the walk of industry and honest independence. We should indeed wonder if in any well-managed parish, after the full introduction and establishment of our system—half-a-dozen such examples of a resort to gentlemen for some slight pecuniary aid were required or called for in the course of a twelvemonth. And when we compare the small number of such cases, with the great number of such gentlemen in every large town, all most liberally disposed for the public good, if they but knew how to go about it—we, in the name of public virtue and of the people's best interests, would put the question—whether it is not better that our domestic and parochial treatment of the poor should not first be tried and have full experimental justice done to it, ere Scotland shall be precipitated into that economy of general and legalized pauperism, which cannot fulfil its own promises without beggaring the whole population; and cannot regulate or restrain its allowances, without mocking the expectations which itself had awakened; and so by placing the two great divisions of society, the payers and receivers in hostile array against each other, spreading dissatisfaction, even to the danger of tumults and popular outbreaks, all over the land.

11. And it were further well, if what we have recommended as the last step in favour of the applicant, before his case is submitted to the parochial court, should, in every fit instance, be *their* first step; and so as to precede, nay if possible to prevent, the introduction of his name into their record, as forming one of the regular paupers on the roll. When any application must be deferred to, it is good policy to consider—whether it may not be treated as a casualty, to be provided for by a single donation, and recorded under the general head of casualties, without the name of the person who is relieved by it. The spirit that shrinks from such an exposure ought to be upheld as long as

possible; and we again repeat with all confidence, that the deacon who acts on such a system will be astonished to find at the end of the year, with what perfect facility and cheapness he can dispose of all his cases, even the most seemingly formidable amongst them. That bugbear, which looks a gigantic hydra, when seen in the bulk or from a distance, vanishes into nothing, when dealt with at close quarters, or piecemeal, and in small separate sections. We ourselves should not marvel, though under such a regimen, not one farthing was drawn for years from the parish fund for the relief of mere indigence; and it is our firm unbroken confidence that the smallest public fund of the poorest parish in Scotland, would in ordinary times form a sufficient landing-place for every application that could not be otherwise and better disposed of, than by an allowance from either a kirk-session or a charity workhouse. And we count on such a result—First, because we look for a resuscitation and increase of private charity, as the sure effect of every abridgment in the legal or visible displays of it; and, secondly, because we look to the dormant capabilities of the people themselves, by which a wise and experienced deaconship could indefinitely raise the standard both of comfort and character, throughout the community at large.

12. And to obtain the services of such a deaconship, we have only to repair a breach which has been made in the original constitution of the Church of Scotland—to replace a dilapidation which its venerable fabric has suffered in the course of ages. The framers of our ecclesiastical polity, those wisest and most enlightened of all modern reformers, who knew well how to discriminate things secular from sacred, and how best to provide for both—they instituted a special and distinct order, whose office it should be to look after the collection and distribution of all the needful temporalities, whether for the maintenance of churches and schools or for the relief and sustenance of the poor.* A national provision for the first objects has so far super-

* The fifth head of the First Book of Discipline, treats of the provision for ministers, and distribution of the rents and possessions justly belonging to the Church. The elders and deacons had the superintendence in this matter. Under the sixth head, which treats of the rents and patrimony of the Church, it is said—"We require the deacons and treasurers rather to receive the rents, than the ministers themselves, because that off the teinds not only must the ministers be sustained, but also the poor and schools." To these purposes deacons were appointed. The deacons were under the control of the ministers and elders.

The second chapter of the Second Book of Discipline treats of the policy of the kirk and persons and office-bearers to whom the administration is committed.—"The whole policy of the kirk consists of three things, doctrine, discipline, and distribution." Hence "ariseth

seded the necessity for the former of these services, save in those towns and parishes where church or school extension is required ; and whenever the order shall come to be revived, the best methods by which a further provision might be obtained for these great public blessings, would fall most appropriately under the cognizance and care of the newly set up deacons in our modern day. On the other hand, the latter of these services, the official management of the poor, should be all their care—when by the few simple steps which we have tried to explain, they will find that what they have to give as office-bearers, might be indefinitely lessened by the working of those natural principles which only require being appealed to and guided to right objects, that each parochial community might be brought to the best economic state of which it is capable. We know of no other expedient for the right solution of this great problem. We have no faith in a national board that undertakes for the pauperism of a whole empire, or in a provincial board that undertakes for the pauperism of a whole county, or in a city board that undertakes for the pauperism of a whole township, or in a union with its arrangements however skilful for the pauperism of a whole cluster of parishes. But with all our helplessness in these, we have the greatest confidence in the perfect facility and success wherewith every deacon possessed of kindly feelings and common sense could manage aright the pauperism of fifty families ; and on this stepping-stone, not by adventuring on what is new but by a simple recurrence to what is old—we mean by a system of deaconship, comprising six or eight or ten members, we can see our way to

a sort of threefold office-bearers in the kirk, viz. of ministers, preachers—elders, governors—and deacons, distributors.” “There is in the New Testament times of the Evangel, the ministry of the apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors in the administration of the word ; the eldership for the order and administration of the discipline ; the deaconship to have the care of the ecclesiastical goods.” “There are four ordinary functions or offices in the kirk of God—the office of pastor, minister, or bishop—the doctor—presbyter or elder—and the deacon.” The eighth chapter treats of the deacons and their office, the last ordinary function in the church—“To whom the administration of the alms of the faithful and ecclesiastical goods do belong.” “The office of the deacon is an ordinary and perpetual ecclesiastical function in the kirk of Christ.” After enumerating the destinations of the church patrimony, it proceeds—“We add hereto the schools and schoolmasters also.” The tenth chapter is entitled—“Certain special heads of reformation which we crave.” One of these heads of reformation is—“We desire therefore the ecclesiastical goods to be uplifted and distributed faithfully to whom they appertain, and that by the ministry of the deacons—to whose office, properly, the collection and distribution thereof belongs, that the poor may be answered of their portion thereof, and they of the ministry live without care and solicitude, as also the rest of the treasury of the kirk may be received and bestowed to their right uses.”

a right economy of pauperism for a whole parish. We shall not meddle with matters too high for us; nor do we profess to understand by what mechanism it is, that one body of general administration and surveillance can achieve aught so magnificent as the right apportionment of relief for all the manifold varieties of want and wretchedness in the thousand homes that lie scattered in a territory, where tens of thousands of human beings are congregated—whether in large cities or extended provinces. But we do understand, how an intelligent and well-principled man can, in a given locality, of some few hundred people, so operate on the springs or principles of human feeling and human action, as to maintain in that economic condition which is the best possible all the families who are within its confines. We do not know what the one process is by which the result universal can be reached, of a right economy of pauperism for the millions of a whole nation. But we do know what the one process is by which the result particular can be reached of a right economy of pauperism for the as many scores or fifties of a whole district. And as we have somewhere said already, our result universal is arrived at by the summation of these particulars. Give us a sufficient number of deaconries for each parish, and a sufficient number of parishes for an empire; and by the cheap and simple attentions of as many men, each performing a most light and practicable task within his own little sphere, shall we make good piecemeal and in items, the full accomplishment of that object which, dealt with as an unwieldy whole, has hitherto exercised and baffled the ingenuity of all our statesmen.

13. In nothing have the fathers of the Scottish Church evinced a profounder discernment of our nature, than in the separation which they made between the deaconship and the eldership—assigning respectively the duties of each to two distinct classes of functionaries. It is true that in so doing they acted on their own views of the scriptural model as set before us more particularly in the Acts of the Apostles; but it is furthermore evident that they also saw the fitness of the separation, and that too on the principle sanctioned by the Saviour himself, when, on being applied for to arbitrate and decide in a matter of secular interest, He replied, “Who made me a judge and a divider over you?” The truth is, that though the duties of the deaconship have now in practice been generally merged into those of the eldership—the two together make the most incongruous of all pluralities. We can only afford one or two brief sentences for the explanation

of what that is wherein the incongruity lies.* For a right acquittal of the deaconship there ought to be a wholesome rigour of investigation in every case that is brought before the secular functionary, and also a wholesome rigour of treatment when the worthless and undeserving come forth to urge in our hearing their necessities or their claims. But the spiritual functionary, the elder, whose office it is to deal with the people in things spiritual, should never thus be brought into conflict with them, on any question which relates to their merely secular interests and concerns. It is not for elders, if they wish to maintain their ecclesiastical character, or to preserve their ecclesiastical usefulness among the families—it is not for the elders, and far less for the clergyman, to be implicated with a management, in which the exhibition of a quality so alienating and unpopular as that of rigour, is at all called for—we mean, of course, not the rigour of church discipline, but the rigour which first scrutinizes, and then, when it finds cause, withstands the solicitations of *alleged* poverty for a share in church allowances, or, as they have been sometimes termed, in the charities of the faithful. Such an exhibition on their part must create at least a strong initial barrier in the way of any good effect, from their spiritual ministrations; and if for the purpose of removing this barrier—while still having to do with the administration of the poor's money—they choose to make an opposite exhibition, to substitute facility in place of rigour, to be yielding and blindly profuse in the style of their dispensations—then from another quarter comes there a vitiating blight on that Christian and moralizing influence which should ever be kept intact and unviolated in their hands. The people are thus tempted to make a gain of godliness; to play the hypocrite with the man who thus deals at one and the same time in prayers and payments; to chime in with the spiritual for the sake of a readier admittance into the benefits of the temporal ministration; and so altogether to lose that singleness of eye which is so essential to the clearness of one's Christian intelligence,† as well as to the simplicity and godly sincerity of his Christian character. It were infinitely better that such a contest of adverse and heterogeneous influences should be conclusively put an end to; and for this purpose, or to maintain in its own full and proper weight the moral ascendancy both of

* Dr. Miller on the office of a Ruling Elder, p. 181—also the “Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation,” pp. 158-164, Vol. X. of “Select Works.”

† Matt. vi. 22, 23.

ministers and elders, it is truly most desirable, that any *official* management of pauperism should be altogether out of their hands—yet not therefore out of the hands of the Church's office-bearers ; but placed, as far as all personal dealing with the applicants is concerned, entirely and exclusively with the deacons, composing another and a distinct class of functionaries. The elders, for obvious reasons, which we have elsewhere stated at length, ought never, we mean officially, to descend among things secular. But there is no necessary or permanent obstacle in the way of deacons ascending to things spiritual.* The barrier of which we have spoken may only be temporary, and in the course of experience, will, under the right acquittal of the duties of the office, at length give way. The families, perhaps revolted at the first by a certain sternness of administration, will at last discover both its moral tendencies, and the moral principle in which it originates ; and after the deacon has made full manifestation of himself, as the substantial friend of the poor, while the unfaltering enemy of their vices and the consistent patron of truth and sobriety and all righteousness in the midst of them, will then speak influentially and with an authoritative voice when he presses home upon them the lessons of the gospel. The truth is, that if a Christian man, he is in the best possible school for the qualifications of a higher Christian office than the one which he at present occupies. It is thus that the court of deacons might become the best and most prolific nursery from which to supply the vacancies, or still further extend the court of elders—in beautiful accordance with the apostolic saying, that “they who have used the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree, and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus.”

14. But in conclusion, we must not omit to mention the vast importance to a deacon, should he have a taste and ability for the services which in our second section we have recommended to the private or voluntary philanthropist. If he but give himself up to the general good of his district, and take an interest in all that can advance the health and the education and the moral wellbeing and the economic improvement of its families, he will soon annihilate, not its poverty it may be, but at least

* See Dr. Miller where above quoted, on the argument that the seven, of whose appointment we read in the 6th chapter of the Acts, were the first deacons of the Christian church ; and then see the 10th verse of that chapter for the competency of deacons to minister and be of use in things spiritual.

its pauperism. The poverty may still exist, but it will be met and mitigated in a far kindlier way than by the ministrations of public charity. The people themselves will at length take it off his hands; and his friendly attentions, in the various ways that we have pointed out, will earn for him such a confidence and ascendancy in the midst of them—that his official dispensations will be well-nigh superseded by their own thrift and good management on the one hand; and, on the other, when unavoidable misfortune has made inroad upon any of the households, by the timely forthgivings of aid and sympathy from that neighbourhood, within which all the bland and beneficent habits of a village economy have been fostered and grown up under his care.

SECTION IV.

NARRATIVE OF EIGHTEEN YEARS' EXPERIENCE IN THE PARISH OF ST. JOHN'S,
GLASGOW.

1. It may be thought that hitherto our arguments have been altogether of a hypothetical character; or that, as yet we have only reasoned on the assumptions of theory, and not on the findings of experience. This is not exactly true. The principles on which we found the anticipations that we have expressed of a certain desirable result, from a certain procedure that we have ventured to recommend, are not so many assumptions, but so many general facts, denominated laws no doubt because of their generality—laws of human nature; but still accredited as facts, and throughout the whole extent too of this generality, by daily and innumerable observations. It is essential to the validity of our inference, that it be true—first, that very generally men will work or save rather than starve; second, that generally relatives will help those of their own kindred rather than see them starve; third, that pretty generally too neighbours, when told of the distress of a family within a few steps of them, will lend a hand to any generous proposal which might be set on foot for relieving them; and fourthly, should all these expedients fail, that many, very many are the gentlemen, especially in or about towns, who would most gladly meet by their handsome donations any urgent or crying necessity which has been brought authentically to

their knowledge. These surely are not assumptions, but general facts, each resting on a basis of manifold experience. When reasoning on the strength of the law of self-preservation, or the law of relative affection, or the law of sympathy between man and man—there may be a flaw in our deductive process, but certainly no flaw in the premises of our argument, which are of the same firm and experimental texture with the basis of all inductive sciences. The senseless outcry of those who repudiate all theory, confounding it with hypothesis, and who profess that they have no value for aught but experience, and will therefore listen to nothing else—just demonstrates that this said experience would be of no use to them even though they had it—for no sooner turned to its legitimate application, than it gets beyond their sight and comprehension altogether—unable as they are to discriminate between the generalities of actually ascertained phenomena, and the generalities of unauthorized speculation. They will keep by experience so long as she confines herself to the office of a collector, but abandon her when she becomes a classifier: and still more, when, rising to the higher functions of a schoolmistress, she gives forth no other utterance than what is prompted by the wisdom of history and the wisdom of observation—will these chance-medley statisticians, whose only delight is in the accumulation not in the right distribution or direction of their stores, prove how incapable they are of profiting by her lessons.

2. Yet there is one demand which all men have a right to insist upon. However firmly our anticipations may rest on certain generalities, and these of the surest and soundest description, as verified by the experience of ages—still what is true in the general must be true in every particular case which is fully and fairly included in it; or, in other words, what is true in the abstract must be true also in the concrete: and, should the opportunity ever come within our reach, we are bound, in confirmation of any doctrine propounded by us in the hearing of all men, to place before their eyes the actual and living exemplification of it. We have had the good fortune to be favoured with such an opportunity. The experiment that we were permitted to make was made in such adverse circumstances, that we have ever regarded it as an *experimentum crucis*; and therefore on its actual and triumphant success do we feel ourselves entitled to found an *argumentum à fortiori*. It was strongly resisted at the outset, vilified and maligned throughout the progress of it, and

still after its fulfilment most grievously misinterpreted and misunderstood. Notwithstanding these discouragements, however, we still persevere in our appeal to it, as being in truth demonstrative of the principle and philosophy of the whole problem—persuaded as we are, that, should the public ever be at leisure to give their close and candid attention to us, we shall obtain a favourable verdict at their hands; and persuaded further, such is our confidence in the uniformity of human nature, that, should all obstructions be cleared away for a repetition of the same experiment, it would, if fairly conducted and carried out, land in the same result all the world over.

3. But it will be right to explain what these obstructions are. They do not lie between the commencement of the experiment after it is fairly set agoing, and the termination of it. They are met with and encountered and have to be overcome previous to its commencement. They do not lie in our way to the final success of the experiment when once set afloat. They lie in the way of a permission to make the experiment at all. The difficulty does not consist in making out to do the thing. The difficulty consists in making it out that we shall be allowed to do the thing. And it lies with the men in place and in power, with the functionaries or the officials of that system which is already established, either to give or to withhold this allowance. Our whole contest was with them, and never with the population—with the quondam managers of the poor, not with the poor themselves. I was successively the minister of two parishes in Glasgow—four years minister of the first, and somewhat more than four years minister of the second. In the former or Tron Church parish, the public aliment given to the poor was made up partly of a fund raised by legal or compulsory assessment, and partly of a fund raised by voluntary collections at the church-doors. In the latter or St. John's Church parish, we stipulated for a separate and independent management of our own collections; and undertook in return, that we should send no more paupers to the fund by assessment—but that we should provide for every new applicant, with no other public aliment at our disposal than the collections alone. We succeeded in extricating the one fund from the other; or rather we succeeded in extricating our own parish from the general system of administration for the poor of the city at large; and our whole struggle or difficulty lay in effecting that extrication. For the accomplishment of this we had to obtain the consent, or prevail over

the resistance of different parties. The newly-formed parish of St. John's was at that time but one of the nine parishes in Glasgow, all whose collections according to the actual system behoved to be thrown into one general fund, and distributed by one body of management for the whole. It was no easy matter to break up this combination or even to detach from it but one of its members. For the accomplishment of this I had to obtain the consent, and what greatly enhances the difficulty, the *corporate* consent of so many and such different parties. I had the good fortune, from a rare conjunction of circumstances, to secure at the outset of my connexion with St. John's parish, the countenance of the magistrates for the time being on our proposed experiment. But, over and above this, I had to deal with an adverse General Session, and an adverse Town Hospital, and if not an adverse Presbytery, what was just as troublesome—some adverse members of it who summoned me to a public defence of my enterprise at the bar of their inferior church judicatory, and then carried the cause by appeal to the General Assembly or supreme ecclesiastical court, where I had also to appear, and from whom, but not till after much and strenuous argumentation, I obtained the privilege of being let alone. We state these things, because we hold it all-important to the principle and philosophy of this question, that the distinction be clearly apprehended between the political and the natural, or to express it otherwise, between the factitious and the inherent difficulties which lie in the solution of it. We repeat that our only contest was with the former, and never with the latter difficulties—and that when, instead of the old managers for the poor, we had but the poor themselves to deal with, all went on smoothly and prosperously. The first warfare with the old established notions on the subject of poverty was far more arduous, than the second warfare with the poverty itself. To proceed and be successful in our actual treatment of the poor, after the matter was once set for us on the footing of things as we felt they ought to be—was a perfect bagatelle in point of lightness and facility, when compared to the severe encounter that we had with the prejudices, even the passions, of those whose fond and rooted partialities were on the footing of things as they are. In one brief sentence, our great, our only struggle in this enterprise was with the patricians, never with the plebeians of the commonwealth. And we urge this consideration with the greater earnestness, because we believe our own experience will prove to be the experience of all who shall

attempt to reform and remodel the pauperism, whether of separate parishes or of the country at large. The great struggle is not with the essential difficulties of the problem itself—but with the prejudices of those from whom we must have permission and a free space ere we can attempt the solution of it—as the heritors and kirk-sessions of rural parishes—or the magistrates and various corporate bodies in towns : or finally, and if our aim be not a local but universal reform, the weighty or well-nigh hopeless achievement must first be carried, of gaining over, at least neutralizing, the constituencies and county meetings of more than half the empire, and this as but a preliminary to the positive sanction and support of more than half the legislature. But we are supposing that a nation is to cast off its abuses in the progress of light and by a pacific series of changes. Whereas the far greater likelihood is, that, in the conflict both of interests and opinions, the evils of our social condition will remain unredressed; and vital disease will every year become more inveterate, till deeply and irremovably seated in the heart of the commonwealth; and the elements of a coming anarchy will at length ripen for the explosion and overthrow of all old institutions, whether sound or faulty; and then on the thus desolated void these may chance to be replaced by new ones—when another Code Napoleon shall, not by argument but power, obtain the unquestioned sway over the destinies of a now passive and sorely chastened population. It may so happen that he who is strongest in battle shall also prove the wisest in legislation, and thus the law of a compulsory provision for indigence might come to be cancelled from the statute-book by the hand of power—when the men of a new age, living in a new era, will be astonished at the perverseness and pertinacity of former days—in the experience they shall then have of the perfect fulness and facility, wherewith the charity of law is replaced by the charity both of principle and nature.*

4. To give a full narrative of our proceedings for the management of the pauperism in the parish of St. John's, we should have to engross in this place the various publications on this subject of some twenty years ago.† But to these we shall merely

* See p. 229 of the *Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*.

† Speech, with notes, before the General Assembly of May 1822 on the subject, to be found at p. 589 of the *Polity of a Nation*, being Vol. X. of the "Select Works;" Statement of Eight years' Experience of the Pauperism of Glasgow; Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1830. These tracts are all contained within the same volume, being Nos. I., II., and III., of the General Appendix on Pauperism.

refer, and with all possible brevity describe anew our process and the results of it.

5. The population of our parish, the most eastern in Glasgow when we first undertook the charge of it in September 1819, was 10,304; and since that time, from the multitude of new houses in the large vacant spaces not yet nearly filled up of that part of the royalty, must have increased to at least somewhere about 14,000. From two decisive criteria, both of them verified by Mr. Cleland—that is, its smallest number of household servants and its smallest proportion of the general assessment, it was and is still the poorest as well as most populous parish in the city. The expenditure on the poor of Glasgow fluctuates of course from year to year, but had at times exceeded £14,000 annually previous to our connexion with St. John's, from which we may conclude what the charges of its pauperism might have amounted to under the general system and with an average style of management.

6. The expense of part of its existing pauperism, as well as the whole expense of whatever new pauperism might afterwards be formed, we undertook to meet and to provide for from the produce of our church-door collections alone. These had during my four years' incumbency in another parish averaged about £400 in the year. With this yearly sum, subject of course to variations whether of increase or diminution, I agreed to meet the applications of every future claimant for parochial relief, beside the immediate outlay of £225 annually on so much of the actual pauperism that had been already formed—this happening at the time to be the sum of all the allowances then made to our sessional poor. There was thus the surrender of £175 a year into my hands on the part of the Town Hospital, the great central institute for the pauperism of all Glasgow, but for which I undertook on certain understood conditions to protect its managers from the influx of all the new pauperism which might arise in our part of the city, or to send them no new cases from the parish of St. John's.

7. These conditions were three. (1.) That in those rarely occurring seasons of depression or distress, which called forth measures of relief for the whole of Glasgow, additional to the common and established methods of supply, such as a general subscription to eke out defective wages or obtain employment for operatives out of work, our parish should participate in the benefit of these—it being deemed enough for deciding the ques-

tion between the systems of legal and spontaneous charity, that we should be left to provide for our own necessities from our own peculiar resources in *ordinary times*; and this was all the more reasonable, that the charity which makes these occasional stretches in periods of scarcity or commercial embarrassment is entirely spontaneous. (2.) That we should be protected from the expense of those paupers who should come in upon us from other parts of the city, taking care that in general Glasgow should be alike protected from the expense of our paupers should they leave us to reside in any of its other parishes. (3.) That when those paupers of St. John's who at the outset of our enterprise received direct supplies from the Town Hospital, should have either died off, or ceased in any other way to be chargeable on that institution, our parish when thus no longer burdensome on the compulsory fund should be exempted from the assessment; or, in other words, should cease contributing to what it ceased to draw from—a most advantageous bargain truly for the administrators of the old system with the poorest parish in the city. None of these conditions were implemented. We ourselves forbore the first of them—for in 1820, under one of the most trying visitations which Glasgow ever experienced, when an immense central soup-kitchen was set up for the whole city, we set up a miniature soup-kitchen for our own people; and if beside this extraordinary supply any of the money raised by general subscription, and that for general distribution, reached any of the families in St. John's—it must have been in a few rare instances which escaped the vigilance of our own deacons, intent as we all were on weathering even this most adverse crisis in our history by independent efforts of our own.* Thus much for our first condition. The second and third were never even by approximation made good to us.

8. But when we speak of conditions, let it not be supposed that we charge any party in this negotiation, with the violation of aught like fixed or express articles of agreement. The three articles now specified were understandings rather than conditions.† The third must at once recommend its own equity to the reader. And it is of great importance that he should attend to the second

* See Statement of Eight Years' Experience in the volume referred to, p. 253.

† See my Letter to the Lord Provost of Glasgow of August 3, 1819, previous to my entrance on St. John's—where it will be observed that there is no express reference to the third condition, the necessity for this being, I felt, superseded by its obvious equity.—In the same volume, p. 652.

—as proving what our apprehension was when we entered on the execution of our task—not that we should drive the poor out of St. John's by the rigour of our administration, but that the poor from other parts of Glasgow would flock into it because of its more genial spirit and character, and so as to make us stand in dread of its inconvenient popularity. We therefore felt the importance of these different precautions, and gave warning of them beforehand, but without insisting on an absolute engagement for their being carried into effect. The truth is, that placed as we were in the midst of jealous adversaries, we were fearful lest the arrangement should be frustrated, did we hold out too strenuously on these preliminary exactions. We were anxious to begin, confident of a prosperous issue; and hopeful, that after the full exhibition of our success—all further opposition to our management would cease, and every facility be granted in order to perpetuate and extend it.

9. For let it well be remarked that our own expectations, so far from being at one, were in utter dissonance and contrariety from the general expectations, whether of the public or of public men in Glasgow. By very many our scheme was viewed with a hostility which proved to be relentless and persevering. And by many more, who looked to it with good-natured complacency, it was regarded as at best an airy perhaps a beautiful idealism—the fond and sanguine speculation of a mere student, whose closet abstractions would never stand ground, when brought into collision on the same tapis with the practical wisdom of practical men. It was tolerated nevertheless by the authorities of the place, but just as any harmless crotchet would be, or piece of innocent Utopianism. And hence it was thought better, that, instead of crushing it by the rude hand of power, it should be suffered to go into gentle dissipation at the touch of time and of experience. And hence it was resolved to give it line, when it would soon make proof of its own Quixotism. We appeal to the still abiding recollection of more than twenty years back—if, mixed with no little derision and disdain, our proposal was not met with an incredulity which was all but universal; and—it is worthy of all observation—not the confident and general anticipation of a failure, but the specific ground on which this coming certainty was looked for. This was that we should soon have to give in for want of funds. We had separated ourselves from the assessment—and it was predicted that no collections however liberal could replace such a privation. The money in fact, the palpable money, with the

direct and obvious arithmetic founded thereupon, was the only element of their computation. And so the only alternative which ever came within their field of contemplation was—either that we should speedily repair anew to the old fountain-head of supply, whence to replenish our exhausted treasury; or, if reduced to make our two ends meet, that this could only be done by such a system of spare and wretched allowances, as would starve out our poor, and force them to take refuge in the other parishes of Glasgow.

10. But it is high time to enter on the description of our process. We divided the parish into twenty-five parts; and, having succeeded in obtaining as many deacons, we assigned one part to each—thus placing under his management towards fifty families, or at an average about four hundred of a gross population. We constructed also a familiar or brief directory which we put into their hands.* It laid down the procedure which should be observed on every application that was made for relief. It was our perfect determination that every applicant of ours should be at least as well off as he would have been in any other parish of Glasgow, *had his circumstances there been as well known*—so that, surrounded though we were by hostile and vigilant observers, no case of scandalous allowance, or still less of scandalous neglect, was ever made out against us. The only distinction between us and our neighbours lay in this—that these circumstances were by us most thoroughly scrutinized, and that with the view of being thoroughly ascertained—and that very generally in the progress of the investigation, we came in sight of opportunities or openings for some one or other of those preventive expedients by which any act of public charity was made all the less necessary, or very often superseded altogether. These expedients must now be quite familiar to the reader. There was no case brought before the deacons as a court, till each deacon to whom it individually belonged had first made sure what each applicant could do for himself, and what his relatives or neighbours were either doing or would do for him; and we certainly at all times held it the better, the more excellent way, when a sufficiency could be made out from the person's own industry, or from the kindness of those about him, than that he should be admitted as a pensioner on the charity of the parish. This was very soon understood by the people themselves to be the system on which we acted. Let me add that each deacon

* Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation, p. 303, Vol. X. of the series.

was perfectly known to the families of his own district, was perfectly accessible to every complaint or tale of necessity; and never, that I knew, blinked or evaded a single application. No doubt, he claimed the privilege of a strict search and entry upon the question of every man's state, who should claim through him relief from the parish fund. But it is possible to conduct an investigation of this sort with all gentleness and civility; and it was this union, I believe, of firmness with kindness, which formed the great secret, both of our popularity and our success.

11. But it has been alleged against us, that, if our success was extraordinary, our means for the accomplishment of it were alike extraordinary—that is, a Sabbath collection which amounted to £600 a year. To obviate this, and demonstrate of our process how imitable it was in other parishes—we suffered the whole of this collection to remain in the hands of the elders, and that in the first instance for defraying the expenses of the old pauperism with which by our bargain with the Town Hospital we had agreed to charge ourselves. The business of the deacons lay exclusively with the new pauperism, it being their part to deal with every application which might be made by any one for the first time to obtain relief from the parish. And the only fund placed at their disposal out of which they could meet these applications—was the produce of a small evening collection, made up of the humble halfpence, gathered at the church-doors from a poor parochial congregation, altogether distinct from the wealthier congregation which assembled through the day from all parts of the town. This little collection fell short of £100 a year; and from it alone the deacons were expected to provide, for a time at least, for all the new applicants whom it should be found necessary to admit on the charity of the parish. It will at once be seen that the essence of the problem lay in the treatment of these new cases; and that if they could be met from our evening collection, then might they have been met in other parishes from the produce of their day collections, in all instances superior to the one wherewith our deacons were intrusted. We must confess that we had another reason for restricting our deacons at the first to the use of these evening collections alone. We were fearful of a laxer and less careful management even from them, had the whole collection been placed at their disposal. It was never on the abundance of our means, but solely on the vigour and care of our management, that we counted for a prosperous issue to our experiment; and we did apprehend that

with a large sum in their hands, they would not have been so strenuous in their inquiries, or gone so busily in quest of other and previous expedients for the relief of the cases before them, as when actuated by the stimulating consideration of the little they had to bestow. As it was, they did their part admirably, and in a way that riveted all my former convictions on the subject—superadding the verification of a particular example to the assurance, not of a previous theory, but of a previous general experience on the laws and tendencies of human nature.

12. The reason will now be seen why we have denominated that process by which a parish finds its way back from the compulsory system to the old gratuitous economy for the relief of its poor—why we have termed it a retracing process. For the work even of most salutary reforms, we have no liking for a movement that is at all violent or desultory. We have the greatest admiration for what, in physics, Leibnitz has termed the law of continuity; a law which it were well to respect in the accomplishment of political or economic changes. It was not by an act of dismissal, even though warranted by a fair scrutiny, that we sought to get rid of the old pauperism. We cared not though in every case, he who had been already admitted upon its roll should be seen to his grave in the full sufficiency of his present allowances. It was obvious that in the course of nature, or by the operation of death on the pauperism that had been formed under the compulsory system, we should be soon freed from it; nor had we any wish to be freed from it sooner. It was quite enough that while at the one end the old pauperism was melting gradually away, the whole success of the experiment hinged on the rate at which the new pauperism was admitted at the other end—a rate, we affirm, which might be lessened indefinitely, and that without the harsh or unfeeling rejection of any applicant, but with the bestowal of a most kind and patient and considerate attention on all his circumstances; and finally, in far the greater majority of instances, a better disposal of him than that of finding or forcing a way for him to the charity of the parish. It was our confident anticipation that by the time the old pauperism had died out, the collection at the church-doors would be found an ample landing-place for all the new pauperism that should meanwhile have been formed—a transition this, we confess, of that progressive character which one feels or gropes his way to as if by a tentative or experimental process, that is vastly more to our taste, than

any large or sudden innovation effected at once and *per saltum* on an actual system of things. This we are sensible does not suit an age that is impatient of slow processes, it being alike distasteful indeed to two very different classes of society—those who, averse to all change, would resolutely keep by things as they are; and those who, bent on things as they should be, must have them now or never. In action they would be anarchists, in speculation they are Utopians.*

13. But let us resume our narrative. There was an inconvenient yet very natural reaction to which we were exposed at the very outset of this our undertaking. It was known among the people, that ours was to be some new and peculiar method for the management of our poor. With many, a better management was construed into a more liberal distribution. This, in the first instance, had all the effect which we have been in the habit of ascribing to the known existence of a compulsory provision—the effect of a disturbing force upon the families, and so subjected us to an excess of applications, which had each to be disposed of according to the principles of our system, but which speedily subsided when the system came to be understood. Ours was a strict, though in every case a friendly investigation—the object of which was to ascertain all the previous means and resources of which we should avail ourselves, ere we drew on the public charity at all. All who were conscious of possessing such means simply ceased to apply; and the number of applications fell in a month or two to about one-fifth of the number made under the old system. Such was one of the earliest fruits of our greater painstaking at the first—that it obtained for us in all time coming, greater liberty and leisure for a thorough inquiry into the merits of every future application.

14. The result at the end of the first four years greatly exceeded even our own anticipations. In a parish of at that time about ten thousand people, rapidly on the increase and the poorest in Glasgow, there was only formed during the whole of that period a new pauperism the cost of which amounted to the annual sum of £66, 6s. Deduct certain cases of immorality which ought not to be provided for in this way, and the cases of lunacy or other institutional disease which ought to be provided for at the public expense; and the whole of our yearly charge for general indigence amounted to £32. The number of paupers which had been taken on was thirteen.

* Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation, p. 374.

15. Such a result might well be as astonishing as if no paupers had been taken on at all. And indeed it would have required but a small effort to have drawn a little more largely on our previous expedients, and so as to have prevented even these thirteen from coming on the roll. The management of our deacons, however admirable, when looked to collectively and in the gross, cannot be imagined to have been out and out so absolutely perfect and faultless, that no one instance of relaxation can be alleged against it. I recollect when one of their number quitted his office for the higher degree of the eldership. There was an aged female in his district of great Christian worth, and who, beside being a great favourite among her neighbours, had a number of visitors from a distance. Thus surrounded, there was the moral certainty of her being well looked after; and therefore though we would not resist, could not sympathize with the proposal of her being admitted as one of our pensioners. An allowance of 5s. a month was granted to her, which accounts for at least £3 of the £32 that formed our whole annual expenditure. My only hope is, that it might have been unknown to neighbours and acquaintances—else there were the hazard of its being followed up by the abandonment of a sympathy on their part prolific of a far larger relief and sustenance to this aged worthy, than the pompous yet after all paltry allowance of our parochial court.*

16. But more than the half remains to be told—and that is, beside the smallness of the expenditure, the perfect facility of the management. On this latter subject too there is a deep, I had almost said, a hopeless misunderstanding, and which after the weary reiteration of twenty years, I still find to be well-nigh incurable. One would have thought, that, could anything have opened the eyes of the public to the lightness of the task which they had taken in hand, it should have been the recorded testimony of the deacons themselves. On leaving St. John's, I sent a circular amongst them bearing a few queries, the object of which was to ascertain the exact amount of time and labour which they had expended on their respective undertakings, and that had been brought to so triumphant an issue. Their replies have been before the world more than seventeen years; and though I say it, I am aware of nothing more valuable in the

* See examples of our parochial management in St. John's, in the Notes to our Speech on Pauperism, delivered before the General Assembly of 1821, to be found at pp. 606-608 of the "Polity of a Nation."

annals of pauperism—nothing which comes nearer to the very essence and philosophy of the question, than the simple unvarnished statements of these eminently practical men, who had been engaged at close quarters with the subject for so many years—each in charge of a district with from three to four hundred people, and altogether of a parish that latterly grew in population to about twelve thousand. If theirs be not experience, I have yet to learn what is meant by the term : nor would I know to what quarter I should turn in quest of the place where truth is to be found. Theirs is experience, and what alone is deserving of the name—experience charged with principle—truth at first hand.

17. There may have been some initial labour at the commencement of each deaconship, in making surveys and first visits for the purpose of obtaining an acquaintance both with the state of the families, and with the families themselves ; and we hope also many genial visits paid in friendly intercourse, and with a view both to the economic and educational good of the districts. What I wanted to know was the time currently spent in the affairs of pauperism alone ; and I now know, on striking an average of all the replies, that it certainly did not exceed three hours a month.*

18. Such is the fact—a most important one truly—for after the first objection to our scheme had been dissipated, that it required means which no ordinary church collection could supply, a second in full confidence and force was ready to take its place, that it required a management which no man in ordinary business could possibly have time for. It was as indispensable to meet this latter difficulty as to meet the former, for the purpose of making out the perfect imitableness of our system in all other parishes. But the extreme facility of this management looks a thing so marvellous as to demand an explanation—an explanation we have so often given, that an utter weariness comes upon our spirits when required from us anew. To be satisfied with, or even perhaps to understand it, one must have seized on the principle whereon the success of our undertaking hinges. It was not we in fact who executed or resolved the problem. The people did it for us. At the very time that we were complimented on the exceeding skill and strenuousness of our administration, we were lying on our oars and doing nothing—we mean nothing in the matter of pauperism, and for this good reason,

* See the replies of my deacons in the *Polity of a Nation*, pp. 622-625.

that nothing or next to nothing was required of us. The result did not come forth of the administrative energies of our system—for, excepting in first cases or first applications, such energy was seldom or never afterwards required of any of our deacons. It came from the reflex influence of our system on the families themselves. They knew that each proposal of theirs for relief would be met on our part by a strict investigation of all their resources, whether these lay in their own capabilities or in the help of others; and all who were conscious of such resources forbore to apply. The knowledge of a compulsory provision operated as a disturbing force both on the self-care and on the sympathies of Nature. Remove that provision; and these principles were restored to their proper force or original play. The body politic of our parish was put into a better condition, and all its evolutions went on more prosperously than before—not by any skilful mechanism of ours, but by the spontaneous working of Nature's previous and better mechanism.*

19. But let it not be imagined that though our deacons had little left for them to do in the matter of pauperism, they therefore did little for the good of the parish or the wellbeing of its inhabitants. It is not conceivable of any well-principled man, whose heart was in its right place, that he should take the charge of a district, and yet take no interest in the state of its families. It were of the utmost moral importance to every cluster of our plebeian households, that we attached to each the visits and the acquaintanceship of a functionary—even though he should stand in no other relationship to its inmates than that of their general wellwisher and friend. We cannot doubt that by the influence of these men, much was done for the people—that in virtue of their surveillance, our sewing and Sabbath and week-day schools were all better attended—that their frequent presence told on the comfort and cleanliness and whole interior economy of the houses—and that altogether there was a certain elevation of tone and habit in the little communities over which they severally expatiated. We have the most perfect assurance of such an arrangement, simple as it was, that it issued in the goodly result of a blander and better and more humanized population; and that, wholly apart from the distribution of money, there was not only a greater contentment, and not only a greater felt but a greater actual sufficiency than before. By the converse of our deacons, they were not only cheered in the

* Polity of a Nation, p. 667.

midst of their difficulties, but occasionally without question were helped out of them—far more however by advice than pecuniary aid, better taught how to husband their own resources and make their own hands minister to their own necessities. Over and above the wholesome processes that we have so often described of relative and internal charity among themselves, though not certainly originated by our deacons, would at the least not be slackened or suspended—when calling forth, as they invariably would, the homage of their grateful acknowledgments, the encouragement of their approving testimony.

20. But this general statement will not suffice against the oft-repeated charge, that we starved our poor and so drove them out of the parish. Had we counted on this expedient for getting rid of our pauperism, we should never have solicited a law of mutual protection between ourselves and the other parishes of Glasgow. But our still more decisive reply is, that a register was kept both of the paupers who left, and the paupers who flowed in upon us; and that our imports exceeded our exports—thereby exposing us to the charge, not merely of the poor admitted to parochial charity by ourselves, but of the whole surplus poor that were so admitted under the laxer administration that obtained in the rest of the city. In March 1823, or three years and a half after the commencement of our system, fifteen of our own paupers had left and twenty-nine of the other Glasgow paupers had come to reside in our parish, the maintenance of whom fell under the charge of our deacons. In 1837, the whole efflux amounted to twenty-nine, the influx to sixty-one. The truth is, that our system, parsimonious as it was in the distribution of parish money, was exceedingly popular; and to those who have any understanding of human nature this fact will not be inexplicable. We have only to think of the charm which lies in personal attention, and in the intercourse that we hold with the too often neglected poor, who after all stand much oftener in need of advice than they do of alms; and who, though they received less from us than in other parishes, received a great deal more, and especially if we include their own better management of their own affairs, from the other sources that we had opened up for them. We had no doubt greatly fewer applicants; but though less money was given, more trouble was taken with each of them; and we either ascertained their circumstances to be such, or placed them in such circumstances—that had they been anywhere else in Glasgow, and as well known as

we knew them, no further care or cognizance of their state would have been deemed necessary. But in some shape or other we never ceased that cognizance or care; and hence, though pauperism was the least of our concerns, there was altogether a blandness in the atmosphere of St. John's, which made it the best liked, and most genial of any to the feeling of our general population.

21. But these resolute adversaries of ours are not yet fully or finally disposed of—for, bent on finding some vulnerable place, if they do not succeed at one part, they in quest of an opening will go round to another. And accordingly they have made discovery that our deacons were all men of unbounded wealth, the gentlemen of our day's congregation—who scattered liberally of their means among the people, and practised a sort of juggle on the public eye, by causing the same amount of money which must otherwise have come to the poor out of the church-door plates, by causing it come out of their own pockets. This looks a very direct and literal explanation of the thing—an explanation quite in keeping with the plain arithmetical understandings of those who offer it, as also with the mental calibre of those whom it satisfies. And if called to the bar of account, and there to confess the liberality of our deacons as if it were a crime, there were times and occasions, we fear, on which it could be brought home—so that, unable to prove either an alias or an alibi, we must plead guilty. They were men of various fortune—some of them in respectable business, and others having little or nothing to spare. It was a most improving experience to observe how they severally sped in their respective districts. There was one very poor outskirt of the parish, between Marlborough and Abercromby Streets, placed under the care of a merchant's clerk, and whose house was on the very margin of his deanery. There was another from Hill Street and eastward, whose deacon was journeyman to a house-wright; and we can vouch of both these localities, that, with greatly more than the average natural poverty, there was almost no pauperism—and this, not most certainly from the personal outgivings of our office-bearers, but altogether from the wholesome effect of our system on the people themselves. In contrast with these, we cannot place the imprudence of our wealthier deacons, who were too well inoculated in the principles of our management to do mischief by a profuse and indiscriminate liberality. But we can state our recollections of two elders, themselves in prosperous circumstances, and who

stood signalized amongst us, by a somewhat generous and free, but withal not very discriminating charity. The effect of this, especially in one of the districts, was quite notorious.* Some of its people, thrown restless and agog by the facility and open-handedness of the elder, flowed over upon the deacon, and gave us more trouble than half the parish besides—making it quite palpable to us all, that it was in management not in money that the great strength of our system lay—or more even than in management, that the success of our peculiar economy was mainly owing to its natural but withal most beneficial reaction on the general habit of the families.

22. At the same time ours was anything but a system of neglect. Our deacons did not shut their doors against the poor; and, even though it should be absurdly triumphed over as if it were the detection of a fallacy, we most willingly admit it as our hope and our persuasion, that they did not shut their hearts against them. They were men of principle; and it would neither have consisted with their nature nor with their Christianity, to have treated as so many nullities the virtues of that gospel which tells us to open our bowels of compassion when the needy stand before us, and that we should be willing to distribute and ready to communicate. Were we asked to define their peculiar vocation, we should say that it was to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving poor; and while the latter were kept at bay, or shamed out of their importunities, the former we have no doubt were peculiarly cared for. It was certainly quite to be looked for that their own private charities would take a direction towards the poor of their own district, with whom they were most in contact, and whom they visited frequently. But that their charities were in the least romantic or oppressive I most positively deny; and it remains therefore a great discovery, open at all times to the verification of those who choose to make the trial—that a single philanthropist may undertake

* One of these elders let me know that he spent £40 a year on the population of his district—no great expenditure after all among a population of four or five hundred, and sufficiently evincing that under a judicious system of management a very little money might go an immense way in satisfying the fair demands of all the families. The other elder alarmed me by his favourite scheme of a Sabbath-school clothing society for the whole parish. From this I succeeded in dissuading him, and had the comfort in a few months of preaching to 1200 parochial children all most respectably attired by their own parents or natural superiors. See a specimen of the effect, when, instead of luring them to education by the bribery of our gifts, we directly interest both parents and children in the object itself.—*Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*, p. 57.

the office of counsellor and friend to some hundreds of any contiguous population, however poor; and, without any inconvenient sacrifice either of time or money, may put them, and that chiefly out of their own capabilities, into a far better economic state, than any legal or compulsory system of relief ever has, and we shall add, ever can do.*

23. That our success was the result, not of liberality from without, but mainly of the home capabilities now more largely drawn upon, when the compulsory provision ceased to be an object of dependence or desire, is palpable from this—that in those districts the experiment prospered as much, we think more so, where the deacons had the least to give out of their own resources. And we certainly are not aware of a dozen instances in which the benevolence of the wealthy beyond the parish was called to interpose on behalf of any of our families.

24. The general anticipation of our adversaries, that our means would be speedily exhausted, and we should soon have to give

* The following is a letter from Mr. Wm. Buchanan, Treasurer of the Deacons' Fund, and himself one of the Deacons:—

“GLASGOW, 7th January 1841.

“REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I received your much esteemed letter of the 2d on Tuesday, and in answer to what you mention is said (and I have often heard it said), that the St. John's experiment succeeded through the immense private expenditure of the Deacons on the poor, I have just to repeat, what I am sure I have stated a hundred times, that the private relief afforded to the poor in the Parish has been *immensely* overrated; for, in truth, had all thegivings of a private kind, by all the deacons, been added together at the end of any year, the amount would have been found to be a very trifle. Many of the cases that received this aid were strangers, who had no claim upon Glasgow, or parties who had no liking to accept of *public charity*, but to whom a shilling or two now and then afforded a little temporary aid.

“We have all a little private charity to give; and surely there is no way in which it can be better bestowed, than upon those with whose wants and habits we are well acquainted.

“Had the Deacons of St. John's opened their purses and been so liberal as the opponents of our system say they were, then I consider that they would have been doing the system a very great injury, and the people no permanent good—as our great aim was to encourage the people in industrious habits, and to get their children taught to read the word of God; and if ever the poor of our land are provided for as they ought, it is to be through a system such as was so triumphantly carried on in St. John's for nineteen years.

“I cannot help adding, that notwithstanding all the plans at present in operation for the support of the poor generally, as retreats for the neglected are just so many allurements to vice and idleness, if a system of sound scriptural education and pastoral superintendence is not adopted throughout the parishes of our land, it requires no great foresight to perceive that the day will come when our Jails, Bridewells, and Houses of Refuge, will all require to be enlarged and their number increased. A friend of ours has a short but truly pithy and sound saying, ‘The People will cost us either for education or jails.’

“I hope you will excuse these brief statements. I am not given to amplify, nor can I, but to state matters of fact and truth.—Yours most sincerely,

WM. BUCHANAN.”

in, not only failed of accomplishment, but was strikingly reversed. We did feel embarrassment, but from a cause the opposite of that which our enemies were counting on—not from the deficiency of our supplies, but in truth from the redundance of them. The produce of the evening collection was in the hands of the deacons fully equal to the new pauperism,—while the day collection, more than equal to the old sessional pauperism, left an accumulating surplus of which I confess that I stood in dread, lest the superabundance of our means should tempt to a relaxation of our management. On this account I all the more readily consented to the proposal, that we should go beyond the original tenor of our bargain with the Town Hospital, and relieve that institution immediately of all the old cases from St. John's that were still upon their funds, so as in about two years to rid our parish altogether of its compulsory pauperism. The fact of such a redundancy in our means as enabled us to give the Town Hospital a large yearly allowance—the very opposite of their own prediction, that such would be the deficiency as should speedily force us to draw from that institution—might well have opened the eyes of our adversaries to the truth, that in something else than the arithmetical element of money did the secret of our strength lie.

25. After upwards of four years' connexion with the parish of St. John's, I left Glasgow in November 1823, and it was well I did. By this time the enemies of our system had changed their argument. Baffled in their first anticipation that our means would fall short of the achievement, they had recourse to a hypothesis by which to cover the mortification of a defeated prophecy, uttered with all confidence a few years before, but which had been most signally reversed. They could no longer withstand the palpable fact, that, instead of coming for aid to the Town Hospital, we had gone beyond our first contract and relieved them of all our poor; beside lodging from the produce of our day's collection the sum of £500 with the city corporation for a perpetual salary to a schoolmaster, and expending from the same source upwards of £100 a year for the cheaper scholarship of our families. And the argument that we starved and drove out our poor on the other parishes could no longer serve them, seeing that our imports were far more numerous than our exports. Neither could the argument of our large collection, seeing that our new pauperism was all met from the scanty offerings of our evening or plebeian congregation. But, resolute in their hosti-

lity, they had recourse to another and desperate fetch, and of which the adversaries to our method still avail themselves. Determined at all hazards to get rid of the system, yet driven from one plea and position to another, they at length fell on a very original way of fastening discredit upon it; and that was under the guise of a compliment to its author. At the outset of our enterprise nothing was heard of but the utter folly and weakness of the project; and when it did succeed, they managed to keep up its discredit by ascribing the whole success to the marvellous and preternatural strength of the projector. And so the conclusion was that it would not do in ordinary hands. The fact of our having fully and absolutely accomplished all, and more than all, that we undertook to do, they could not disguise from themselves; and this was the way in which they disposed of it—not by an express, at least by a tacit reference in their imagination, to a sort of wizard power which they were pleased to ascribe to the great Katterfelto or wonder-worker that had come amongst them from the east. And so the whole effect on their minds was a kind of gaping astonishment, the same that any feat of magic or necromancy has on a multitude of spectators—without one ray of light to penetrate their understandings; or enable them to discern what that was which really effectuated the result, or wherein it was that the success of our operation lay. There was obviously no method by which to disabuse them of this strange impression, but by turning my back on the whole concern; and thus testing the inherent soundness and efficacy of the system itself by leaving it in other hands. Resolved as they were to account for it in no other way, than by the supposition of some dexterous juggle or legerdemain on my part, nay, in several instances I was told, by the allegation of a colossal or gigantic superiority over all other men—the only way in which I could dissipate the illusion, was by the disseveration of myself from Glasgow and all its controversies: and in the hope that I might be succeeded by some plain gospel minister, I did flatter myself that the truth would at length break in upon them, when they came to see of our parochial economy that it would stand its ground—even with every-day instruments operating on every-day materials.

26. I accordingly left the parish in November 1823, and had there been any flaw or failure in our scheme it would soon have bewrayed itself*—for never, we venture to say, without a prin-

* See *Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*, pp 628-631.

ciple of native vigour and vitality in itself, could it have survived for a single year the amount of rough handling to which it was exposed. There was first a lengthened vacancy of near a twelvemonth, during which the deacons had it all to themselves—then the brief incumbency of my first successor—then another vacancy also of unusual duration—then a second successor of whom it may emphatically be said, that, in the apostolic spirit of the first founders of Christianity, who gave themselves wholly to the ministry of the word and to prayer, he left the secular ministration exclusively to its own proper office-bearers. Beside all this, there was a rapidly increasing population, the persevering discountenance if not hostility of almost all public men and public bodies to our enterprise, a most unprosperous chapel which ought to have been an auxiliary but proved a burden upon the cause; and last, but most overwhelming of all, the entire neglect and non-performance of the condition which we announced from the first as indispensable to our success—there having been no exemption of our parish from an assessment to which it contributed its full proportion as before, and without for years drawing from it a single farthing for any of its families. Never was any mechanism of human contrivance more severely tried, or brought more closely to the touchstone; and yet, in the midst of all these discouragements, let us hear the testimonies of my two successors—the first, Dr. M'Farlane, now of Greenock,—the second, Dr. Brown, still the venerable minister of St. John's in Glasgow.*

27. When examined before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1830, I detailed the whole of these proceedings; and the state of the parish at that time, or seven years after I had left it. I even then spoke of it no longer as an experiment, but as an experience—regarding the trial as completed, and the lesson to be drawn from it as fully and conclusively given. The experiment in fact was as good as repeated and with perfect success three times over—for so shortlived is a generation of Scottish pauperism, from averagely speaking the more advanced age of entry than in England, that I would scarcely rate it at so much as four years. Now the system had been in operation about eleven years; and with every promise of stability so far as the fitness and power of its own mechanism were concerned, if the agents would only keep by their posts, and continue to work it

* See Nos. 130 and 134 of my Evidence before the Commons' Committee, in the Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation, pp. 668, 669, being Vol. X. of the series.

as heretofore. But of this I felt and confessed my apprehensions, and in the evidence which I then gave I told my examiners, that I could not look for the perseverance of my deacons under the discountenance and apathy of a public who seemed wholly insensible to the value of their services.* It is true I stood in need of no further trial to satisfy myself; and, after what I had seen of the obstinate incredulity, or rather utter listlessness of the official men in Glasgow, I had given up all hope of ever opening their eyes. Still, of the two alternatives, I felt it better that they should keep together in the face of every discouragement, and I will add of every provocation, rather than that they should suffer the parish to merge again into that system of the surrounding parishes from which they had so nobly reclaimed it. But though I wished this of them, I could not ask it of them; but left the matter to proceed as it might seem good unto themselves. It was therefore all the more grateful to me, that, after having served eleven thankless years from the time I left them to 1830, when I stood the examination of a Parliamentary Committee, they added other seven years of service as thankless as the former. It was during this last period that they were visited by Mr. Tuffnell, one of the Assistant Poor-law Commissioners from England, in 1833. In his Report he tells both of the completeness of our experiment, and the flagrant injustice under which it was suffering. Of the experiment I had no fear. That I felt to be already settled, and settled it has been four times over. My fear was not for the experiment, but for the experimentalists. I certainly should not have made the attempt, could I have anticipated such a relentless hostility and prejudice, or if not this, such downright obtuseness and perversity of intellect among the spectators of its success—and if I would not have begun the enterprise had I thus anticipated, how could I expect that my deacons would persevere in it after it was thus realized? I was disappointed, and make open avowal of it—not in the result of the experiment itself, which was all I could have wished, but in its utter powerlessness of effect on the minds of the public functionaries in Glasgow—men who denounced it as theory at the first, and who, after it had become experience, would not receive, would not even read the lesson which had been so palpably set before their eyes. Our readers will again be reminded of the distinction already made, between the natural and the political difficulties of our problem. The former have all been conquered.

* See the last paragraph of Nos. 13' and 150 of my Evidence.

The latter have stood the assault, alike impregnable to facts and to reasonings, and so abide as stoutly invincible as before. This has long awakened my bitterest regret; but it cannot shake my confidence. Even one decisive experiment in chemistry will establish a principle, that shall remain an enduring certainty in science—even though an edict of power, in the spirit of that blind and haughty Pontiff who denounced the Copernican system, should forbid the repetition of it. My experiment has been made and given forth its indelible lesson, although my experimentalists have been disheartened and scared away. This no more invalidates the great truth which they have exemplified so well than a mandate of intolerance can repeal a law of physical nature, or change the economy of the universe.

28. But we must explain what it was that laid our parochial economy under so heavy a discouragement, and which at once calls forth my gratitude and my wonder that the deacons of St. John's should have kept together so long in the support of it. First then, all the while that they were employed, and with such great and signal success, in keeping down the pauperism of their own parish, they lay open to the importation of all the pauperism that was manufactured so readily and abundantly in the other parishes of Glasgow. It is true that in virtue of this intercommunion, they might have been relieved of somewhat of their own pauperism; and so they were, but how stood the balance between these two processes? The whole number of imports during the management of our deacons amounted to sixty-one, the whole number of exports only to twenty-nine—leaving an excess of thirty-two to be supported by our funds, though not admitted into the roll under our examination. This was a grievous exposure, to be thus saddled *ab extra* with an expense not of our own bringing on, and for which we were not in the least responsible—a disadvantage this that we never could get rid of, and which indeed, in their conversation with the proper functionaries of the place previous to the resignation of their peculiar charge, our people were told was impossible. But there was the evil of a far greater injustice than this, and from which all redress was in like manner denied to them. Nothing could be more obviously equitable than that a poor parish, the poorest in Glasgow, which had thus struggled its way to its own emancipation from pauperism, and had not for sixteen years drawn a single farthing from the compulsory fund, should itself have been exempted from any further contributions to it. But no. During the whole of

that period it cost the Town Hospital nothing—yet during the whole of that period continued to pay the Town Hospital as before, maintaining their own poor, yet subject to all their wonted exactions for the general maintenance of the poor in Glasgow. Just figure the encouragement to imitation in other parishes—had we earned as the fruit of our achievement, an immunity from the assessment for all who were connected either by residence or property with St. John's; and how it would have animated afresh our deacons, had they thus become the guides and examples of a process, by which to liberate not only Glasgow, but the other towns and assessed parishes of Scotland, from that incubus which they had so conclusively and fully shaken off from their own territory. But instead of this, not one voice, save that of an impartial stranger* from a distance, was lifted up in the acknowledgment of their great service—nor one helping hand to move aside the obstructions, for relief from which our men of local authority at home, but also of local partiality and prejudice, were solicited in vain. We never could anticipate of our deacons, that they would stand out for ever, under the burden of that heavy discountenance which lay upon them. Nor could aught else be looked for but at length an inert and spiritless ministration, on the part of men who were fairly wearied out, and could no longer be expected to maintain the vigilance and strict guardianship of other years, after all hope of a general reformation was extinguished, and no other purpose was now to be served than that of upholding a mere spectacle—a thing not to be copied, but only to be stared at—an oasis in the desert, which men could point to as a sort of marvel or mystery, but would not take a single lesson from—an object to wonder at, but not to be taught by. And accordingly, in 1837, or eighteen years after the commencement of our enterprise, it was at length desisted from—not by an infirmity of the process itself in virtue of which the experiment failed; but, which is truly a different thing, by a voluntary determination on the part of the operators in virtue of which the experiment was given up.

29. We certainly did calculate, that on the event of its success we should have had many imitators; and that thus the old system, with all its disturbing and contagious influences, might have been speedily cleared away from the neighbourhood of our experiment. Had the infection of all the contiguous territory

* Mr. Tuffnell, an extract from whose Report will be found at the end of the *Christian and Economic Polity*, being Vol. X. of the series.

been removed, we should have had still less of importunity than we had actually to combat; and much less vigilance in the treatment of particular cases would have been called for. Our task was obviously all the more difficult, that it had to be performed in the midst of an assessed instead of an unassessed region. This difficulty we did expect to be relieved from, after that we had completed the exemplification of our own peculiar method, and its practical soundness had come to be recognised and acted on by followers around us. It was not in possibility, or in nature, but that our deacons should lose heart—when they found that a general reform, the great object which at first set the enterprise agoing, and for which alone it was felt worth while to persevere, was every day becoming more hopeless and unlikely. And let it be observed, that a very slight relaxation, a more listless and perfunctory management on the part of a very few—of four, five, or six out of the twenty-five—would of itself suffice to upset the whole system—not, to be sure, when a compulsory provision is done away from the country at large—but when it is still at hand, and open to be resorted to as before. I cannot therefore but repeat the expression of my astonishment that the deacons, notwithstanding their many discouragements, resisted this temptation so long; and that, holding out for the long period of eighteen years, they have stamped a verification on the system of gratuitous charity, which all the skill and sophistry of its opponents will never do away.

30. And that the verification was complete, let us take for evidence the final pecuniary account of the whole undertaking.

ABSTRACT of the Treasurer's Account of Receipts and Disbursements of the Funds of St. John's Parish, Glasgow, as applicable to the Maintenance of the poor, Educational Purposes, &c., from 26th Sept. 1819, till 30th Sept. 1837.

RECEIPTS.

Collections at Church and Chapel Doors,.....	£7,350	18	10
Do. at Church Doors from Evening Congregation,...	401	12	6½
Seat Rents from Evening Congregation,	469	8	4
Legacies and Donations,.....	241	6	11½
Town's Hospital, for the support of Poor found in the Hospital in September 1819,	461	17	10
Collections for Religious and Charitable Purposes, not Parochial,.....	1,994	11	4½
Interest on Bank-Account, and from City of Glasgow,.....	357	2	1½

Carry forward, £11,276 18 0

	Brought forward,	£11,276	18	0
Rent of Mortcloth,		60	9	9
General Session Fund for Education,		389	6	6
Collections for St. John's Chapel Funds,		400	7	0
Do. for St. John's Parochial Schools,		632	1	9
Stirling Session on Account of a Lunatic Pauper,		251	10	1
Lockhart's Mortification for Sabbath Schools,		40	12	0
Collection for forming New Road through College Ground,...		10	0	0
Share of Dr. Bell's Legacy,		39	0	0
Collections for Sabbath Evening Schools,		77	12	8½
Pensioners, Allowance to their Families,		287	5	10
Balance due to the Treasurer,		229	8	0½
		<hr/> £13,694		
		11 8		

DISBURSEMENTS.

Paupers, Lunatics, Orphans, Foundlings, Coffins, &c.,.....	£6,551	17	7½
Religious and Charitable Purposes, not Parochial,	1,994	11	4½
Cost of Mortcloth,	82	8	6
Precentor and Beadle for Evening Congregation, Door-keepers, Lighting, &c,	634	11	3½
Soup-Kitchen and Coals for Poor,	44	1	3
Prizes for Parochial Schools, Stationery, &c.,	183	10	1
Salary to the Rev. Mr. Irving as Assistant,.....	400	0	0
Sacramental Elements for St. John's Chapel and Evening Congregation,	245	4	4
Teachers' Salaries, Education of Poor, Insurance, and Repairs on Schools,	1,902	19	10
Lent to City of Glasgow for Endowment of one Parochial School,	500	0	0
St. John's Chapel Funds,	401	10	0½
Support of a Stirling Lunatic Pauper,	263	5	1
Sabbath Evening Schools from Lockhart's Mortification, ...	40	12	0
Making New Road through College Ground,	10	0	0
Interest,	10	15	6½
Alterations on School for Dr. Bell's System,	68	17	2
St. John's Sabbath Evening Schools,	77	12	8½
Families of Pensioners from Allowance,	282	14	10
	£13,694	11	8

31. Looking to the respective items, and confining ourselves to those which have strictly to do with parochial pauperism, we find that the collections of 18 years (day and evening) amounted to £7752, 11s. 4½d.; and that the expenditure for the same period on paupers, lunatics, orphans, foundlings, coffins, &c., (along with soup kitchen and coals for the poor) amounted to £6595, 18s. 10½d.—leaving therefore a balance in favour of our experiment, and an arithmetical proof of its efficacy, amounting to £1156, 12s. 6d. Whence then came the total deficiency of

£229, 8s. 0½d.? From the excess of our expenditure for religious or educational objects above our income for these—having in fact given out nearly £1400 more on purposes of Christian philanthropy, distinct from pauperism, than was collected or received for these objects. The success was complete, if you restrict the attention to the affairs of pauperism alone—the income for this exceeding the expenditure for this by £1156, 12s. 6d. And had we not exceeded our original proposal, and undertaken, some time after the system was begun, the support of the old St. John's poor still lying on the funds of the Town Hospital—this expenditure, it appears from the account, would have been less on the whole by £461, 17s. 10d.,—so that the income of St. John's from collections alone, and that for 18 years, exceeded the expenditure on its *new pauperism* for the same period by £1618, 10s. 4d. True, its whole expenditure went beyond its whole income by £229, 8s. 0½d.,—but this, as we have already seen, was because of its outlays for education and other purposes distinct from the relief of poverty. Taking an average of all the years, its annual income for the poor was £430, 13s. 11½d.,—its annual expenditure £366, 8s. 9½d.

32. But on a further analysis it will be found, that our expense for *general indigence* was considerably less than we have yet stated it. The whole charge for lunatics ought to be deducted, amounting to £351, 1s. 4d.; and also the enormous outlay for foundlings, illegitimates, and the families of runaway parents, amounting to £702, 6s. 9½d. The former ought on every right principle to be supported in proper institutions, by a legal provision if necessary; and the latter, however otherwise disposed of, ought not to be supported or countenanced by an ecclesiastical charity. The two together amount to £1053, 8s. 1½d., and this sum deducted from £6595, 18s. 10½d. formerly given as for the relief of our poor, leaves as the precise sum expended for general indigence, £5542, 10s. 9d. But the income for the poor amounted to £7752, 11s. 4½d., leaving therefore a balance in favour of the experiment, had we dealt with general indigence alone, of £2210, 0s. 7½d. To which if we add the £461, 17s. 10d. expended on old pauperism, we shall find that the excess of our church-door collections over the amount of our expenditure on the new pauperism of all the general indigence that had been taken on for eighteen years, came exactly to the sum of £2671, 18s. 5½d. The adequacy of the means to the enterprise is thus fully made out; and though such an experience of the capabilities

of our system might well have encouraged the perseverance of its supporters—yet that, in the midst of universal apathy and neglect, they should have at length given up their thankless services, we do not wonder and most certainly cannot blame them.

33. I not only have no fault to find with my old friends of St. John's; but can scarcely even regret the determination they came to. Certain it is, if the perseverance of eighteen years had no effect on the municipalists of Glasgow, they would have remained as heedless and as insensible at this hour, though the system had been still in as full and vigorous operation as before. During the long period of its continuance, the lesson given forth was never looked at, never listened to—the main reason why our deacons gave up repeating it any longer; for sure it is, that though to this moment presented as visibly and sounded forth as audibly, it would have been as little looked, as little listened to as ever. And yet in the face of this consideration, even the most sincere friends of our system will profess to mourn over its abandonment as an event injurious to the cause. We feel it very hard, that if the spectacle of its full and decisive success has done nothing for it, the spectacle simply of its cessation should do everything against it. It was far easier practically to do the thing—to rid that parish of its pauperism—than to convince a single creature that the thing was practicable. So long as our system was in operation, the voice given forth by it was unheeded and unheard, as if it acted the part of a soporific by lulling all men into a dead slumber. It is the cessation of the voice which seems to have awakened or startled them into a state of activity; and we are glad of it, though it be a state of active hostility to our cause. Men had gone to sleep on the subject; and it is well if anyhow they have been made to open their eyes. The truth when presented had no effect upon senses steeped all the while in dull forgetfulness. The same truth when reflected on may perhaps tell on understandings now somewhat alive, and work that conviction, which, at the time of its palpable and living exhibition, it failed to effectuate.*

34. But when I thus speak of the citizens of Glasgow, and complain that their minds were hermetically sealed against the whole truth and evidence of the question, I must not forget that if not exclusively, at least mainly, theirs is a mercantile society; and that with all the talent and practical sagacity by which they

* Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation, p. 719.

are distinguished in the matters of ordinary business, it was perhaps not to be expected, that they should bring these faculties to bear on a question which called for no immediate solution at their hands, and which did not lie within the range of their every-day experience. Assuredly there was no want of capacity for the subject, had we succeeded in gaining their patient and sustained attention to it; and we have no quarrel with them, but for their want of a felt or vivid interest in a topic, which, though admitting of no urgent application to their own personal affairs, possesses a high claim on the earnest and benevolent consideration of every patriot, from its intimate connexion with the wellbeing of humanity. But we cannot offer the same apology for the Poor-law Commissioners of England, who sent one of their own number, Mr. Tuffnell, to investigate the state of pauperism in Scotland; and who, though presented by him with a full and enlightened report on the nature and effects of our process in St. John's, were pleased to pass it over without the slightest allusion, in the volume of extracts which they gave to the public—as containing, of course, the substance and pith of that evidence which they had collected from all parts of the country. Not that they did not make a distinct head of their information from Scotland; but, suppressing all which Mr. Tuffnell had told them of Glasgow, they satisfied themselves with a few of the veriest scraps of his report on minor places, and of course thought it enough that these alone should be given to the world.* The best which can be said of their last and greatest reform, is that in some of its sterner, though in none of its kindlier features, it does somewhat approximate to the right and wholesome charity of principle—being still in fact but the superficial modification of what in its very nature is radically and essentially evil. But it possesses none of those gracious characteristics, and can exert none of those bland and benignant influences, which might all be realized in ordinary times under a gratuitous economy; and indeed are still exemplified throughout the majority of our Scottish parishes. If England will so idolize her own institutions, as to be unwilling to part even with their worst vices, she must be let alone since she will have it so. But

* When utterance was made of this complaint at the meeting of the British Association, held in Glasgow, and it was replied that a separate account of these doings in St. John's had been circulated throughout England to the extent of 16,000 copies; we still felt that it would have been more satisfactory, had the Commissioners so far accredited the process as to have admitted some notice of it into their own official compend of the informations which they had gathered on the subject of pauperism.

let her not inoculate with the virus of her own moral gangrene, those countries which have the misfortune to border on her territory, and be subject to her sway ; and, more especially, let not the simple and venerated parochial system of our own land lie open to the crudities, or be placed at the disposal of a few cockney legislators.*

35. If I have been in aught too severe, when commenting on the apathy of the public in Glasgow to our question, and their various annoying misconceptions of our system in St. John's—they have been abundantly kept in countenance by one who, high in literature, and setting himself down to the formal task of instructing his countrymen and fellow-citizens by authorship on the subject, thus writes of it, and under the article too in his table of contents, “Of the total failure of the Voluntary System in Glasgow.”

“All projects of relieving the miseries of the labouring classes in great cities, by voluntary contributions collected at church-doors, are equally visionary and hopeless. In individual instances, under the management of enthusiastic benevolence, or with the aid of popular eloquence, sufficient funds may be raised in this way for the relief of the poor in city parishes. But not only are such talents or enthusiasm not generally to be looked for, but if they existed generally they would fail in their effects. If all the clergy in a populous city possessed the genius or enthusiasm of a Chalmers, the contributions of the benevolent being distracted in so many quarters, would nowhere be adequate to their object. That distinguished individual succeeded in his own parish in Glasgow, by attracting the religious and enthusiastic from every part of that opulent city. It was the contrast between his genius and the monotonous uniformity of many of the clergy which occasioned his success. What he gained was lost in other quarters, where it was not less needed: in his own parish parochial assessment was not required, but it was only by rendering it the more necessary in those that surrounded it.

“It is a mistake to suppose that the eloquence of a popular preacher or benevolent philanthropist always *creates* the charity which is collected at his orations. He often rather *collects it* from other quarters, and exhibits in one united stream, what would otherwise have flowed unnoticed in a thousand rills. Under the impulse of the moment, indeed, larger sums may often be obtained from congregations affected by such thrilling efforts, than they would be disposed to give at ordinary times ; but the reaction is frequently as powerful as the impulse, and what is gained to the cause of humanity in a moment of enthusiasm, is lost in the periods of calculation that succeed it. True benevolence does not require such excitation, nor is it subject to such irregular movements, but at all times seeks the relief of distress from no other motive but the desire to alleviate human suffering.

“It is in vain to found any general or permanent system for the relief of the poor upon any exertions of talent or philanthropy beyond the average

* See our Political Economy, p. 253, being Vol. IX. of the series.

experience of our nature. Individuals may be endowed with splendid abilities or warm benevolence, and by their exertions much may be done to mitigate the distress that surrounds them ; but it is in vain to found any general measures upon the achievement of such rare ability. Generally speaking, the clergy will continue much the same as they have been, numbering among their members many persons distinguished both for their virtues and their learning, but, at the same time, composed of a vast majority of ordinary men. Persons relieved from the necessity of exertion to earn their daily food, of middle age, and enjoying for the most part a decent competence, cannot be expected to be always distinguished by extraordinary efforts. The permanent and extensive evils of pauperism must be relieved from some other source than that which is dependent upon their exertions."—*Alison on Population*, vol. ii. pp. 86, 88-90.

If an author of Sheriff Alison's eminence could so glaringly misstate, of course because he wholly misunderstood, nor thought it worth while to inquire, the nature of a process that had been going on for years within a mile or two of his own dwelling-place—and that too in the face of publications given in my own name to the world long before the appearance of his work—I may well cease to wonder, in the midst of their secular pursuits and habits uncongenial to study, at the deep apathy, or if they ever thought on the subject at all, at the unintelligent regards cast on our doings in the parish of St. John's by the citizens of Glasgow.

36. In regard to the nauseous eulogies wherewith they are pleased to accompany the condemnation which they pronounce on a system that they palpably do not understand—the phosphoric eloquence—the high-sounding oratory—the gorgeous imagination—the benevolent enthusiasm—in short, the all but judgment and common sense which they so plentifully heap upon its author—we shall only say, that, whether their purpose be to gratify or to insult me, I shall never cease to lament, on a question so pregnant with weal or woe to the common people of Scotland, that such should be my unfortunate habits of phraseology, as, in the narration of an experiment the most testing and decisive ever made for the establishment of a great principle, the words I have employed should by so many have been otherwise regarded than as the words of truth and soberness.

37. One knows not well how to dispose of the utterly ridiculous and grotesque hypothesis, on which many would account for the success of our experiment in the parish of St John's—as if due to some mysterious and unapproachable power or greatness on the part of the man who had devised it. Will they not believe the assertion of the man himself, that from the first month

of its operation, after the system had been fairly set agoing, he had never once to do with the management of a single case of pauperism—but left it altogether in the hands of the deacons, during the four years he was amongst them, so as to enable him to give his whole attention to such duties and preparations as were exclusively and altogether ecclesiastical? But if this make no impression upon them, what have they to say for the continuance of the system during the fourteen years between his removal and the termination of it, and when the office-bearers of the parish had nothing but the ghost of a departed greatness to deal with? Most assuredly I never was consulted, nor did I ever pen a single letter on any of the details or doings that were transacted throughout the whole of that period. But it would appear that the magical influence, which never in a single instance acted in the shape of a reality on the proceedings of those who actually conducted our system in Glasgow—still continues to haunt the imagination of its objectors. And accordingly in a recent public meeting, held in Edinburgh on the subject of pauperism, when my system was brought into notice, it was treated as an inapplicable theory—which could not possibly be carried into effect, unless there was a Dr. Chalmers in every parish to preside over and help forward the execution of it. And at a still more recent meeting of the British Association in Glasgow, where I appeared for no other purpose, than, if possible, to repress the mischief which the views of Sheriff and Dr. Alison on the one hand, along with those of Poor-law Commissioners from England on the other, had they met with no resistance, might have entailed on the much-loved people and peasantry of Scotland—the only possible way in which they could parry the stubborn experience of the parish of St. John's, was by laying the whole burden of it on the shoulders of the same mighty and marvellous operator. Now really, if they will thus persist in magnifying the projector at the expense of his project, let me frankly tell them what the sort of greatness is which I am willing to accept at their hands—and I am sure you will allow it to be enough in all conscience, when I state that it is the same in kind, though immeasurably short in degree, of the greatness earned by the physician Harvey when he discovered the circulation of the blood. And yet when I think how very palpable the thing is, I cannot surely be said to have discovered before all other men, that internal action, or internal circulation as it may be called, which takes place within the body politic of a

parish—either when a man's own wants tell on his own strenuousness, whether to prevent or to provide for them; or when the wants of others tell on the urgent sympathy both of relatives and friends, to the effect of calling forth a spontaneous flow of charity for the object of relieving them. It is quite impossible that I could have been the first to see these things; but I will admit it possible that I may have been the first to place such firm reliance on the working of these natural principles, and to count upon them or reason upon them so confidently as I have done, in this question of pauperism. I would scarcely have ventured on claiming even thus much, had it not been for the obvious necessity under which the adversaries of our system have placed me, of partitioning the matter fairly and aright between the scheme itself and the inventor of the scheme. For mark the egregious folly of that most egregious misconception into which they have fallen, in their eagerness to account for the success of our experiment. Why they accredit me with a great deal more, than even the fondest worshippers of genius ever dreamed of ascribing to the celebrated Harvey—not only that I discovered the circulation but that, somehow or other, to me belongs the secret virtue of upholding the circulation—having set it agoing at the first; and afterwards when I had consigned my patient into other hands, having by some spell or sorcery before unheard of, kept it agoing for no less than fourteen years—five of which I spent in St. Andrews, and nine in Edinburgh, unknowing all the while of every case that occurred in the pauperism of St. John's, or of the treatment bestowed by my deacons on any one of them. I knew that with them the concern was safe—satisfied with the experience they had already given, and sure that the system would go on prosperously and well so long as they kept it in their hands. But neither I nor they were the efficient causes of this prosperity. It was due to the working of an inner mechanism implanted by the hand of nature within every aggregate of human beings, the movement of which was no more due to us, than it was a touch from the finger of Harvey which gave impulse to the circulation of the blood. Our deaconship formed more a corps of observation than of positive agency. Doubtless, they warded off an influence which disturbed, and even did somewhat to stimulate the healthful operation of those internal processes, which naturally and of themselves take place within the body politic of every parish—just as a physician might withhold the food which impedes, or apply the medicine which promotes

the healthful circulation that takes place in the body personal of every human creature. But the processes themselves were neither originated nor sustained by us. The contrary allegation implies a homage to our powers, which, knowing it to be untrue, we must in all honesty reject—and without any great mortification of natural vanity; for, considering the gross unintelligence of the quarter whence it comes, it is impossible that either they or I can be in the least flattered by it.

38. It is with satisfaction that I reflect on the offer publicly made by me, at the last meeting of the British Association, and in the hearing, I understand, of some of the highest civic functionaries in Glasgow. I engaged to resume the process either in St. John's, or in any other parish where I might be permitted to set up the requisite arrangement—provided that the conditions were granted which I asked and were denied me on behalf of the former undertaking—that is, the same protection from the poor of Glasgow, which is secured by law against the poor of all other parishes; and a deliverance from the general assessment, so soon as we supported all our own poor upon our own resources. This offer I now reiterate; and, if not accepted by the public and official men of Glasgow, will, I trust, be accepted by all others as a sufficient practical reply to any objections against our scheme which may ever proceed from that quarter in all time coming. Nothing can exceed the confidence, up in fact to moral certainty, wherewith I should look on such a retracing process set up in any of the Extension Parishes of that city—on the peculiar condition, however, to meet the peculiarity of its circumstances, that the minister should be so endowed as to be at liberty for acting on the parochial system of seat-letting; and be enabled to admit into his church all the parishioners either rent-free, or at such a rent as would not exclude the humblest of his families. It is not saying enough for the perfect facility of such an enterprise when compared with that of St. John's, to speak of the two thousand instead of twelve thousand people, and, of course, the six times fewer cases of pauperism. Neither is it enough to speak of the perfect facility wherewith an adequate ecclesiastical staff, both of elders and deacons, could be found, for a so much smaller number of families. Of immensely greater consequence is it than either of these, that the minister is provided not with a general but a local congregation, so as to have hearers of his own in every street and alley, perhaps in every house of his parish—and so as to obtain both for himself and his office-bearers a moral

ascendency in his own quarter of the town, which, with not one per cent. of parishioners in my day's congregation, I never could acquire. Its success were infallible; and the achievement done by him might be done piecemeal in every other territory—so as at length to clear away the legal and compulsory provision of charity from our borders. In other words, by the energies of our parochial system alone, the extension of our Church might soon be followed up by the extinction of our pauperism. This is the moral administration wherewith I would confront, and would set in opposition to, the pecuniary administration of Dr. Alison. Even though the requisite schools and churches under our system should require two hundred thousand pounds a year for their support, this is but a fourth part of the sum demanded for upholding the expenditure of the other system. But the merit of these rivals should not be estimated in money. The one, of itself, will not raise the people in the scale of comfort, while in the scale of character it will immeasurably degrade them. The other, by the omnipotence of moral causes alone, will enlarge the sufficiency of the working-classes, and give the nation her best and cheapest safeguard in a well-trained, virtuous, and orderly population to the bargain.

39. But the offer which I gave some months ago, and have repeated now, will still be unheard. I have had too long experience of the stubborn incredulity of men hackneyed in the usages of an old system, to be sanguine either of their acceptance or co-operation in behalf of a new one. My last and only hope, gentlemen, lies with yourselves—the present expectants and future ministers of the parishes of Scotland. I had fondly calculated that my departure from Glasgow might have dissipated an illusion which my presence there only served to foster every year into greater strength and inveteracy. I now believe that my views will not be carried into practical fulfilment till after my departure from the world—when, perhaps, in the vigour of your manhood, and amid the labours of an unwearied well-doing, the testimony I have now given may not be forgotten by you.*

* See *Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*, p. 291, being Vol. X. of the series—for a description of the process by which any assessed parish of Scotland may trace its way out from the Compulsory System, and be reconducted to that old method of supporting the poor which still obtains in the majority of our Scottish parishes.

SECTION V.

ETHICAL VIEW OF THE QUESTION.

1. THE brevity, which I now feel to be imperative, will compel me to limit myself greatly in the remaining heads of this argument, so as to present but a slight and synoptical view of certain topics, each of which to be fully handled would require a large and laborious dissertation.

2. The fundamental question in the ethics of this subject is, whether every man has a right to subsistence—whether, in virtue of his bare existence, he has a claim in equity against all his fellows for the necessaries of life, should he from any cause stand in want of them. At present we dare not enter upon this question, but will simply refer to what we have already written on it.* All I shall say now is, that I hold the allegation of such a right to be at variance with what is felt by all men at the first dawning of a natural jurisprudence within them—and more particularly, that it is incongruous with that which takes place at the origin of property, and when the feeling of property is first formed. It proceeds on the radical error of confounding two virtues which are substantively and specifically distinct from each other—the virtues of justice and humanity; and devolves on the first of these that office which God and Nature designed for the second of them. The appropriate remedy for the evils of want is to be found, not in the justice of men, but in the compassion of men. Law, by traversing this economy, has overstepped her own limits; and the violence thus inflicted by her, both on the ethical system and on the constitution of human nature, does not stop there, but works derangement and disorder on the outer field of human society.

3. And let it here be remarked, that there is a strong and palpable inconsistency between England's doctrine and England's practice upon this subject. If a pauper really have the same claim in right and equity to relief that a servant has to

* See our view of the Origin of Property in Chapter III. Book IV. of our *Natural Theology*, and more especially an Extract from Chapter IV. of the same book, at pp. 309-311 and pp. 318-320 of the Volume, being Volume V. of the series.

wages, why treat the two claims so differently? It seems a strange way of meeting a demand for justice, that, when a man prefers it, he must be put into confinement, separated from his home, subjected to the irksome and galling restraints of a prison discipline. Such are the correctives, by which, under their reformed Poor-law, it is attempted to redress the evils of its former administration. The assertion of what their own statute book declares to be a right is followed up by the same treatment, in kind at least if not in degree, with the commission of what the same statute-book declares to be a wrong. In other words, their paupers are met by the same treatment with their felons. The same terrors and penalties have been devised to prevent the undue multiplication of the one class, as to prevent the undue multiplication of the other. Lest men should perpetrate crimes with an inconvenient frequency, jails and gibbets have been erected in all parts of the country; and lest men should put forth claims (and of that class too which they acknowledge to be rightful) with inconvenient frequency—not gibbets, but at least houses nearly as repulsive as jails have been erected in all parts of the country. The truth is, they have been made as repulsive as possible for the very purpose of scaring applicants away. It was found of the law in its old state, that it tended to agrarianism, and would have at length obliterated all the fences by which property is guarded. And hence a new law which retained the old principle, but changed the old practice—the principle being that every human creature in want has a right to relief; and the practice being as if, though this be a right, it were a very wrong thing in either man or woman to assert it. And so they attempt to steer evenly in this matter, by what mathematicians would term a compensation of errors. Meanwhile a vehement, but most natural outcry, has arisen in many parts of England—provoked we have no doubt, in the contemplation of this new system, by the utter incongruity between its character and its name—a system of harshness, in the guise or at least with the title of a system of charity. How far the asperities between the higher and lower classes, consequent on such a state of things, may endanger the stability of the commonwealth, it is impossible to say. But we should rejoice, if our sister country were to get out of this her false position as speedily as possible; and, for this purpose, that she abated somewhat of her confidence and pride in the wisdom of her own legislation. It might even not be undesirable, that she let down a little of that contempt, which both

her public and literary men have so often expressed for Scottish metaphysics—and that, learning to discriminate between the things which differ, she might henceforth give unto justice the things of justice, and unto humanity the things of humanity.

4. What calls forth the honest indignation of Englishmen against their new poor-law, is, not that it repels the undeserving—that may be a real improvement—but that it will far more surely repel the deserving poor, who are either forced to accept of its provisions with all the accompanying humiliations and restraints; or, if deterred by these, fall back on a society where the natural, if not wholly dried up, is at least very much withered and enfeebled by the legal charity—the very existence of which lessens the felt obligation of relatives and friends to look after either their distressed neighbours or their unfortunate kinsfolk. It is a sense of this which has led to the benevolent proposal of the Rev. Herbert Smith,* that, for the latter description of poor, alms-houses should be erected, with more of comfort and liberty and decent respect, than can possibly be awarded in work-houses open to the destitute of all kinds and all characters; and far more likely to be occupied by desperadoes and drunkards, than by the children of a legitimate and virtuous poverty who possess an unqualified claim on the sympathies of all. I think that this excellent person—an able and discerning as well as generous philanthropist—must admit of our parochial system, that it effects that very discrimination between the deserving and undeserving poor, the want of which he so justly and feelingly deploras, as being the greatest defect of the English poor-law. I wish I could persuade him of the all but perfect security which there is, that, in every parish constituted as we would have it, no case of genuine suffering can escape observation; and, when made known, will unlock effectual sympathies for the relief and right disposal of it. And on this subject we are glad to perceive a breaking of light in England—not only from the publications and tracts of Mr. Smith, but still more decisively, from two recent articles in the *British Critic* furnished by Mr. Bosanquet of London, and who I trust will both prosecute his argument further and present it with his name to the world.† We look on the latter of his articles in No. LVI. of the *British Critic*, as altogether a masterly exposure of the evils of that

* See the *Poor Man's Advocate*, with an Account of his Chaplaincy, and other Tracts by the Rev. Herbert Smith, Chaplain to the New Forest Union Workhouse, Hants.

† Mr. Bosanquet has since done this in a work entitled "*Rights of the Poor.*"

legal and artificial system of charity which obtains in England. The administration of relief from a church fund, placed under the management of district visitors, is the very system that we want to see restored in Scotland; and which, if established in England, would work out the same deliverance there from the necessity of resorting to any compulsory fund for the relief of indigence. Would that the eyes of a British Parliament were at length opened to the necessity of such a radical change in their management of the poor; and, in particular, that every obstacle were removed, which, in the present state of the law, lies in the way of its introduction to such parishes as might desire a separate and independent economy of their own.* Our only fear is, that the first administrators of such a parochial fund might for a time at least misconceive wherein it is that the virtue of it lies—not most assuredly in its own magnitude, thereby enabling its dispensers to give largely and liberally throughout the parish; but far more in the effect of their right moral suasion throughout the little communities over which they severally expatiate, and in the lessons, given fearlessly yet in a friendly spirit, both of self-respect and of mutual kindness—so that by the labour of their own hands, along with their helpfulness to each other, all may be as little burdensome as possible. It is not to a large fund in the hands of careless, but to a small fund in the hands of wise and vigilant office-bearers, that we should look for a general elevation in the comfort as well as habits of our parish families—under the guidance of men walking among their fellows in the spirit of a genuine and heartfelt, yet considerate philanthropy; and who would rejoice in it as their best achievement, that all the poverty of their districts had been either anticipated or met, because, under their surveillance, industry had been restored to its healthful play, and the fountains of natural charity had been opened.

5. And this is the right place for again saying, though it has been already said and proved a thousand times over, that the ethics of our system are grievously misunderstood by those who would so represent it, as if we expunged benevolence from the list of virtues. This is not only not the truth; it is the converse of the truth. It is only under such an economy as ours, that benevolence is restored to scope and liberty; and again breaks forth in ways manifold though unseen throughout the

* For my views on the Parliamentary treatment of this question, see *Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*, Chap. xv.

countless ramifications of human society. But though it be a process which, as lying in the deep interior of every mass and aggregate of human families, does not force itself on observation, nay, has escaped altogether the view of the cursory and superficial—yet is it capable of being traced, and has been, when, in consequence of any outcry raised against our system, a strict reckoning and inquisition were called for, in order to its vindication—when it will be found, that on cases of distress and destitution being made authentically known, the want or withdrawal of the public allowance is greatly more than replaced by the forthgoings of a spontaneous humanity.* Insomuch that it lies open to objections, and has actually been assailed by these, from a quarter directly opposite to the former—that in such instances, benevolence is generally too exuberant, and its supplies are often overdone. It is a little hard to be thus placed between two fires—a weeping sentimentalism on the one hand, which pleads for a legal and compulsory provision on the ground that without it the poor would starve; and then, after we had experimentally proved that in virtue of its abolition the poor are better off, there comes in a heartless utilitarianism, which pleads for the same compulsory provision, on the ground that, of the two systems of charity, the legal and the natural, the former is the less expensive. Nevertheless we hold this more copious breaking forth of the natural fountains, on the extinction of the great artificial reservoir, when there is the setting up of a right parochial economy, to be one of its most beautiful effects; nor can we in the least defer either to the misplaced indignation or to the blind though honest sympathy of those, who are now arguing for the extension of a system that supersedes or at least relaxes far better securities for the relief of human wretchedness than itself can substitute in their room—and of which it may be emphatically said, that, but follow out its principles to their final landing-place, and it will make all rich men poor, and all poor men poorer than before.

6. We most freely admit of the spontaneous, that it is more expensive than the legal system of charity; and this we hold to be, not its shame, but its glory. It is our clear and confident assurance, that, could the now unseen charities which pass and repass throughout even the humblest vicinities of our land, be all ascertained and counted up, they would present an aggregate, which might well put to the blush the pretension and pomp of

* See No. I. in our list of instances, p. 606, of Christian and Economic Polity.

all our institutes. We speak of the charity which reciprocates within, amongst next-door neighbours,—not of that which comes from without, and, though administered by the hands of the affluent, is but an insignificant fraction of the other. And here we are met by a distinct objection, as if we burdened the poor by leaving them to support each other, and let off the wealthy. We would not burden the poor; but neither would we wrest from them the high moral prerogative of having a share, and a truly noble and important share it is, in the great work of beneficence. And neither would we let off the wealthy; but urge upon each in his own sphere wisely and liberally to provide for the objects which lie within his reach, even as God has given him the ability. There is a certain Quixotic almonry, by which an occasional philanthropist from the higher classes has been known at times to make invasion on the sphere of others; and, by seducing the poor from their proper duties, might scatter among their dwelling-places the elements of moral deterioration. This we should certainly repress. Yet could we find abundant use for him notwithstanding. It were not beyond his province, for example, were he qualified for the task, to assume a deaconry—or to become the moral and economical superintendent of a district. We could even draw a little upon his wealth, when some extreme cases of misfortune in a parish require extreme efforts to be made for them; and not a little, but fully as much as would fully equalize the amount between him and all who are poorer than himself—when the largest sums and subscriptions which can be realized are needed, for the objects whether of health or education. Still we have the utmost affection, as well as utmost value, for the benevolence of littles, for the humble offerings of the common people; and we hold that to be a false humanity, which, in order to spare them a sacrifice, would forego the spectacle of that moral worth and moral greatness, which even a widow's mite cast into the treasury might suffice to indicate. Of however little account their unnoticed contributions, whether in the shape of succour or service, may hitherto have been, we must ever contend that, in losing these, we should, as might be demonstrated in various ways,* lose our very best auxiliaries to the cause of benevolence. Yet most assuredly when we thus speak, it is not for the exoneration of the wealthy, who, we doubt not, in the circle of their own immediate dependants, have high claims upon

* See our Tracts and Essays in Vol. XII; and more especially one in the Volume on Political Economy, entitled, *On the Influence of Parochial Associations.*

them—openings for a liberality as unbounded as their means, and which form the special and befitting opportunities for them to acquit themselves of their own full proportion in the work of charity. Let us never fear a want of adequate objects and occasions for their discipline too in the school of self-denial; or that there is any lack of sufficient calls upon their munificence, whether as landlords or masters or the grandees of their respective vicinities, or the natural patrons both of expectant relatives and friends—in whose reverses of various fortune Providence will bring innumerable applications to their door, and devolve upon them the large and onerous duties of a stewardship, all the more responsible the greater the property is, which may have been confided by the hand of God to their administration. Let it not be said then, that we would exact from the poor in order to excuse or exempt the opulent. We rejoice alike in the contributions of both; and when in the same subscription-paper, we see blended the halfpennies of the one and the golden donatives of the other, we cannot but regard it as the precious record of a common effort and common understanding between high and low—which, if enough brought into exercise, would prove the best guarantee of a harmonious and happy commonwealth.

7. On benevolence, genuine heartfelt benevolence, having for its object the greatest good of the poor, and willing for every sacrifice to attain it—on such benevolence if under the guidance of wisdom and principle, and, did it but *consider* as well as compassionate—we should lay no restraint whatever. And here, with respect to the alleged liberality of our deacons in St. John's, let me notice the artificial restraint by which it was necessarily limited and kept down. It might have been indulged to a ten-fold greater degree; but it was not safe, while we lay open to the inroads of all the poor in Glasgow. Had we obtained the protection we were so earnestly set upon—the same protection from the parishes in the royalty, that we had by law from all other parishes beyond it—we could have been greatly more free-handed both to our paupers and our poor—to those already on the roll, as well as to those who had not yet incurred the degradation. Even as it was, we did stimulate the importation from other places to an extent that was very inconvenient. But for this, we should have felt ourselves at large for the work and labour of love in all its varieties; and even under all our disadvantages, we had enough of experience to convince us how possible, nay easy it were, for the ecclesiastical office-bearers of

a parish, if only emancipated from law and put into a state of nature and liberty—how practicable it were, by a series of cheap attentions, and without any romantic surrender either of time or money, to raise the economic condition of its families.

8. The deacons of our small localities, it must be obvious, can discriminate far better among their well-known families, between the deserving and the undeserving poor—than can the guardians of the extended Unions in England. But what is far more decisive, mark the effect of the two discriminations. With our system, when fully carried out, the practical result were a full measure of relief for the deserving, with a leaving out of the undeserving poor. With their system when fully carried out, the practical result is that the undeserving, the men of hardihood, who can brook the indignities of a work-house and the violence there done to the feelings of relationship, are all taken in—while the deserving are revolted and scared away. This is the unavoidable consequence of their system—from the very nature of their discriminating test—a system of repulsion rather than of relief; and no wonder at the strong and general feeling among the benevolent in England of some grievous want, as if the business of charity were undone—when, in fact, all the proper objects and characteristics of charity have been totally reversed. We are quite aware, that, along with this, there have been innumerable testimonies of satisfaction with their new poor-law—but distinction ought to be made between satisfaction with it as a measure of protection and police, and satisfaction with it as a measure of genuine, effectual, and productive philanthropy. They have certainly fallen on a better way of disposing of those worthless, self-created, and immoral poor, who were so patronized and multiplied under their old system; and their houses of confinement and isolation may serve well for the correction of these—thus occupying a sort of intermediate place between alms-houses and jails. In other words, as prisons are the befitting receptacles for English criminals—so these poorhouses seem to have been constituted as the most befitting receptacles for English blackguards, for those whose offences are not cognoscible nor punishable by law, yet whose habits render them at once a burden and a nuisance to society. And perhaps they accomplish this end, but then let them not be styled houses of charity; nor by the usurpation of this sacred name, let the generous and large-hearted people of England be deluded into the imagination, that such a scare-crow economy as this can be at all a substitute (we

fear it is too often pleaded as an apology) for one of the best and greatest of the Christian virtues—which is kindness to the poor. At all events, let not Scotland be visited by an infliction so fearful. All we require for our people is an adequate ecclesiastical with an adequate educational system. Having this, we shall stand in no need of those pauper bastiles—any half-way houses whatever between our churches and schools on the one hand, and our bridewells or places of correction on the other. With a sufficiently thick-set parochial apparatus, whether in town or country—all our deserving poor will be carefully provided for; and the undeserving more effectually shamed out of their habits by the remonstrances of church office-bearers, and the natural indignation of neighbours in their respective localities, than by all the terrors and penalties which the most rigorous of Poor-law Commissioners can devise.

SECTION VI.

SCRIPTURAL VIEW OF THE QUESTION.

1. OVER and above two distinct tithes—one for the maintenance of ecclesiastical persons, and another for the support of certain religious festivals—the Jews had a third tithe (*δευτέρου ἐπιδήχατον*) levied however only every third year,* for the Levites and strangers and widows and fatherless. It does not appear that the poor of all classes were admitted to the benefit of this latter provision; or that mere general indigence, however come by, was sustained as being a sufficient title or qualification for a share in it. Certain it is, that in the case of their ordinary poor, whether they had been reduced to this state by misfortune or by improvidence, we read of no other compulsory provision than the third tithe now mentioned, and which seems to have been expended for the maintenance of that more limited destitution, which arises from the specific causes of widowhood or orphanage—while, on the other hand, we read of their being subjected to a compulsory service, should they have fallen into debt—liable even to be sold by their creditors, and to undergo both in their own persons and those of their children, the degra-

* Deut. xiv. 22-29; xxvi. 12-14.

dation and hardships of a state of slavery, for a period of longer or shorter duration.

2. But even though it could be made out, that the produce of this Hebrew tithe for the poor lay open to the claims and applications of all who might have fallen anyhow into a state of indigence—it deserves well to be remarked, how little in common there is between such an institute and the modern poor-law of England. To lay aside a certain fixed sum, a definite fraction of the country's wealth, which shall lie open to the claims of its existing destitution whatever that may chance to be—is to place things on a footing truly different from that of laying open the whole property to the encroachments of a destitution which the system itself is fitted to encourage; and which encroachments can only be repressed by a discipline of vigilance and vigour, whereby these two great parties in the commonwealth, the payers and the receivers, are brought into the state of natural enemies to each other. We do not wonder at the rigours of the English poor-law; because, were its principle of a compulsory provision left free to work out its natural effects, the poverty of the country would run a race upon its property, and speedily overtake it. It was not thus under the Hebrew economy—which differed as widely from the one under consideration, as did the old commons of England from the system of its pauperism. A certain given amount of property, whether in the land itself or in a stated proportion of its produce, set apart for the common good of the poor—differs *toto cælo* in operation and effect, from that system which turns the whole land into a common object of competition and demand for the population, who, in order to make perpetual advances on it, have only to relax all their own better habits, and become indefinitely more reckless or more profligate than before. Under the one system, there is a certain given possession for the poor, but along with this as certain and secure a possession for the owners of all other property. Under the other system, there is no such defence against the wide and general exposure of all the wealth in the country to demands that are quite indefinite, which is thus placed in a state of fearful precariousness—either laid at the mercy of the general population, or so protected from their inroads as to fire their hearts with a sense of injustice. And certain it is, that if the real good of the community could be so provided for, the interest of the middle and higher classes is but as dust in the balance, when put into competition with the wellbeing of a commonalty that

greatly outnumbers both. Yet when we turn to the contemplation of the Jewish polity, we cannot but recognise there the manifestations of that superior wisdom which provides best, and without clashing or competition between them, for the interest and security of all the classes. To realize the conception of what this policy was, we might figure one of our modern parishes, whether in England or Scotland, with a thirtieth part of its annual wealth allocated to the paupers specified by the Mosaic law—the chief of which was the support of the widow and the fatherless. The temptation to improvidence is incalculably less in such a state of things, than when all the current poverty, however it may have been contracted, and simply if it exist, meets and by right of law with its immediate relief. Nay though by the law of Judea, all other poor beside the widow and the fatherless, had been vested with a right of participation in the thirtieth of the produce—there are certain wholesome influences brought into play under such an economy, which the law of England, that extends this right over the whole land and houses of a parish, is utterly fitted to extinguish. In the latter case, it is a competition of the poor against the rich—in the former a competition of the poor against each other. There might be no remorse felt by the common people in drawing indefinitely on the opulent above them. But there would be remorse, there would be a strong moral restraint, there would be a fellow-feeling and generous consideration for the children of a heavier misfortune than their own, could it be made palpable to their senses that, in virtue of their forbearance, all cases of extreme helplessness would be more amply provided for. What we contend for is, that under such a regimen, the popular sympathy and consent could most easily be enlisted on the side of a right and equitable administration. Let this Bible provision be only administered in each separate parish on Bible principles; and the business even of public charity might be conducted without any of the deleterious influences of our modern pauperism. The governors and governed might be made both fully to understand and fully to co-operate with each other. Throughout the great bulk and body of the parish, the families would, by a spontaneous principle of their own, keep aloof from the parochial fund—and that for the sake of a more abundant ministration to those pre-eminent in distress, whose signal and undoubted calamity all men saw and all sympathized with. They utterly misconceive human nature, who think it were a difficult or Utopian achieve-

ment, to inoculate the community of every manageable district with the *esprit de corps* that we have now been describing—in which case, the widows, the fatherless, the needy and deserving wanderers, the teachers of youth now in place of the Levites in Judea, might be sufficiently cared for—in other words, all the special objects designed in the Old Testament for this special provision, might be fully secured. Nay we can imagine a surplus expended on such uses, as would make it still more a point of emulation and honour among the families, so to strive on the one hand and so to save on the other—that they might be as little burdensome, and the surplus for good and public objects be left as large and entire as possible—the objects, for example, of drainage, or ventilation, or a spacious play-ground for children, or walks and gardens for the community at large, or the privilege of admission to the best medical institutes—all which things ought to be provided for, and may be provided for, with no relaxation of self-dependence, and no risk of moral deterioration among the people, nay, with the very opposite effects: and who can deny that the objects now specified, are those on which a thirtieth part of the country's annual wealth might be most beneficially expended? What a blessed commutation for England, did she exchange her present system for a polity so bland and so free from the alloy of every hurtful influence as this! And in its beneficent operation, what a practical and living testimony should we obtain for that word which is the repository of all wisdom—after that the blunders of modern legislation, and even the speculations of modern science, had come to be alike superseded by the political economy of the Bible!

3. But for doing full justice to the scriptural view of our question, it will be necessary that we should come down to the methods and maxims of the New Testament. A public provision for the poor is coeval with the first institution of a Christian Church—for we no sooner read of the great conversion that took place on the day of Pentecost, than we are told of them who believed, that “they had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need.” It is true that the persecutions which afterwards arose soon created a special necessity for the continuance of such a fund. But we must not therefore regard it as a thing of local and temporary obligation, thus to collect the alms of the faithful, and make distribution of the produce amongst the poor members of the congregation. We cannot disguise it, that a

strong sanction is given by the practice of apostolic times, to at least one system or form of public charity. It is an important lesson, that a visible though a voluntary fund for the relief of the destitute is as old as Christianity itself; and other lessons no less important may be gathered, by attending to the principles on which the administration of it was conducted.

4. The next notice which occurs of this fund is in the sixth chapter of the Acts. The apostles, it would appear, had, up to this time, been personally engaged in the ministration of it. This they at length felt to be an undue encroachment on the time and strength which should be wholly given by them to the higher labours of the sanctuary—to “prayer and to the ministry of the word.” They complained of it as unreasonable, that they should continue to be implicated with a management which forced them “to leave the word of God”—not, however, that they wished this business of public charity to be left undone, but that it should be devolved upon others. And accordingly “seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom,” were, at their own suggestion, appointed to the charge of it. What an impressive rebuke lies in this simple narrative on those clergymen of our modern day, who, in attendance on various benevolent institutes—the offices of which should all be filled and the duties executed by others—consume that precious time which should be given altogether to the work of their own more appropriate ministry, to the care and culture of their neglected parishes! By the latest census of which we read, previous to this resignation of the apostles, the number of Christians amounted to five thousand—in the spiritual guidance and guardianship of whom, did these twelve gifted and inspired men find enough of scope for all their energies. Place in contrast with this, the way in which the moral surveillance of our city multitudes is now provided for—when an equal, often a larger number, than the whole congregation of the apostles, is devolved on one helpless individual, overwhelmed to the bargain with countless secularities and secondary duties, for the performance of which other men than ministers of the gospel ought to be found. But the lesson does not stop here. If the spiritual charge of a few thousands formed a commensurate task for twelve apostles, who rejected all other work that they might “give themselves continually” to the execution of it—surely the spiritual charge of a few hundreds might well suffice for one of those assistant church office-bearers, whose business it is to second and supplement the

labours of the minister ; and who, generally, can spare but a few fragments of his time for the families of his assigned district. In other words, there ought too to be a disseverance of all secularities from the eldership ; and in this remarkable passage do we not only find a scriptural warrant for an order of deacons to look after the poor—but the strongest possible argument, backed by all modern experience, for the practical necessity of that separation among duties and offices for which we have all along contended.

5. But a still greater lesson may yet be learned. If the procedure of the twelve apostles in resigning the management of the poor's fund, and that in order to keep their time entire for spiritual labours, be pregnant with inference—still more pregnant with inference is a reverse procedure of the apostle Paul's. Though the most varied and the most abundant in the work of the apostleship amongst all the first teachers of Christianity, the care of all the churches being upon him—yet did he give up a large portion of his apostolic time to other employments, and so far abstract himself from the peculiar work of the ministry—not to assist the office-bearers of the church in the distribution of its public charity, for thus would he have contradicted the principle on which his colleagues had acted before him—but for the very opposite purpose of teaching by his own example the members of the church, that to the uttermost of their power they should abstain from making demand on its public charity. And so he set himself down to the occupation of a tent-maker (Acts xviii. 3) ; and this, he himself tells us, for the enforcement of a great moral lesson—even that men should by their own hands minister to their own necessities, and to those who are with them, striving to be givers rather than receivers (Acts xx. 34, 35). "For yourselves know how ye ought to follow us ; for we behaved not ourselves disorderly among you ; neither did we eat any man's bread for nought ; but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you : not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us. For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat. For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies. Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread" (2 Thess. iii. 7-12). It is certainly a most emphatic testimony to the

worth of this lesson—that whereas the twelve apostles withdrew from the work of distributing the liberalities of the rich—the one apostle more burdened than them all under the multitude and weight of his ministerial engagements, yet at the expense of a far heavier encroachment both on his strength and his time, did he betake himself to the drudgeries of a common artisan, and that with the express design to enforce and exemplify a principle of virtuous and honourable independence among the poor. It shows most strikingly, that, with every effort then made for the relief of the necessitous, yet far dearer to the enlightened Christian philanthropists of that age, was the moral integrity than the physical comfort of their disciples. Accordingly we find the most anxious directions given to exclude from all participation in this fund those sordid aspirants, who made a gain of godliness; and those lovers of their own ease, who would luxuriate in idleness at the expense of the society (1 Tim. v. 13); and those unnatural relatives who would exonerate themselves from the support of their own kindred (1 Tim. v. 16). And, last of all, let us hear the fell denunciation of the apostle, who would excommunicate from the name and privileges of a Christian, the man who would relieve himself from the care of his family by drawing out of the general stock that maintenance which he was able but not willing to work for—“If any man provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel” (1 Tim. v. 8).

6. It thus appears, that, while in those days, the largest sacrifices were made by Christian men for the relief of the poor, the chief anxiety of their inspired teacher was to provide against the risk of their moral deterioration. He knew them to be alike capable of moral greatness with those who, in the scale of rank or wealth, were immeasurably above them; and we cannot figure a nobler exhibition than that of Paul's—when, for the avowed purpose of building up a virtuous heroism of character amongst the poor, he became a workman himself; and that in order to show to others of the same class, not only how to exempt themselves from the necessity of being receivers, but how, by the labour of their own hands, to support the weak and the indigent around them (Acts xx. 35). But with all this devotion to their truest interests, his sympathies and feelings had none of that sickly hue, which tinges the effusions, as well as sits on the visages of our modern sentimentalists. If a man would not work, he could leave him to the inflictions of nature

and necessity; and, with a just confidence in the wisdom of Nature's own discipline, thought it better not to interfere with those correctives and chastisements of hers, whereby she schools, and by means so severe as the agonies of hunger and the felt urgencies of self-preservation, the otherwise wholly reckless votaries of dissipation and indolence. It is obvious, that in the mind of our great apostle, character was all in all. With him it formed a main element of guidance in the rule which he prescribes for the distribution of the church's charity (1 Tim. v. 9-16). The efforts of the poor to ward off a dependence for the support of themselves and their families on aught but their own industry and good conduct, evidently rank in his estimation with the highest duties and obligations of the New Testament.*

7. Now thus armed, or under the direction of such principles as these, nothing I apprehend would be easier than a sound and beneficial management of the poor in every separate congregation—and that from the church offerings alone. But ours is a territorial establishment; and, with but a sufficient number of labourers, nothing, we are confident, would so prosper or be more practicable than a like management of the poor, and with the same description of fund too, in every separate parish. With a free discretion to regulate our allowances by the character of the applicant, and with a power of exclusion† on the principles of a right ecclesiastical discipline—we again affirm, first, that it were impossible for any deserving poor to be neglected; and, secondly, that the undeserving will ultimately come to be better off, when made to feel the weight of those severities which are intended by the God of Nature to follow in the train of idleness, improvidence, and vice. Whether there shall be placed at our disposal a thirtieth part of the annual wealth of the parish, as under the Jewish economy; or the free-will offerings of the faithful collected once a week,‡ as under the Christian economy—it should be no difficult achievement to make the liberalities of the rich

* See the following sermons upon this subject—Commercial Discourses v. and xi., in Volume III. of our series; and Sermons ix. and xii. of those delivered on Public Occasions, in the same volume.

† This is wholly overlooked by Dr. Alison—else he would never have given us the argument of his Quaker correspondent, that security against starvation brings with it no improvidence—seeing that the members of his denomination are perfectly secured against this, and yet form the most provident and so the most prosperous class in society.

‡ 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2. It is of mighty advantage to habituate the general population to these weekly contributions. See the reason of this in our Tract, in Volume IX. of the series,—On the Influence of Parochial Associations.

and the necessities of the poor not only meet but greatly overlap each other. Only it is indispensable to this result, that the administrators of the parochial charity shall fear neither of these parties, and as little flatter either of them—but be at all times ready to make a firm and intrepid representation to both of the duties which respectively belong to them; and so as that the wealthy on the one hand shall in their dispensations be brought up to the pitch of a right liberality, and the poor on the other shall in their demands be brought down to the level of a right moderation. The genuine effect of Christianity is at length to work out this blissful consummation; and even now were the ecclesiastical system but restored to its wonted energies in Scotland, we should only be doing again what has been done already, did we in less than half a generation realize the spectacle of happy and well-conditioned parishes all over the land.

SECTION VII.

MEDICAL VIEW OF THE QUESTION.

1. WE are not yet done with the political economy of the New Testament. On this subject there is a profoundness of wisdom in the doings of our Saviour as well as in the sayings of His apostles. We refer more especially to the difference of procedure observed by Him in his treatment of want and his treatment of disease. We read twice of a miracle of loaves for the purpose of feeding a multitude overtaken with hunger; but that when the people ran after him a third time in the hope of another such miracle, He rebuked the sordid expectation and refused to perform it.* Now we can perceive no such reserve when application was made to Him, not for food but for health. We read of no instance in which He sent a diseased petitioner uncured or disappointed away from Him; but that when the maimed and the impotent folk, and the blind and the dumb and the palsied and the lunatic came to Him, the invariable result is, that He looked at them, and had compassion on them, and

* See my Essay, in Vol. IX., On the Example of our Saviour a Guide and an Authority in the Establishment of Charitable Institutions.

healed them all. While so sparing in the exercise of His supernatural powers, when called to put them forth in the capacity of an almoner—we know of no such limitation on their exercise in the capacity of a physician. Now it is quite obvious, that, after the commencement of His public ministry, the proceedings of our Saviour in the land of Judea must have had all the notoriety, and would, when the style and methods of His benevolence came to be understood, have all the effect of a public charity. And, accordingly, the lesson which we have elsewhere attempted to draw from this part of His example is—that while it discountsenances all public institutions for the relief of want, it affords us an encouragement and a sanction, when we propose that for the cure or the alleviation of disease, such public institutions might be multiplied to the uttermost.

2. Nor is it difficult to apprehend the principle of this distinction. A known provision for want, if it be want irrespective of character, is sure to create and multiply its own objects in every neighbourhood where it happens to be established—seeing that all who choose might make their way to it, by the accessible and inviting path of a little more indolence or a little more dissipation. It is not so with an asylum of disease, for which men will not qualify voluntarily—save in those cases of self-infliction, which are too rare and too monstrous to be of any significance in a practical argument upon the question. We cannot image therefore a more glaring violation of sound principle, than when, heedless altogether of this discrimination, there is a loud and incessant call for almshouses and places of refuge and other eleemosynary institutions in behalf of mere indigence; and along with this the most shameful abandonment and neglect of our medical charities.

3. Had this distinction been proceeded on, it might have saved England in the days of Elizabeth, and Ireland now, from what I cannot but regard as a great national calamity. We cannot wonder at the earlier of these two inflictions—perpetrated at a time when the principles of public charity were ill-understood, or rather had not been studied or attended to at all. But it is ever to be regretted that the Government should have been precipitated into an Irish Poor-law, which has made no separation of what is noxious from what is innoxious in a legal provision, whether to mitigate or do away the ills of suffering humanity. In conversing with one of the most strenuous advocates for a national system of relief in Ireland, I made full explanation of what I

would and what I would not do for the establishment of such a system—that is, provide to the uttermost for all the disease which can best be treated in public institutions—such as infirmaries, and fever hospitals, and asylums for the dumb and the blind and the lunatic, and that not only as places of cure, but as places of comfort and perpetual harbourage to the incurable—leaving out at the same time the care of general indigence, not from the sympathies of the benevolent in private life, but from the interference of the legislature. My friend, one of the most eloquent and forcible writers on the side of a poor-law, assured me that were full provision made for the objects I specified, it would be enough for Ireland. But his vigorous appeals and representations on the subject had been already penned, and of course without any reference to a principle of selection which he had never before heard of—though when once stated, its extreme obviousness carried his instant approbation. We have no doubt, that the influence of his testimony and his name gave additional momentum to the swell of that indiscriminate outcry which at length extorted from Parliament a wholesale measure charged with all the mischief of a grievous oversight. A commensurate system of medical charity would have proved a boon and unalloyed blessing to the population. But this vain attempt to provide a maintenance by law, will, by relaxing the better securities of Nature, but disorganize society the more, and so aggravate the distempers of that unhappy land.*

4. What we have now stated is but introductory to the further statement of the fears we at one time had for Scotland, and which are not yet wholly set at rest. A bill was lately in progress through Parliament, having for its *single* design the promotion of the public health, and especially among the lower classes of society—those, in particular, who are congregated together in the deep and dark and densely-peopled recesses of our larger towns. We trust that it will fully comprehend, at whatever expense, all the provisions which might contribute to the success of so beneficent a measure—as drainage, and ventilation, and the minimum size of houses, and the proper width of streets and alleys; and withal the establishment of a medical police for the removal of nuisances, and even a cheap if not rather a gratuitous supply of professional services for the general population. The

* See our whole evidence on the Question of an Irish Poor-law, given before a Committee of the House of Commons, and printed in our *Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*, being Vol. X. of the series.

object is truly admirable and free of all exception; and I therefore regretted all the more, when at first the proposed legislation was confined to England and Wales—leaving out Scotland. Yet it was then our firm belief that something was intended and in reserve for Scotland; and our question was, why not immediately instead of afterwards? There was an answer suggested by our fears, but which I hope now may be altogether visionary. England and Wales have their Poor-law already; and any further legislation for the poor of these countries, without touching on the indigence already provided for, might well confine itself to the article of health alone. And what we apprehended as forthcoming for Scotland, was, instead of a measure for health singly, a general measure of assimilation, by which to bring both parts of the island under one and the same regimen—at least so far as to insinuate the principle of an assessment for mere poverty, along with an assessment for health which shall extend to all our parishes; and thus in company with or under the cover of what is excellent, expose our beloved people to an admixture of the vile with the precious, or the importation of a hurtful ingredient, that would prove the germ of an interminable and ever-growing mischief. Should in the further progress of our philanthropic legislation this calamity ever again stare us in the face, we trust that it will be arrested by the vigilance of an enlightened Scottish patriotism.*

5. This apprehension of ours was grounded on the effect which certain recent attempted demonstrations for what may be termed the *medical necessity of a poor-rate*, have had on the public imagination.† We choose to call it this rather than the public understanding—and that because of an egregious logical fallacy, which, under the disturbing influence of their fears, seems to have been wholly overlooked by the alarmists upon this question. We are not in the least qualified for any deliverance whatever on the exclusively medical part of this argument—though it cannot escape our notice, that professional and eminently scientific men, the only proper arbiters at this stage of the controversy, are nevertheless most widely and as yet most hopelessly at variance among themselves. It looks to us precipitate

* After the weary and ineffectual contest of 25 years with public functionaries, I have no inclination for the renewal of it in my own person. Would that the warning now given told effectually upon younger and abler men!

† Chiefly Dr. Alison's pamphlets, and Mr. Cowan's *Vital Statistics of Glasgow*—also a pamphlet by Dr. Alison of Tranent.

and as savouring more of impulse than of sober judgment, to ground the portentous conclusion of a universal poor-rate on premises which are still disputed and therefore still doubtful. But although the premises were not doubtful, though we had a unanimous medical verdict in favour of Dr. Alison's theory—even that destitution was not only the chief originator, but the chief propagator of fever, by laying the human frame more open to its contagion—we are not therefore obliged to acquiesce in any conclusion which speculative men might choose to graft upon them. Verily the premises may be altogether sound—yet a faulty syllogism may be constructed thereupon; and so a vicious conclusion be drawn out of it. Even though the major proposition in the reasonings of Dr. Alison and his friends could be affirmed universally, it would not of itself form a sufficient basis for that inference, which he is now pressing with so much earnestness and zeal on the public acceptance. For when put into the syllogistic form it would run thus,—All fever originates in and is multiplied by destitution, but destitution is lessened by a poor-rate, therefore fever would be lessened by a poor-rate. Now to arrive in safety at this conclusion, there must not only be a firm initial footing in the truth and goodness of the first or major proposition; but there must also be a warrantable soundness in the minor proposition or middle term, in order to have a safe stepping-stone. Now it is precisely here where the failure of these reasoners lies; and it is a failure for the repair or rectification of which all their medical science can be of no possible avail to them. For let it be observed, that, brief as the above syllogism is, it draws upon no less than two distinct sciences; and ere it can be sustained, it must pass through the ordeal and have the sanction or consent of each of them. It is medical science, and that alone, which has to do with the major proposition. But it is political economy, and that alone, which has to do with the minor proposition; and ere we give ourselves up to the authority of these new advocates, and upon this new ground, for a poor-rate—we must make sure, not only that they are able physicians, but sound economists also. Truly it is not enough, to get safely and well at a landing-place on the other side, that we have a fair point of departure, a hard and unyielding bank on this side of the stream—should there be a precarious stepping-stone between them. There may be a confident outset, but withal a most lamentable *non sequitur*—a frail support, which on their next movement gives way under them, when our hardy adven-

turers, instead of finding themselves on the opposite shore, are left floundering in the water.

6. It is always thus, when, with but the authority earned in one science, men step forth of its legitimate boundaries, and make unwarrantable invasion on another. The professors of the art medical did right, when they repelled the inroad of the old astrologers, who, skilled in the motions of the firmament, and assuming that the health as well as fortunes of men on the surface of this planet were somehow dependent on the relative positions and conjunctions of the planets which roll above us, regulated the treatment of their patients by the computations and reasonings which they made of certain mystic influences from on high. Yet they may have been good astronomers for all that, though very unsafe physicians. And it is just as possible that good and able physicians may be very unsafe economists. They did well in warding off the incursion made upon their own territory. But let them not in turn, and by a sort of reverse astrology, make incursion on other sciences and other territories than their own. Their doctrine may be right or wrong that destitution is both the origin and the active propagator of contagion; and that therefore its removal would operate as a preventive of fever. This is altogether their question, as lying within the province which rightfully belongs to them. But another question remains behind—whether the imposition of a poor-rate would operate as a preventive of destitution; and they, in taking this for granted, may be guilty of as egregious an assumption, as any ever made by a scholastic or visionary of the middle ages. We dispute not that Dr. Alison of Edinburgh, and Dr. Alison of Tranent, and Dr. Cowan of Glasgow, and Dr. Robertson of Manchester, may, one and all of them, be talented professional men, and among the highest of their order. And we as little dispute the possibility, that persons of their education and powers might become qualified for being as good judges and reasoners upon the one question as the other. We can only say that we perceive no symptoms of their having thus studied and thus prepared themselves in any of their writings. And on the contrary we have known physicians on their side of the controversy—that is, calling out for a poor-rate—and who yet allow that, with all the attention they have bestowed on the causes of fever, they have never so much as entertained, and that on grounds and considerations proper to the question, the causes or cure of pauperism. Now really and in good earnest, it is astro-

logy come back again, if men, because of their proficiency in one science, are thus to be vested with a mastery and a jurisdiction over two. It is a subject which must be treated economically as well as medically, else—even though the verdict may have been intrusted to the best and ablest of our physicians—there is no security whatever against a lame and impotent conclusion at their hands. Meanwhile let not the public be hurried by the impulse either of fears or feelings, into the same lame and impotent conclusion along with them. For even though it should be established, which it is far from being, that poverty is the specific cause of those large and frequent epidemical visitations of typhus which take place in towns, the question remains still unresolved, and I may add, as far as they are medical controversialists who have taken part in the argument, still untouched upon—whether a poor-rate be indeed a specific cure for poverty.*

7. At the last meeting of the British Association held in Glasgow, Dr. Alison gave a full exposition of his views; and his address on that occasion has been since published by him. Among the additional matters which he has there interspersed, there is a notice of myself, where he is pleased to express his satisfaction at certain admissions made by me in favour of medical charities. If he conceive that these are recent admissions drawn forth for the first time, and in consequence perhaps of the new light then shed upon the argument, I have only to put him right by referring to various passages in certain works—some of them published as far back as twenty years ago.† But I cannot wonder at his ignorance of these, as it is obvious from what he has written formerly, that like his brother, who with himself utterly misconceives the working of the parochial system in St. John's—that neither of these strenuous advocates for a poor-rate had ever read them. Nor is this to be marvelled at either—

* See the admirable discrimination and sound judicial sense of Mr. Monypenny's observations on this subject in his Reply to Dr. Alison.

† See *Polity of a Nation*, pp. 257, 341-344, 686-688; *Political Economy*, pp. 583-606.

I may here refer to a sermon published by the Archbishop of Dublin on Christ as a Guide and Example to us in matters of Public Charity, where the same principles are advocated which I have ventured to advance in the various works now specified. I beg to take this public opportunity of acknowledging to have received from the Archbishop a copy of this Sermon, with a note in his own handwriting of thanks for having suggested the topic to him—a suggestion which came to him, I imagine, through the medium of this printed Evidence. I should not have adverted at present to the circumstance, but for the purpose of bringing before the minds of the Mr. Alisons an authority in favour of my views whom perhaps they will have some respect for.

seeing that both of these truly excellent men have settled it between them, that, on the question of pauperism, the lights neither of reason nor experience have ever been consulted by me; and accordingly the one tells his readers that all I have done on this question has been under the impulse of an enthusiastic imagination, while the other tells them that in all I have said or written thereupon I have emitted nothing but flashes of oratory.

8. Nevertheless, and at the hazard of again calling forth these appellations, I must still persevere and continue to lift my warning voice against the fearful visitation which these gentlemen, in the eagerness of their miscalculating benevolence, so eagerly desire; and which, in conjunction with certain London associates, the lovers of centralization, and its whole train of commissionerships and secretaryships and guardianships and directorships and assistantships, they in good earnest design for Scotland. I may well term theirs a miscalculating benevolence—for, while the one brother tells us, and tells us truly, that, in every aggregate population of two thousand in the city of Glasgow, at the very least six thousand a year is spent on intoxicating liquors alone; the specific remedy of the other for the distress and destitution of the lower classes in Scotland, is, that the annual sum of eight hundred thousand pounds should be raised, which would just afford six hundred a year *ab extra* for the families of a locality, where the fund *ab intra* thrown away upon low dissipation is of ten-fold greater amount. The obvious question is, whether the moral administration that would give a better direction to the expenditure of the latter and larger fund of Sheriff Alison, which exists within the parish, would not do more for the destitution and consequent disease of our cities, than the pecuniary administration from without of the former and far the lesser fund of Dr. Alison, but a humble fraction of the other. When this question was put, the reply it elicited from this truly estimable person, and which at once marked a heart teeming with sympathy, but a mind withal in which the lights of reflection and arithmetic were for the time suspended, was, that by thus dispensing with the fund *ab extra*, and drawing on the fund *ab intra*, I was making a proposition which when translated into plainer language was just that the poor should support the poor. This brings us to the *ne plus ultra* of reasoning; but while I henceforth must forego the hope of ever being able to satisfy this most amiable of men, or to silence

his unfortunate advocacy of a measure fraught with a thousand evils to the people of our land, I will not forego the hope that under a better regimen they will yet emerge into a state of greater sufficiency and far more secure independence; and that not at the expense of each other, but at the expense of the harpies and oppressors who now so cruelly tyrannize over them—pawnbrokers, and more especially those destroyers of all fulness and comfort in families, the keepers whether of whisky-shops or of gin-palaces.

SECTION VIII.

HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE QUESTION.

1. THERE is nothing which stands forth more patently to the eye of an observant traveller, than the different states of different populations in regard to their sufficiency and style of living, or the command which they have respectively over the necessities and comforts of human existence. How wide the interval for example, whether it respect their food or dress or lodging, between the well-conditioned peasantry of Norway and the hordes of Kamtchatka—or between these last and most wretched of men the stragglers of Tierra del Fuego, and the villagers of a Protestant canton in Switzerland. Within these extremes there are manifold varieties in the various countries of the world; and often is the diversity most palpable when they lie nearest to each other—as between the common people of England and Ireland.

2. There is one very obvious connexion, in the way of cause and consequence, which affords a sort of proximate or first explanation of this difference between one commonalty and another; and which is all the more easily given, that the general state of a people, in respect to comfort and style of living, admits of being illustrated by one particular instance. It is obvious, then, that the general habit of a family throughout the years of its future history, in regard of well or ill-conditionedness, will depend very much on its outset, or on the state of matters when it first took its commencement. Let us imagine of the parents, that, ere they would enter on the marriage union, they made it

indispensable to have the means of a certain decent sufficiency—waiting perhaps till they had made sure of a given income, or till they had amassed a given adequate amount of materials and furniture to insure their being dressed respectably and lodged respectably. It is not difficult to perceive that the same demand for comfort, the same determination to make good a certain seemly and becoming status in society, the same right and respectable taste for the decencies as well as comforts of good living—in a word, the same reach of calculation and foresight, and the same resolute industry and good management, which enabled them to gain the level they had set their hearts upon—form altogether the best guarantees for their being able to maintain it. Now, who does not see that such a style of comfort, reached and realized in this particular way, necessarily implies a previous and corresponding style of taste or character on the part of those who make it good? If, speaking averagely of a population, they will not marry till they have won a certain command, by actual possession or the ability to purchase, over those various articles which compose the maintenance and accommodation of a family—this is tantamount to saying that, on a certain mental habitude or affection, there historically depends in each individual case the economic state of one person or one household; and that, in proportion to the generality of this habit, be it high or low, shall we behold in the commonalty of any given land, an aggregate whether of well-conditioned or ill-conditioned families. Hence the importance of an element which now enters largely into the reasonings and views of Political Economists—we mean the standard of enjoyment in any country or nation. The standard of enjoyment is low in a country, if, as in Ireland, the people are willing to marry with nought but potatoes to feed, and the merest hovel to shelter them; and high, on the other hand, if, as an indispensable preliminary to such a step, there must be the outfit of a snug and well-furnished tenement—with the possession of such an income and the fair prospect of its continuance, as might warrant the reasonable hope of being able, and that on a respectable footing both as to food and clothing, and even the occasional use of little luxuries, to meet the expenses of a coming family.

3. All this seems very obvious, whether the economists shall step forward to construct any speculation upon it or not. But, in point of fact, they have looked to this process, in the connexions and bearings of its various footsteps, and endeavoured to

philosophize it. More particularly is their reasoning directed to the influence which a higher taste and more providential habit among the people must have on the postponement of their marriages; and then, availing themselves of the connexion between later marriages and smaller families, do they tell us of the dependence that obtains between the two elements—a higher standard of enjoyment, and a less excessive population. And indeed it must be obvious that this is a mutual dependence. If, on the one hand, a growing taste for the comforts and decencies of life must lead to fewer and less prolific marriages—on the other, the consequently smaller number of labourers, must, by lightening the competition for employment, tell beneficially on the labour market, in keeping up a higher rate of wages; and so enabling a population to make good that larger sufficiency after which they aspire. It is truly a matter of profound interest, thus to mark how a commonalty can, through the medium of their own collective will, elevate their own status; and by force of character alone, or in virtue of a certain fixed determination, the result of their average inclinations and habits, can realize the very economic condition which generally and on the whole they have set their hearts upon. This at once points out the connexion (expressing it very generally) between the mental and the economical state of a country—or, in other words, tells us, that by operating a certain change upon the minds, we may operate a like change on the circumstances of the general population.

4. Now the all-important question, with the view to a practical and beneficial result, is, What might this change be? There is one imagination which has grievously misled a number of reasoners—beside fastening a discredit on the whole of this argument by making it ridiculous; and this is, that the requisite change on the minds of the people, and so as to enlist them in the cause of their own amelioration, is to put into their minds the philosophy of Malthus, or expound to them the evil of precipitate and the good of postponed marriages, and that on these depends either an excessive or a moderate population, and so a low or high rate of wages. Now however sound, and however accordant with all experience, this theory might be—it is an utter misconception that it is a theory which must be studied and understood by the people, ere the process which it contemplates can be entered on, and its effect on the national wellbeing can be exemplified or realized. In order to set it prosperously

and efficiently agoing, it is not needed that a Malthus should arise to look reflexly on the process, and that with the view of philosophizing it. It has been exemplified in time past, and with a blissful effect on the state of the peasantry, long before he was ever heard of;* and, on the strength of other forces and other considerations than those fetched from any speculation of his, will it again be exemplified in future generations. For this purpose it is not necessary, that they who are to be the fathers and mothers of families, should read economic tracts or give attendance on economic lectures. If we want to introduce a new habit among the common people of a land, it were truly a most absurd and grotesque way of going about it—to tell them either of its result universal throughout society at large, or of the result to which it is ripening, and will at length be perfected in distant ages. It is not by generalities, or by far ulterior prospects of this kind that man is put into motion; but by the palpable and besetting realities, which minister direct to the gratification of his own individual taste, or which visibly and immediately tell on his own individual condition. We may accomplish the desirable change by shifting the personal tastes and inclinations of the people—for we may count with all safety on each man doing what he would like best for himself. But it were the excess of Utopianism to attempt such a change, by presenting them with any comprehensive survey, however just and well-founded, on the doctrine of population and the doctrines of wages—for we shall indeed be wholly out of our reckoning, if we count on each man doing what he would like best for the species.

5. How then is the desired change in the tastes and habits of the commonalty to be brought about? There can be no mistaking the fact of a higher style of living, a higher standard of enjoyment in one country than in another—in virtue of which there obtains a stronger preventive check, in the way of too early or too frequent marriages—which last in its turn (and that whether the people ever anticipate such a consequence or not), by its effect on population and wages, insures a favourable state of the labour market, and so upholds from age to age the spectacle of a well-paid and well-conditioned peasantry—who, without one idea of the economic law ever entering their heads, may nevertheless be themselves the means or instruments for keeping it in operation. Their larger demand for the comforts and re-

* See the *Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*, pp. 20-22.

spectabilities of life tells as a restraint on improvident marriages, and so as to postpone them in a greater or less degree; and, on the other hand, this elevation in their demand proceeds from circumstances which can be assigned as having palpably and immediately to do with it. For example, should commerce arise and increase in any nation, then, by the very presentation of its new articles, does it create new tastes among the people; and so varies or extends their appetite for enjoyment.* And then when, along with commerce, there springs up a stronger sense of justice between man and man, till there come to be firmly established among them the regimen of equitable law, and full security for each in the possession and use of the rightful fruits of his own industry—then this new desire for property combines with their larger desire for the direct enjoyments of life, to extend still more the reach of foresight among the people; and make their entry upon the family state, that greatest event in the personal history of their lives, still more the subject of calculation and delay than it might otherwise have been. And the condition of each man, even in humble life, to be on a level with his neighbour, is of powerful influence in spreading emulously and rapidly that higher taste which has been once introduced amongst them: and so, under the civilizing influences alone of wealth and good government, there might come to be a higher collective style throughout the families of a general population—or, in other words, we shall behold them more respectably attired, and lodged in better houses, with a better quality both of food and furniture than in the days of their forefathers. Such influences go a great way to account for the palpable difference in these respects between England and Ireland—between the country where law, and protection, and full liberty of thought, and constantly advancing trade and agriculture have flourished for so many generations; and the country where, to the bondage of a degrading superstition, there must be added the oppression and misrule of centuries, to frighten both commerce and capital from its shores. And beside the other civilizing influences which tend to elevate a people, and place them on a higher platform of decency and dignity than before, we might have instanced the power of education—had it not been for a distinction to be made between the education of letters and the education of prin-

* See Dr. Smith's account in his *Wealth of Nations*, of the effect which commerce had on the tastes and habits of the land-owners in Europe. It was an effect which reached the whole population.

ciple—the former of itself being comparatively of slight operation, and so far as it goes tending only somewhat to civilize; while the latter is of mighty and pervading effect over the whole man, whom it tends to Christianize, and so to furnish with new habits—the result of that higher wisdom and principle, which are only to be learned at the schools of an enlightened faith. It is this latter element which predominates, and gives its own characteristic and complexional variety to the state of Scotland—whose people have not been so powerfully operated upon by the same merely civilizing influences of luxury and commerce as those of England; but who have had a larger share of the Christianizing influence than either of the neighbouring nations—so as in some respects to have reached a higher standard than that of England, and in all respects than that of Ireland, whose people are behind in both.*

6. It is thus that while the observant historian could not fail to notice the difference in their standards of comfort which obtained among the people of different countries—it is thus that the philosophical historian would assign the causes of it. In the great elements of religion, and scholarship, and liberty, and secure property, and civil justice, and commerce, with its numerous articles of enjoyment to widen the range of human desires—in these would he find enough to account for all the varieties in the economic state of different nations, from the savage tribes of earth's primeval forests to the best-conditioned peasantry in our civilized world. It is only of late, and for the purpose of sustaining an argument in the controversy of the question, that we have heard of a compulsory and legal provision for the poor, as having a place among the other influences which tend to humanize and elevate a population—as if the widest possible diversity in this respect had not been exhibited, and between countries that were alike strangers to the economy of an artificial pauperism. It is very true that England, perhaps the foremost in the race of civilisation, has further signalized herself by the device of a poor-rate. But it were somewhat precipitate to assert because of this, that the poor-rate is therefore the cause of her civilisation. It implies no doubt the nation to have been so far in progress as to have had disposable wealth for the maintenance of a great public charity; and a government so far humanized, as, in benevolent consideration for the sufferings of the poor, to

* See *Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*, pp. 17-19, and printed evidence in pp. 684, 685 of the same work.

have enacted in their behalf a levy and distribution throughout all its parishes. But this leaves the question wholly untouched, Whether, after all, this was a wise or a wayward legislation?—whether it gave an impulse or laid a drag on the ascending movement of a people, now in rapid transition by other and prior causes, to a state of greater sufficiency than had ever been enjoyed by their forefathers? This question perhaps had best be met, and the subject of it be best illustrated, by a distinct and definite example. No one can doubt the progress which Edinburgh has made in wealth during the last two centuries; and that notwithstanding the scenes of wretchedness which have been laid open in those parts of the city where dwell the lowest of the people, whose sunken morality is far more the disgrace of their superiors than their own—the melancholy outcasts as they have been of all Christian surveillance for two or three generations.—Yet who can doubt, that, on the whole, there has been a great and general elevation in the style of comfort which obtains even among the working-classes of our Scottish metropolis? They have shared in the advancing prosperity both of the town and country at large—a prosperity which began at that period when the turbulence of the feudal times had so far subsided as both to insure for each man the fruits of his own toil, and to permit a free development of the resources of the nation. Our own town early led the way in this advancing movement; and we might quote, as a part and specimen of its growing sufficiency, the capital realized by old George Heriot, and destined by him for the erection and endowment of that magnificent Hospital which bears his name—in behalf of the decayed citizens of Edinburgh. Now it were in every way as rational, did we ascribe the progressive comfort which obtains among the families of Edinburgh to the institution of this said charity, as if we ascribed the better economical state of the commonalty in England to the institution of its poor-rate—the former of which charities we owe to the will and ordination of a well-meaning man, the latter to the will and ordination of a well-meaning Parliament. But it follows not that they owe to either the larger prosperity which they now enjoy, and which has arisen from the operation of distinct and anterior causes altogether. Each of these benevolent institutions may have been the effect or luxuriant off-shoot of this prosperity (though in no way the cause of it); and yet may it have been a rank and pernicious luxuriance notwithstanding. For it is a truly possible thing, that as there

may be injudicious bequests, so may there be injudicious laws; or, in other words, that the legacy of George Heriot may on the one hand have done little good to Edinburgh, and on the other the legacy of Elizabeth may have done great evil to England. The same crudities which operate within the heart and come forth in the deeds of an individual, may also obtain a lodgment in the minds of senators, and find vent in the acts which proceed from a hall of legislation.

7. And it is thus that our political speculators, confounding causes with consequents, and essentials with mere accessories, have been misled in their reasonings on Ireland—when they inferred from the absence of a poor-rate there, in conjunction with the extreme misery of its people, that it would prove a remedy for all their wretchedness; and, on the other hand, from the presence of a poor-rate in England, that to it the prosperity of the nation, and more especially the superior comfort of the working-classes was owing—though, in fact, no more owing to its poor-rate than to its national debt. The way to disentangle a question which relates to the state and habits of a population, when complicated with a foreign influence which has nothing to do with it, is to take a view of diverse populations alike to each other, either in being both under that influence or both free from it—as one part of England with another, all under the operation of a poor-rate; or one part of Ireland with another, when altogether free from it. It is well known that the peasantry of England, in its northern counties, were not only of a more elevated cast but in a state of greater sufficiency than those in the south—both under poor-rate, but with this only difference, that the allowances were most sparing in the former; and, in the latter, the most lavish and indiscriminate. But, what is still more decisive, in comparing one part of Ireland with another, the province of Ulster with the more exclusively Catholic provinces, nothing can be more palpable than the superior condition of the common people in the north—a superiority which can by no possibility be ascribed to a legal provision for the destitute, unknown till of late over the whole country, but which is due to the operation of moral causes alone. Would that our statesmen had been wise enough, to read the true lesson from an exhibition so distinctly set forth to them. Never was there a grosser delusion, than that the body of a people can be raised from degradation and want by this wretched expedient of a poor-rate. On this question the experience of Ireland will prove an

echo to the oracular deliverance of the wisest of Irishmen,* who, in reasoning on the distempers of his unhappy land, called on its rulers to give his countrymen religion, to give them education, to give them moral and industrious habits, to give them the fostering influences of liberty and protection upon mind and character and principle—for that everything else (but the semblance of a boon without its reality) was downright fraud.

8. And the same lesson may be drawn, not from the comparison of two, but from the history of one country, or the comparison of that country with itself. We speak of Scotland at the end of the seventeenth century, and of the same Scotland after an interval of nineteen years at the beginning of the eighteenth century—the former as described by Fletcher of Salton, in 1698, the latter by Defoe in 1717.† There cannot be imagined a wider contrast or a greater and more rapid improvement in the moral and economic state of any people—and all due to the energies of that moral administration, which, commencing with the Revolution when our present parochial system was restored to us, after the persecutions and religious wars of one generation, seems to have taken full effect before the lapse of another generation. And they were our zealous and hard-working clergy, with the instrumentality of a well-disciplined Church and well-ordered schools, who worked out this great amelioration. In the period to which we now refer, a compulsory provision for the poor was unknown, save at most in two or three parishes. Everywhere else the parochial charity was altogether gratuitous—a mighty lesson we do think to the speculators of our day, if they would but learn at the school of experience and history; and a most decisive intimation to our rulers, whether it is the importation of an English poor-rate, or the extension of our ecclesiastical and educational economy, that promises best for the wellbeing of the common people of Scotland.‡

* Edmund Burke.

† See the extracts from these two writers in pp. 637-638, of the *Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*, being Vol. X. of the series.

‡ For the few remarks we can afford to make on the Foreign Poor-laws, see a future section.

SECTION IX.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE QUESTION.

1. IT is only since Malthus gave his views to the world, that the subject of pauperism has come under the full cognizance of political economy, or taken a formal place as one of the themes or arguments of this science. Yet Dr. Smith—the great author of the still prevalent theory of wealth, even as the other is author of the theory of population—does advert in some of his reasonings to the general state and standard of enjoyment among the common people, as affected by the riches of a country, whether as progressive or declining or stationary. It is obvious at the same time, that, had he been as conversant with the more recent of these two doctrines—with the doctrine of population, as with his own doctrine of wealth—it would have greatly modified the conclusions to which he came on the condition of the lower classes at large. But this, at all events, is a distinct topic from that of pauperism, which respects not the lower but the lowest class in society, or the state of the number of those who depend for their subsistence in whole or in part on a legal and compulsory provision, raised for the express object of relieving the destitute. It is to this more special department that we refer, when we say of pauperism, that it has only of late become the article of an economical creed, or had a regular place assigned to it among the dogmata and demonstrations of economical science.

2. And we are not sure that the preferment of our theme to the higher region of philosophy has been at all favourable to the progress of sounder views on the question of pauperism, or to its sounder practical treatment than before. This has laid upon it the servitude, as it were, of a disputed and to many a doubtful theory, in virtue of which many adverse prejudices have been excited; and the whole subject has been distorted, simply from being looked to through the mists of controversy. It is thus that the veriest truisms of plain and everyday experience are made to appear as the precarious conclusions of a precarious if not a wholly untenable hypothesis; and which yet, detached from that hypothesis or anterior to the promulgation of it, were as implicitly received as are any the most incontrovertible maxims of common prudence or common housewifery. That marriage

should be delayed till there is the fair prospect of a sufficiency both for its present and subsequent expenses, and that it is all the more respectable to have a high notion of this sufficiency rather than a low one—these are propositions which, apart from science or speculation altogether, will be recognised in the immediate light of their own evidence, and not only recognised but acted on by every well-trained and well-educated population, whether by the members of a household or the families of a parish. There is no need of any larger surveys to warrant or to guide the only proceedings by which the right and desirable result can alone be realized. The patent way is to train and educate the people; and the economical blessings which follow this process will be equally sure, whether we take account or not of a whole country or a whole world's population.

3. But whatever opinion may be held on the philosophy of Malthus (in our view as irrefragable as the most rigid demonstration), and whether the law of pauperism tend to an undue increase of the population or not—there are certain other of its tendencies from which it may be shown, on the surest and clearest principles of Political Economy, that the strictly unavoidable consequences of the law, wearing though it does an aspect of benignity to the poor, must be to lower the remuneration of labour; and so to depress the general condition of the lower orders, while it raises a permanent and invincible barrier in the way of their reascent from the degradation into which it has brought them.

4. Nothing can be more natural, and we may add more patent to observation, wherever there exists a large public and certain provision for the poor, than that the care thus taken of each man by the legislature should lessen his own care of himself. Generally or at least frequently speaking, he will be greatly less careful to provide against future contingencies—when thus made to believe, that, under whatever contingencies, he will not be permitted to starve. We do not say that a poor-rate will extinguish the habit of accumulation, for innumerable instances can be alleged of the contrary. But it is enough for our argument, that it powerfully tends to weaken and reduce the habit; and accordingly there are thousands and thousands more of the working classes in England, who have a perfect scorn for Savings' Banks—and that on the express ground of their being institutions set up by the rich, not for the benefit of the lower orders, but to save their own pockets. We have elsewhere

explained,* and must here satisfy ourselves with a very brief re-statement of the efficacy which lies in these institutions to elevate the status of labourers—so that if by their means a habit of economy were to become general amongst the common people, it would not only secure them against the extreme distress incident to those seasons of periodical depression which so often occur in the commercial world; but would place the average and permanent wages of labour on a higher level than before.

5. It is on the occasion of what are called gluts, or when the market happens to be overstocked with a particular commodity, that a fall takes place in the wages of the men who are engaged in its preparation; and which wages may continue wretchedly low for months together, even beneath the starving point till the glut be cleared away. Now, if there have been no previous economy among these workmen, if they have nothing to live upon but the immediate produce of their current day's labour—the temptation is to overstrain and exceed to the uttermost, so as to make up by the quantity of work for the miserably deficient wages now bestowed upon it. And, accordingly it has been known among the hand-loom weavers, that, in such times of calamity, to eke out a scanty pittance for themselves and their famishing children, the loom was kept constantly agoing by the man and wife taking their turns and sharing it between them during all the four and twenty hours—a direct method by which both to increase and lengthen out the glut; or, in other words, not only to deepen but indefinitely to protract the heavy distress to which the adverse state of markets had brought them. Now when once the opposite habit, the habit of providentially laying up in store, as God has prospered them, shall have become general among labourers, this process would be most beautifully reversed. Men having other resources would not work on such miserable wages; or, at all events, would not overwork, but rather take it easily—and, if they worked at all, would work a great deal less than usual. Many in possession of a small accumulated capital, would betake themselves for the time to other employments—nay, some of them might afford to rise up to play; and turn what wont to be a season of utter helplessness and despair, into a season of holiday enjoyment. And they would make of it a brief while brilliant interval—for this slackening of

* See my chapter on Savings' Banks in the *Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*; and my article in the *Edinburgh Review*, of May 1820, entitled, "State and Prospects of Manufactures."

work would not only alleviate the glut, but shorten the duration of it. It is thus that, by dint of accumulation in good times, the inconveniences of the transition period in bad times could easily be weathered and got over in as many weeks, as now takes months—ere the market could be sufficiently lightened of its supplies, and the price both of the commodity and of the labour which gives its birth were again restored to their customary level.

6. But more than this. Were such the general habit of labourers, the customary rate of wages would undergo a gradual elevation; and not only in times of emergency, but at all times, should we behold the common people in a far higher state of sufficiency than they have ever yet attained. The truth is, that with each or the greater number in the possession of a small capital, they would have a far more effective control over the labour market, than men in a condition of helpless dependence, or from hand to mouth for their daily subsistence, could possibly realize. The collective will of men having something might command a doubly greater remuneration for their labour, than the collective will of men having nothing. They are not so entirely at the dictation of their employers—because, able to hold for time the propositions of the other party at abeyance, they are in a measure the arbiters of their own state; and, virtually, the question of their wages lies all the more at their own determination. Some look with jealousy to this result—while to me it affords a perspective of brightest and most cheering anticipation. I long to see the day when the wages of labour shall bear a far greater proportion than they do now either to the rent of land or to the profits of capital. On every question between masters and servants, as for example that of the combination laws, I must confess that all my partialities and wishes are on the side of the latter—for even though in the competition of rival interests, the scale were to turn more than hitherto on the side of labourers, and so the upper classes perhaps be shorn somewhat of their splendour—this were better than a hundred-fold compensated by the result of a better and happier population, regaling both the heart and the eye of every real philanthropist by the spectacle of their well-subsisted, well-clad, and in every way well-conditioned families.* This will at length be effected, not by the strong hand of legislation—not by any violence done to the laws of political economy, which are as much beyond the reach of

* See my chapters on Combinations, in *Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*, being Vol. X. of the series.

human power as the laws of Nature—but rather by the silent yet resistless operation of these laws, when as certainly while as quietly as if by hydrostatic pressure, wages are borne up to a higher level, simply because in the negotiations of the market, labourers, on the strength of their own accumulated savings, can treat more independently than heretofore with the hirers of labour.

7. The same principle which leads us so to advocate and befriend savings' banks, leads us also to deprecate a poor-rate. The one is the antagonist of the other. The self-denial which foregoes or gives up a present enjoyment, must, to become general, be palpably for the sake of one's own future benefit—and not, as under the economy of a compulsory pauperism, for the relief or benefit of rate-payers, who are viewed by the common people of England in the light of natural enemies. It is thus that the system of legal charity has proved an incubus on the rising energies of those who live by labour—because it has lured them from a dependence on themselves; and from the free use of those inherent capabilities, by dint of which, and on the strength alone of their own economy and virtuous habits, the whole platform of humble life could be lifted above the mire and sordidness of its present degradation. It is the direct operation of a poor-rate to keep them in the mire. The labourer who spends all he earns is at the perpetual mercy of his employers, who can bring him to the very margin of pauperism—next to which, and on the slightest further depression, he is forced to enter its territory, where all his allowances are fixed and regulated by the guardians and administrators of a poor's-house. It is woful to think of a noble peasantry, who, under another management, could have won for themselves a secure and impregnable position, whence they might at all times have commanded a decent sufficiency as the remuneration of their toils—that so many of them, ranged as it were along the limit which divides the pauper from the independent labourer, should alternate on either side of it; and thus at one time have a maintenance rigidly awarded to them by parish overseers, and at another a maintenance some hair-breadths larger in the shape of wages, when some favourable chance, however slight, in the tremulous labour market, again releases them from imprisonment. It is thus that the condition of the lowest orders is virtually at the arbitration of parish-officers and vestry-men on the one hand who will allow as little, and of capitalists or farmers on the

other who will pay as little more than these as they possibly can. This is the unfailing effect of a legal charity for the relief of indigence ; and, in as far as the people themselves have been beguiled into a desire or a demand for such an economy, they have become parties to their own degradation. It is all the more provoking of this system, that, like Satan transformed into an angel of light, it wears an aspect of benignity to the poor—while it diverts them from the alone pathway to comfort and independence, by holding forth a seeming guarantee against destitution which it never can make good, even a promise of sufficiency to all which it can never realize.

8. One specimen of its operation might make this palpable. Conceive a decline in some branch of employment which had given occupation to a certain number of workmen in a parish, and just such a wage as kept them out of the workhouse. In the absence of all providential habits, they will have no resources of their own to fall back upon ; and thus there seems no other alternative than that so many of them shall be received as in-door paupers, to remain such till the return of better times when the price of labour again rises, and comes back to that minimum point at which it is judged that men and their families might live. It is then that, discharged from confinement, they re-enter the open field of competition with their fellow-workmen ; when certain it is that their presence there must operate either in keeping down wages at the minimum, or at least retarding if not altogether preventing their further elevation. Certain it is that the wages must settle at a lower point in the scale, in virtue of the presence of these discharged workmen—who, kept as a *corps de réserve*, fulfil the part of a dead weight on the labour market, to the great convenience, we have no doubt, at times, of master tradesmen and master manufacturers. Had they been otherwise disposed of—instead, for example, of being detained by an unfortunate Poor-law at home—had they availed themselves of public facilities held out for emigration, the adverse consequences of their return to the overstocked department of their former industry would not have followed. But so it is that a Poor-law, which many eulogize as the grand specific for all the economical distempers of our land, has just the effect of plunging the working-classes into an abyss, from which, so long as its deadly operation is permitted to continue, it is impossible to raise them.*

* See a striking instance of this operation in *Polity of a Nation*, p. 464.

9. The difference that we have now stated, in point of effect, between the emigration of our able-bodied labourers and a legal provision for them however temporary at home, should at once decide our preference for the former. There are reasons, which at present we refrain from expounding, for distrusting even the efficacy of emigration, as being of itself or if not accompanied with certain other measures, a remedy of unfailing operation for the miseries of an over-peopled land. But it is worthy of remark, how readily and how confidently our commonplace speculators on this question will advance and advocate their expedients of all sorts for the alleviation of the economic pressure, if it have but the semblance of a tendency that way—without once considering whether, if adopted in the lump, they would not conflict with and neutralize each other. They are not arrested for a moment by this consideration; and will call out strenuously for Savings' Banks, and as strenuously for a Poor-law, and again as strenuously for emigration, and for the contemporaneous operation of these and all other devices which can be thought of, the more the better—as if their number would add to their momentum, till at length the result was made sure of all destitution being met and provided for. It does not occur that a poor-rate hinders the beneficial operation of a Savings' Bank—because many will not accumulate a provision there, for what they conceive has been already provided by the laws of their country; and also that thousands, under the same system, will refuse to emigrate—because unwilling to exchange for the hazards of such an enterprise, the patrimonial right to a subsistence which law has secured for them at home.

10. There is one prognostication we have often made,* and do it still with unabated confidence—which is, that when once the right expedient is fallen upon for lightening a population of its redundancy, it must tell with a certainty and a speed far greater than men ever think of anticipating, on the rise of wages, and so on the general elevation of the working-classes. We have elsewhere explained the principle on which a very small excess in the number of labourers must operate a very great reduction in the price of labour; and hence the equal power of a very small diminution in their number in restoring wages to their wonted level, or even raising them indefinitely above it. Emigration, if on a scale of sufficient magnitude, would for once at least, or at rare and long intervals, have this effect tempo-

* See *Polity of a Nation*, p. 419, &c.

rarily. And the moral preventive check of Malthus, which nothing can put into general operation but the adoption of right methods for the establishment of a higher taste and character among the people, would have the same effect permanently. In other words, it is mainly—for everything else is of a subordinate and subsidiary operation—it is mainly to moral causes that we must look for the only effectual solution of this great problem; and the people themselves, when once placed under a wholesome moral regimen, will be found to have the remedy in their own hands. The deacon who patronized a local Savings' Bank, and provided for the education of all the young, at well-conducted schools, and stimulated the attendance of his families on church, and did all that could be effected by the conversation and personal intercourse of his ever-recurring visits to humanize and dignify the people committed to his charge—he could do much to speed forward the desired result in his own district; and this is just tantamount to saying, that a right parochial system could generalize the same result, and realize its benefits and its blessings for the country at large.

SECTION X.

POLITICS OF THE QUESTION.

1. FOR our least and lowest specimen of the influence of politics on this question, we might refer to those Commissioners of Inquiry, whose obvious aim it is to make out a case. We are far from affirming this to be universal, though we fear it is too frequent—more especially when the inquiry, if made to terminate in one way, is to issue in the establishment of a Board, with an apparatus of constituent and dependent and withal well-paid offices. When under the influence of such an anticipation, the whole business, more especially if in the hands of a sordid Government, and of the alike sordid hirelings whom they employ, is very apt to degenerate into what is familiarly termed a job—and that because of the much-longed-for and much-laboured-after result, which is to swell the patronage of the one party, and to provide salaries for the other. It is grievous to think of such wretched influences as these, presiding over the determina-

tion of a great moral as well as economical question ; and pauperism is pre-eminently of this description—affecting not the comfort alone, but the character and habits of a whole population. This is a great evil ; and it is one to which our question of all others stands peculiarly exposed, from the semblances and plausibilities which it furnishes to one, who without much skill or discernment, might avail himself of the facilities which they give to him, for making an appeal to popular sympathy, and so hurrying onward, as if by impulse, the public mind to a precipitate and wrong conclusion. It is by a woful perversion of all that is just and sound in the philosophy of human affairs—that a question like this should have been submitted to the arbitration of mere statistes and surveyors. All they can do, in that capacity, is to ascertain the facts of a case—of a population, it may be in a state of what they would call extreme destitution ; and if not of extreme misery, it is because the only standard of comfort whereof they have any experimental knowledge, is so immeasurably beneath that of the more civilized countries around them. But thus to ascertain the facts of a case is truly a distinct matter from that of providing for the case. But this seems well-nigh forgotten in the work of legislation as practised now-a-days. If, in former times, the tendency was to proceed on principles without facts—as if to keep at the greatest possible distance from this error, the incessant demand now is for facts without principles. And so our empirical statesmen would commit questions of the most momentous import into the hands of mere collectors and empirics like themselves.

2. The evil is much aggravated, when the temptation thus to pervert and mismanage out of doors is followed up by another temptation, which we fear is powerfully felt, and has a most misleading influence within the walls of Parliament. The greatest danger of this is when the two great parties in the state are almost equally poised ; and with a readiness in each to lay hold of any element which might give it an advantage over the other, there ensues between them a rivalry for popularity—a bidding for the good opinion of the multitude, which, in these days when the constitution has been so greatly popularized, is of so much more importance than ever for the attainment of power. And the question of pauperism is precisely the one which stands most in danger of being thus tampered with ; and accordingly there is perhaps none which has been so frequently made a stalking-horse for the objects of political men. This is truly a

sore evil ; and we fear has told most mischievously on the question first of general education for England, and then of religious instruction in Scotland—when the ruling party found it necessary, in order to conciliate the Dissenters, to keep both of these vital questions in abeyance. This too, we believe, is the secret reason why Ireland has been precipitated into a Poor-law, as well as England been arrested on her way to the eradication of her own pernicious system of charity. It is because men of both parties make on this particular question a sacrifice of their own convictions ; and will rather join in the perpetration of a grievous injury to the common people, than incur the odium of a seeming hostility against them. It is thus that the questions of most urgent importance to the good of society are disposed of—decided, not on their own merits, but so as to subserve for the time being, the ever shifting objects of a wretched partisanship.

3. Yet in justification of measures, though palpably hastened forward by the corrupt influences which we have now specified, we sometimes hear a principle alleged—we mean a principle in the science of government ; and, perhaps, the one most frequently quoted is centralization, which aims at the establishment of a uniform regime for the whole empire, and has all the greater charms to an administration which seeks to strengthen and perpetuate its own power, that it so often makes room for the multiplication of offices, and for the consequent increase of patronage in its own hands. This is what we have most to dread in the projected changes which are said to be now in contemplation on the pauperism of Scotland, and that for the purpose of harmonizing it with the system of pauperism in England—to prepare the way for which, it is rumoured that Commissioners from that country will be appointed, to inquire and sit in judgment, both on our methods of parochial charity, and on the state of our population. Should this design ever be carried into effect, we may lay our account with the most ludicrous mistakes on the part of those official visitors from England. They will come in among a people who have a different standard or rather a different style of enjoyment from their own,* each deviation from which will in their eyes appear to be a deficiency, and so an argument for a levy on the parish to make it up. Our bare-footed children and earthen-floored tenements will be to them the indications of an extreme wretchedness ; and so also perhaps may be the houses

* See the latter portion of Polity of a Nation, being Vol. X. of the series.

of our peasantry—not, it is certain, so tastefully fitted up, or kept in the comfort and cleanliness which so regale the eye in the picturesque cottages and rural hamlets of England. We are gradually, it is certain, and in the natural progress of civilisation, making upon our southern neighbours; and the progress is to the full as striking, if not more so, in the unassessed as in the assessed parishes of Scotland. We hope therefore that the project of repeating in this country the experiment which has just been set up in Ireland will be forthwith abandoned; and that the preposterous attempt will not be made here to raise the general economic condition of a people, or put them into a state of greater sufficiency by means of a poor-rate. There is certainly some danger of such being the result—if the question of our national pauperism is first to be looked at by English eyes, and then submitted to the arbitration of Englishmen. This is the very conclusion which they of all others will be most apt to land in—more especially when comparing what they will interpret into glaring evidences of wretchedness among the people, with what they will be astonished at as the glaring deficiency of our parish allowances. The palpable way, it may be thought, of making these two ends meet, were just to provide for the one by enlarging the other—a method however, it is most certain, which will not alleviate the sufferings of our poor; but will only annihilate the last remnants of that noble and virtuous habit, which was in full and fresh because then undisturbed operation, among the Scottish peasantry in the days of our grandfathers. We can figure its effect on these our inspectors from the South, when they find so many of our paupers who have no visible means of subsistence—such as they can state numerically, or registrate in one of their official schedules—when they find on their examination of our sessional records, that the sums currently given to these may be such as eighteen-pence a week or half-a-crown in the month, or even but twenty shillings in the year to eke out a house-rent, nay perhaps so little in a whole twelvemonth as the money that will purchase a pair of shoes. It is forgotten that the parochial charity of Scotland does not profess—save in those rare instances where there is an absolute necessity—to provide an entire maintenance for its paupers. All which it undertakes or professes is to give in aid. The methods of its administration are founded on the principle—First, that if any pensioner have a remainder of strength for working, that strength should be put forth; for it is his duty to be as little burdensome as possible—

Second, that if he have relatives who have the means of contributing to his relief, it is their duty to help him—Third, that if surrounded by neighbours, their sympathy and succour will not be wanting, and that to supersede these is not for the virtue or substantial wellbeing of any parish—Fourth, that if any affluent and kind-hearted gentleman or lady be within reach, it is proper that a representation of the case should be made to them, either by the clergyman or any of his elders; and that it is greatly better when the exigence is met by a secret donative from an individual, than by an allowance from a kirk-session. There is great confidence felt amongst us in the efficacy of these preventive expedients; and we utterly deprecate the system which would put an end to them. And we may well add, that, save in transition periods or times of extraordinary distress, it is a confidence that never fails us. We stand in dread of any assimilation to the poor-law of England, because sure that it would undermine the operation of all those principles on which hitherto we have placed our reliance—the foresight and industry of our labourers, the mutual obligations of kindred, the duties and affinities of social life, the spontaneous benevolence of our upper classes. There may be too much of the ethereal and too little of the tangible in all this for the common run of our Parliamentary Commissioners. Nevertheless we do entreat them to spare us; and would humbly suggest it were better, if they first ascertained of their own system that it gave satisfaction to their people at home, ere they offered to palm it upon us. It were time for them to look abroad, after they had settled all controversy on the subject among themselves. The rumour of their movement northward has spread great alarm amongst us; and there is a rising spirit in our land to ward off from it the invasion of English ideas and English practices. With every disposition therefore to be courteous, we would earnestly implore them to keep within their own borders; and reserve any experiments which they are anxious to make, whether in legislation or economics, for the people of their own territory.

4. But under this head there still remains something further to be said—for it would now appear, that it is not from English politics alone, that danger is to be apprehended; but that the cause of a right settlement for the poor lies open to the utmost jeopardy from the state of our politics at home. It is not many weeks since there came forth upon this subject a very sound and able Report by a Committee of Landed Proprietors from various

parts of Scotland, followed up however by a series of most unfortunate Remarks by one of their own number, and printed with the knowledge and under the sanction of the Committee. We can imagine nothing more singularly untoward, than that, at a time when a cordial and common understanding between the Church and heritors of Scotland is so indispensable to the right settlement of this question, such a mediator as the author of these remarks should have risen up between them; and so managed as, in the course of his observations, to have positively said nothing that is not directly fitted to stir up acerbity of feeling between the two parties, and put them into a state of hopeless misunderstanding and alienation from each other. Certain it is that both the clergy and the land-owners take the strongest possible interest in the projected changes on the pauperism of Scotland; but that of the former is chiefly a moral interest felt by them as guardians of the national virtue, and apprehensive of a system that carries in it a deteriorating influence on the principles and habits of the common people. And without detracting in the least from the philanthropy of the latter, or casting the slightest discredit on the patriotic regard which they bear both to the comfort and character of the lower orders, they, over and above this, have of all classes the strongest moneyed interest in the determination of this question—seeing that mainly upon them, or upon the rental of their estates, the great burden of the proposed expenditure would fall. Now if that view of pauperism be admitted which is advocated in these pages, and which we are glad to observe is the prevalent view and opinion of Churchmen in Scotland—then is there a most happy coincidence between that moral interest which the clergy should have most at heart; and that moneyed interest which, not denying their full sympathy with the latter and higher object, the heritors must have much at heart also. What Burke said of education, and it holds pre-eminently true of the education of principle, that it is the cheap defence of nations, applies with peculiar force and emphasis to the question of pauperism—the best and far the cheapest provision for which is the Christian instruction of the people. Behold then the solid foundation, because a foundation of truth and principle, of the strongest natural alliance between the Church and the heritors of Scotland—or rather, because the very opposite of a joint conspiracy against the good of the lower orders, the foundation of a firm triple alliance between the Church, the heritors, and the people—who,

if each party but understood their own interests, might enter with most friendly co-operation on the prosecution of this great cause. We cannot imagine therefore a more untoward event, a more grievous *malconvenience*, than that when on the eve of stepping upon this common ground, so rich in the promises of a most fruitful and enduring fellowship, this representative of the landed interest and professed expounder of their views and feelings, should at the very commencement of negotiations so hopeful, have come forth to cast a firebrand in the midst of us, and such a firebrand too, as that, in the very attempt to extinguish it, there is danger of still further collision, and that between parties whose imperative policy as well as duty it is, to act in peace and cordiality together.*

5. Nevertheless the truth, for once at least (we have no desire to harp on it), must be told. He accuses us first of contempt and contumely to the Government, for having received with coldness a proposition of theirs, which cast us on the land-owners of Scotland for the endowment of our New Churches; and then of distrust in these land-owners, to whose liberality and willingness we should have confided all that was required for supplying the lack of Christian education among the people. Our brief reply to this is, that from the time when the property of the Church was first seized on by the landlords, down to the present hour, we have with a few splendid exceptions, experienced nothing but the most tenacious resistance at their hands, to every claim preferred by us on that fund which was once ours but is now theirs, for the extension of the means of religious instruction, whether by the erection of new churches or in the shape of a necessary provision for additional clergymen. This is our vindication—nor do we mean to repeat it—both of the disappointment we felt in the proposal of Government, and of our diffidence in the necessary consent to it of the heritors of Scotland.

6. We are glad to make our escape from this painful reckoning—feeling as we do, not the desirableness only, but the duty—and that for the chance of securing a great moral boon to the poorer families of our land,—of making every sacrifice that is consistent with truth and honour, in this question between the Church and the heritors of Scotland. And for this purpose we are willing to abjure all the historical recollections of former

* This was strongly felt by me in drawing up the last Report on Church Extension to the General Assembly, it being the Seventh Report, and to which I beg to refer the reader.

years; to discharge from our memory—First, the Act of 1706, by which the consent of three-fourths of the heritors was required, ere the disjunction of too large or populous parishes could be effected—Second, the almost impracticable barrier which this has raised in the way of church extension—Third, the frequent annexation of parishes, when the increasing population of the country imperiously required a movement in the opposite direction—Fourth, the general opposition and alarm, even of a few years back, on the part of the landed proprietors, as indicated by the resolutions of county meetings in all parts of Scotland, when a bill which threatened to facilitate the erection of new churches passed through Parliament—where it would infallibly have been stopped had not the patrimonial interests of the tithe-holders been protected by clauses of greater stringency than ever,—And lastly, the exceeding rarity (we remember only one example) of any allocation to our extension churches of the unexhausted teinds—notwithstanding the moral certainty that there is not a congregation in our scheme by whom it would not have been most thankfully received; and not a presbytery in Scotland, where the boon would not have been acknowledged with the utmost cordiality and respect. These facts—now that we are reproached by this advocate for Scotland's land-owners in not having trusted to their liberality—we shall willingly cast into the deep sea of oblivion; or, if we cannot altogether extinguish the recollection of them, we shall at least acknowledge the error into which we have fallen, in grounding what we are now told was a mistaken conclusion on all our bygone experience: and, now that the means have been thus placed within our sight, and we hope within our reach, of an ample provision in behalf of our overgrown parishes for a century to come—we shall make all the reparation we can to the landed proprietors for the injustice we have done them, by our instant and most grateful acceptance of the proffer; and the as instant dismissal from our thoughts of the acerbities and the wrongs of former generations.

SECTION XI.

STATISTICS OF THE QUESTION.

1. WE confess that the prevalent notion of statistics differs essentially from the view that we have ever entertained of it. To express our idea generally, we should say that to learn the statistics of any given subject is to acquire that knowledge of it in its several parts, which, as may be shown by specific instances, is quite a distinct thing from the knowledge that we may have of it on the whole. Take for an illustrative example the statistics of British agriculture. We might know generally of the millions of quarters of various sorts of grain produced annually in the whole island; or we might know statistically of the thousands of quarters produced in each separate county; and it were a still more thorough statistics, did we know of the hundreds or tens of quarters produced in each parish. And so might there be a general description of the mineralogy of the British Isles, or a statistical description of the mineralogy of each small district. In like manner we might have a British Flora; and from the study of such a work, we might pass on to the statistics of botany by entering on the study of its provincial or even its parochial floras. And so the magnificent sketches of Humboldt could be broken down into an atlas of successive landscapes, which would present us with what may be called the statistics of scenery. Statistics in short stands in the same relation to general science that topography does to geography. As our last illustration, we might perhaps distinguish between a general view of the moon as seen by the naked eye, and that more particular view of its several telescopic fields of vision, which, if each laid before us in a descriptive paragraph of its own, would furnish the statistics of the moon's surface. The word is comparatively recent; and we always understood it as the sub-diminutive of state—so that while we spoke of the state of a country, when described as a whole, we speak of its statistics, when described by its shires or towns or parishes. We are not sure that the term was at all in use amongst us, before Sir John Sinclair undertook the Statistical Account of Scotland. It is obvious that if our view or definition of statistics were adopted and proceeded on, the assiduous cultivation of it would mightily contribute, not to the facts

only, but to the philosophy of all the sciences—securing a far more deep and thorough insight into any given matter of contemplation; and bringing up to view more both of the inner structure and hidden principle of things. It would advantage human knowledge by all the difference between a superficial and a profound acquaintance with Nature in its various departments; and be the parent of great discoveries—just as the treatment of a small bit of chalk opened up a new storehouse of wonders in chemistry, and unravelled secrets to which no general survey of all the cliffs and strata on the face of the earth could have ever led the way.

2. Such might be the high achievement of statistics as thus understood; but not as tied down by the definitions and rules of a society in whose hands the whole subject has been so fettered and restricted, that, viewed as an instrument of inquiry, little or nothing has yet been done by it. For, first, they propose “to confine their attention rigorously to facts; and, as far as it may be found possible, to facts which can be stated numerically and arranged in tables.” Now by this exclusion of all which cannot be stated numerically, we venture to affirm that an interdict is laid on our attention to those very facts which are of the greatest scientific importance, and therefore possess the highest claims to the recognition of inquirers. If this demand for numbers must on all occasions be deferred to, if, ere facts can be admitted to a place in the estimation or regard of this new race of philosophers, it be their paramount condition that they must be stated arithmetically—then we see not how any acceptance can be found for many of the greatest and most pregnant facts in all philosophy; and which, but for this arbitrary dictation of a recent school, would have possessed a high rank in the statistics of one or other of the sciences. And then, under the cover of this conventional aphorism of theirs, how many are the solemn insignificances which might be palmed on the notice of the public. In botany, for example, it might be of importance to know that certain species had been found in higher latitudes, than where they had ever been even thought capable of living or propagating before; but of no earthly importance to know that there were seven rather than six specimens of one sort, twelve of another, and seventeen of a third. It is this latter information however—the how many, the category of number—which, in the eyes of our modern statist, stamps all its value on the facts now specified—as if truths were of no worth, unless they were

such as could be scheduled, and placed in an imposing array of figures, before the disciples of this new science, which has fashions of its own. At this rate we can no more wonder at the immense store of downright puerilities, which have been suffered to accumulate on their hands—as meaningless and effete as any of those into which my excellent friend Mr. Cleland ever permitted himself to run, when giving way occasionally to an indiscriminate passion for statistics of any kind, if they only admitted of being put into a tabular form. His statement, for example, of the weights and prices of all the church-bells in the city of Glasgow, will satisfy all the conditions on which these associated *savans* have of late shown themselves to be so determined and peremptory—for it can both be expressed in arithmetical ciphers, and set forth in parallel columns, to the great delight and edification of these devoted amateurs. Verily there is some room for the classification on which a newspaper editor proceeded lately, when, for a title or heading to one of his paragraphs, he prefixed the very significant and necessary warning of “Statistics worth knowing.”

3. But absolutely to insure that, in the great mass and majority of what has been piled together in the lumbering and voluminous collections of the last few years, the statistics shall not be worth knowing—behold another rule or maxim of one of their most celebrated societies—even that “The Statistical Society (of London) will consider it the first and most essential rule of its conduct, to exclude carefully all opinions from its transactions and publications.” If it be meant by this, that no preconceived opinions shall be suffered to interfere with the most scrupulously faithful registration of well-observed facts, nothing can be more philosophical or more Baconian than this. But if it be meant that all opinions are to be excluded, not merely as matters of belief, but as matters even of consideration, so as not to be entertained even as objects of thought—then have the society, and in homage too to what they think the inductive philosophy, cast away from them what in truth is both the directing and the animating principle of all inductive inquiries. It is very true that a much-loved hypothesis might operate with a disturbing bias on the work of observation : but that the observer should take up a hypothesis from others, or even frame one for himself, and then place it upon its trial—why, this is the very process to which modern science is indebted for almost every footstep of the sure and rapid advancement which she has made in these latter

days. There is all the difference in the world between two questions—the first put by a mind unconscious of all opinions whatever on the subject at issue, and then casting itself abroad among the thousand likelihoods of speculation, on the chance or possibility of its lighting upon the one and only truth which can abide the test of all experience; and the second put by a mind which has got hold of a distinct opinion, and then sets itself forward to the distinct object of prosecuting such experiments or observations as might serve either to verify or disprove it. The former or the indefinite question, may be put thus, What is the truth? and the latter or the definite question thus, Is this the truth? It is in the latter way, or by a tentative process, each term in the series being a distinct and definite attempt to dispose of a given something, and that by a verdict of proven or not proven—it is thus that truth is far more quickly and certainly arrived at; and should this process be discarded, then the united labours of all the statisticians in the world will not make out one great or valuable discovery, will not even prepare the way for it.

4. Let the statical essayist, then, be permitted without rebuke to state from the outset, what the opinions are which his proposed induction is fitted to determine, and if, in the course of his informations, be they few or many, one of these should brighten towards certainty, let it be competent for him to point out the growing evidence, and even to proclaim the consequent belief—nay, though the doctrine in question should rest but on the authority of one observation, an *instantia crucis*, let not a fact so pregnant be despised by our assembled *savans* because of its singleness, even albeit a solitary unit, requiring for its accommodation no table to meet the definition of their learned committee, no parallel columns wherewith to regale their eyesight. We are aware of the fashionable contempt for theory; but a sound theory is one thing, and ought not to be confounded with an untried hypothesis which is another. A theory is a general proposition, which may be true in spite of its generality; and in this case it becomes a general fact—all the more important in proportion to its generality, because embracing then a larger portion of truth, or comprehending all the larger number of facts and phenomena. Theory, now-a-days, has become the object of an adverse popular cry, hooted at as a stigmatized outcast; and so put forth of the camp, to make room for the empirical and chance-medley collections of the present day. It is thus that our statisticians, pro-

fessed worshippers though they be of the inductive philosophy, have utterly mistaken wherein it is that the great strength of this philosophy lies. Their intellectual tactics have accordingly become the worst possible, of paltry achievement, and leading to no permanent or general results—just as bad as if in military tactics one should prefer being at the head of a miscellaneous rabble rather than of a well-marshalled regiment. Verily it may be said of this town-made philosophy of theirs, that there is an urgent call for the revisal of its principles and rules, or rather for the abolition of its perversities and its errors.

5. We might have gone into a further exposition of these ; but we shall hold this task to be superseded by referring, once for all, to an article of extraordinary merit, which appeared in the 31st volume, page 45, or 60th number, for April 1838, of the London and Westminster Review. We have recently learned that its author is John Robertson, Esq., the former editor of that periodical—a native of Aberdeen, and now a resident in London. We earnestly advise the republication of that paper in a separate form—exposing, as it does with great felicity and force, the fundamental errors in the procedure of that society on which he animadverts. He has fully made good all his four objections to their rule for the exclusion of opinions. “1. That it prevents the discovery of new truths. 2. It deprives the labours of the society of definite purposes. 3. The facts of which it causes the collection and arrangement, are those which are useless and irrelevant as evidence. 4. The observance of this rule is irreconcilable not merely with the progress of science and knowledge, but with the actions and operations of the society itself.” Perhaps Mr. Robertson would do well to expand somewhat his views and illustrations—though every intelligent reader must recognise in the following pregnant expressions, the whole principle and philosophy of the subject:—“Theories, be it ever remembered, are facts viewed by the most powerful minds ; what are called facts, are details and particulars as conceived by the most ordinary minds.” “Opinion is most wanted where truth is the object ; it is the parent and precursor of truth.” “The exclusion of opinions is the exclusion of the only guides which can conduct their researches to any useful end.” “The ay or no of any distinct proposition is the only object of inquiry.” “Before you can inquire you must have something that you seek.” “The more distinct the end, the greater the chances of success ; the absence of an end is futility.” “The rule of the

council, by forbidding the proposal of the affirmative or negative of a distinct proposition, as an object of their researches, vitiates the researches themselves in proportion as their object is made vague." "When men go to seek they know not what, they become puzzled how to set about it, and the most common effect is, that they do nothing." "The uncertainty about the objects they have to seek, caused by the exclusion of opinions, will prevent them from acting to any purpose." "The exclusive principle acts in two ways; it causes the collection of useless details, and prevents the value of those which are useful from being ascertained." "Their whole labour consists in sowing figures and reaping sums." It is possible, that to a reader of second-rate intelligence, the singular beauty of some passages in this composition, and the occasional pleasantries wherewith it is enlivened, may cast a shade over the just and profound logic by which it is throughout characterized.

6. We close this section with the briefest possible application of its subject to pauperism. Had so many informations of its amount in various countries, such as the few statements given by Mr. Alison in his book on Population, of the expenditure in various cities and nations of the Continent,—had these been formed into a table, and so extended, we shall imagine, as to embrace all the states in the world, this, as satisfying the two conditions of the numerical and the columnar, would have been accepted, we presume, by all the statisticians as of an eminently kindred and appropriate character, and laid before them in the very form now demanded by their science. Yet, however desirable to be presented with a general view of this sort, we cannot help thinking—that, because of its very generality, so far from being thereby identified, it rather stands contrasted with the true nature and design of statistical inquiries, being a bare sketch or outline, and as naked of details, as if in geography there was laid before us a map of the world, with but the names and boundaries of its continents and islands and kingdoms. The proper object of statistics surely is to fill up these larger divisions; and so to get at the real statistics of pauperism, we should deal with it not in states or provinces, but should deal with it in parishes. The former, some may think, is the way of obtaining a comprehensive, when in truth it is but a slender and superficial view of the whole matter. It is only in the latter way of it, that we shall ever obtain the revelation of its essence, of what may be termed the internal structure and physiology of pauperism. It

is thus, and thus alone, that we come at the sight of its inner mechanism ; or can possibly attain, either to the true philosophy, or right practical treatment of the question. It is only by coming into converse with the men and women and families of a parish, that we are in fit circumstances for studying the human nature of the subject, or its living principles, which are of far more importance than either its laws or its general history ; and as much more promising, both of scientific and practical results, as the treatment of a small bit of chalk in a crucible is a likelier way of eliciting the chemistry of this material, than the construction of a geological map of all the chalk formations in the world. This we hold to be the alone true and right investigation—the only way by which to probe into the inner depths of the subject, and so get hold of its moving springs of operation.

7. On these grounds we were led into the belief, that our experience of St. John's, Glasgow, was eminently statistical, whether with or without tabular views. The only thing indeed we had to offer in that way, was the schedule of our fourth section, where the receipts and expenditure might have been given in vertical columns, and with horizontal lines of numbers. We fondly think that this might have been accepted in full of all such demands—more especially as we furnished the arithmetical criteria of ours, being the poorest parish in Glasgow ; and told of the five-and-twenty sections into which it was divided, with a deacon for the management of the pauperism in each ; and detailed as the experience of the greater number of these in their own words, that with almost no sacrifice of time, and a perfect bagatelle of money, which might be raised by voluntary contributions anywhere, they met for eighteen years all the demands of parochial charity ; that the average expenditure fell short of £40 a year for each thousand of the population ; and yet, most decisive of all, that ours, as proved by the excess of imports over exports, was the best served and best satisfied parish in Glasgow—These matters, we reckon, might have told somewhat on the Statistical Section of the British Association ; but, whatever impression they may have made on others, they made none whatever on the mind of my excellent friend Dr. Alison—who stated more than once in his replies, that the kind of information which I dealt in, was not such as that Section could receive, and that nothing would serve for their entertainment but statistics, and such facts as could be given statistically. In other words, they would have been better pleased, had I brought

lists or inventories of all the chairs and pans and tables, and other articles whether of food or furniture, that I could lay my hands upon in the dwellings of my common people. Enough, one might imagine, the resistless evidence that a people without, were better off than a people with the compulsory provision raised by assessment for the city at large; and how the information called for could in the least supplement or confirm this evidence we are at a loss to comprehend. The statist, we again repeat, must revise their principles and methods, else they will be perpetually incurring the sacrifice of a solid experience to an idle form.

SECTION XII.

RECENT AUTHORSHIP OF THE QUESTION.

1. A FULL review of any work is out of the question. At the most, we can only give a few brief notices, and on those points which chiefly concern our own argument.

2. The first of these is Mr. Alison's book on Population. We must pass over the strangely mistaken inferences of his second chapter, grounded on the palpable and well-known truth, that a great proportion of the soil upon the earth is capable of subsisting a greater number of human beings than are employed to labour it. But this may be true, and yet the limit on which Malthus and others so legitimately reason may in fact be arrived at. Enough for this time that the land last entered on can yield no greater produce than will suffice for the maintenance of its agricultural labourers. Should it have come to this, it signifies nothing to be told of the capabilities of the superior soils, in virtue of which the food of Britain might be raised by only a fraction of those workmen who are sustained by it. It might both be true that the agricultural produce of Britain is raised by less than a fourth or fifth of the people who are subsisted by it; and it yet be true that no more produce could be raised, but by an additional labour, which would require for its support more than all the additional food that was raised by it. This is a limit which cannot be forced, but at the expense of landlords; and which if pushed indefinitely forward would strip them of all their property. The other proposal of this author to break up grass-lands, and alter the existing distribution of the ground, or, which is tanta-

mount to this, the existing taste and demand of its proprietors—were the admission of a principle which, if fully and consistently carried out, would terminate in the abolition altogether of an ownership in the soil. But we must forbear. Indeed, to reply any longer to this, would be to repeat our own first chapter on Political Economy, which we should be glad if any reader would take the trouble to peruse, immediately after that he had finished the second chapter of Mr. Alison. This would at least give him the advantage of comparing together two distinct outsets to two distinct processes of thought and reasoning, and landing in certain conclusions wholly different from each other. At all events, we would earnestly request the attention of the inquirer to an article in the appendix of our Political Economy, entitled, “Home Colonization”—in which we endeavour to trace the effects that would ensue, were the attempt to push agriculture beyond its own spontaneous rate of progress carried into operation.

3. Mr. Alison, in the twelfth chapter of his work, insists much on the effect of extreme poverty to induce a general despair and recklessness; and so, by weakening the operation of the preventive check, to increase the frequency of marriages. There is undoubted truth in all this; and the only error which accompanies the observation, perfectly just in itself, is, that he brings it forward not merely in the shape of a novelty, but in the shape of a correction on the theory of Mr. Malthus. Now it is what Mr. Malthus himself fully admits; and so far from being of adverse operation against his theory, it forms a constituent part of it. He who could describe so well the considerations which told in restraining marriages among the higher classes of England (Book II. chap. vii.) was not likely to overlook the influence of excessive destitution in so enfeebling, or rather nullifying the force of these considerations, as to destroy the preventive check altogether among the poorest of the poor. Accordingly, he tells us (Book III. chap. xi.) of a wretchedness “that had no tendency to destroy the passion which prompts to increase, but which effectually destroyed the checks to it from reason and foresight.” “Poverty, when it has once passed certain limits, almost ceases to operate.” “The most constant and best directed efforts will almost invariably be found among a class above the class of the wretchedly poor.” “The desire of immediate gratification, and the removal of the restraints to it from prudence, may perhaps in such countries (where extreme wretchedness prevails) prompt universally to early marriages.” These general conclusions of Mr. Malthus

are in perfect keeping with the facts of that very extensive induction on which his doctrine is based. And accordingly we scarcely ever read of the moral and intelligent preventive check, save in modern Christendom, as in Norway, Switzerland, and Britain, though it seems to have operated somewhat among the free citizens of Greece. It is on the failure of this check, that the theory of Malthus—true in all its parts to them who will look at it comprehensively—finds its dread verification, in the other checks and influences, which are of positive and all-powerful operation in keeping down the population of the world to the level of its food. It is an undeniable truth that extreme want stifles and extinguishes the preventive check; but it is a truth propounded by Malthus as well as by Alison—and it is scarcely consistent with literary justice to bring it forward in disparagement, or in seeming refutation of a theory, by which it is not only recognised; but by which express provision is made, or rather an account is rendered, for all the consequences that follow in its train.

4. But though Mr. Alison incurs no error, so long as he abides by Malthus even while in form he is opposing him, when he affirms that extreme poverty and extreme improvidence go hand in hand—on the moment of his departing from this great authority, he falls into a most egregious error in the application he makes of the truth thus alike promulgated by both. He tells us that the way to cure the people of their improvidence, is first to raise them out of their destitution; and this he proposes should be done by a poor-rate. This expedient is just as true to human nature, as if, in order to increase still further the preventive check now so powerful among the younger sons of noble families, it were proposed to give each of them a pension of a thousand pounds a year—the infallible result of which would be to increase the marriages, not to diminish them. And certain it is, on the very same principle—let the independent labourer who struggles to keep his head above water, not yet too low to have cast all prospective considerations away from him—let him have a vestry pension, though of but a thousand pence a year; and certain it is that such a measure, if generally carried into effect, would, *pro tanto*, increase the number of marriages in this class also. But if it be said that the provision in question is only designed for a class still lower than these, we are here met by the undoubted principle—that though the man who struggles to better his condition may be all the more inclined to economize

that which he has painfully made his own, it follows not that the man whose condition we attempt to better by a helping hand from without, shall be equally careful of that the acquisition of which costs him no care. Experience is painfully the reverse of this; and besides, were it otherwise, were it the tendency of pauperism to encourage sobriety instead of dissipation among its nurselings—then would it bring them indefinitely near to the condition of independent labourers; and it were exceedingly difficult, we think it impracticable, so to manage as that the supplies of parochial charity should cease on the moment that this higher degree of comfort were attained, when the influence which we have now ascribed to a pension, whether from the state in favour of one class, or from the parish in favour of another, would come into play. Between these two categories, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, that a poor-rate is on the whole an incentive to population; and the prognostications of Mr. Malthus evince a deeper insight into our nature than do those of Mr. Alison*—as experimentally verified by the supernumeraries of all those English counties which were most pauperized; and by the consequent reaction which, whether well-directed or not, was at least called forth by the pressure of evils actually felt, and fostering every year into greater magnitude and strength within the bosom of their overcrowded parishes.

5. Having these views, it is quite to be expected, that he should make the economical take precedence of the moral. Of these two things, the comfort and character of the people, he would begin with the wrong term first. With that aspiring and enlarged philanthropy which does him honour, and which dissociates him altogether from the class of heartless and merely secular utilitarians, his whole aim is the re-establishment of both; but he seeks the restoration of character through the medium of comfort as the preliminary, instead of seeking their

* Yet Mr. Alison, when not misled by his partiality for a poor-law, discerns the whole truth of this matter—as when he tells us that “Property is a great advantage *when it is the fruit of honest industry.*” It admits of a more extensive application than he makes of it, when he so well observes that—“It is not the mere possession of money, *but the habits by which money has been earned*, which constitutes the lasting benefit.”—Vol. ii. p. 73. But more applicable still—“To give them (workmen) property without the course of life by which it has been acquired, is only to give them more extended means of licentiousness. It is not so much the possession of capital, as the habits by which it has been acquired, and the desire which those habits produce for its increase, which is of importance to the lower orders.”—Vol. ii. p. 153. Yet this is the writer who can contend for a poor-rate on the new argument that it raises the general standard of enjoyment!

comfort through the medium of character as the preliminary. The whole question lies in this, which of these is the stepping-stone? He tells us that "A working-man who puts on a good coat on Sunday, has mounted one step on the ladder of improvement. The next may take him to church." He mistakes the order here. It is not the coat, furnished perhaps by a clothing society, which gives the impulse to church-going. It is the conscience operated on by a moral agency, and so enlisted on the side of church-going, which leads him to find the coat. If asked, how can he find one?—we reply, it is strange that he who calculates, and truly we believe, the expenditure of the lower classes on whisky alone to be upwards of six thousand pounds a year for each two thousand of the population—it is strange that Mr. Alison who thus calculates, should, of all others, put such a question. With the exception of a small centage whom our district visitors would be sure to fall in with, this whole number of two thousand people might be fearlessly thrown upon themselves. The experimental order will be found at one with the scriptural order. "Seek first," in behalf of these people, "the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all other things shall be added unto them." Under the moral influence of a parochial agency, with its church and schools, and a commensurate staff not of teachers only but of elders and deacons—a new face of comfort and sufficiency, a new economical aspect, might be spread over this aggregate of vice and wretchedness in the course of a very few years.

6. We cannot even enumerate the various errors in political economy which may be pointed out in this work—as first, that machinery by superseding the work of human hands should lay an arrest on population; second, that the potential fertility of the earth should absolve us from all alarm about the undue excess of population—as if it were practically of any more consequence to the starving operatives in this country, that they should be told either of the far future capabilities of agriculture, or the far distant lands in parts of the world to them inaccessible, than that they should be told of the harvests that wave on the face of Jupiter; thirdly, that the argument for a compulsory provision in behalf of indigence is at one with the argument for a system of religious instruction at the expense of the nation—when the total dissimilarity between them both in principle and effect can be fully made out on the clearest principles; fourth, the glaring traversal he makes of his own principle in reasoning

for the Corn-laws, when he does not fail to tell us (Vol. ii. p. 488) how soon the increase of population would follow up the importation of food, and so land us in as straitened a condition as before; fifth, of the utter maladjustment that obtains between his various specifics for the wellbeing of the people, in that they would conflict with and so neutralize or mutually exterminate the influences for good of each other—as when he argues for emigration along with a poor-rate, though a poor-rate operates powerfully as a restraint on emigration; or argues for a poor-rate along with Savings' Banks, though there be not a deadlier foe than a poor-rate is to the economy that would lay up and accumulate; or tells us of the sums squandered on dissipation by the working-classes, and then calculates in thousands of pounds on the amount which they might subscribe for beneficent objects, or reserve for building up an independence to themselves, and yet contends most zealously for a system that would confirm all their habits of improvidence, and prove an effectual barrier in the way of his own glorious anticipations being ever realized.*

7. But we forget that it is not our special task to review this work—yet, after what we have said, we should deem it an injustice not to speak of its great and various excellence. Though meagre in its theological views, we feel thankful for its recognitions, however general, on the importance of religious education. It is chiefly when warped by his predilection for a legal charity that its accomplished author goes wrong; but, apart from these, nothing can be sounder than many of his views on the prospects of society. The whole of his tenth chapter, on the acquisition of landed property by workmen and mechanics, is of pre-eminent value; and one principal reason of our dislike to a poor-rate is our belief that it would establish an impassable barrier in the way of this noble perspective being to any extent realized. We think that there are capabilities in the world for a mighty enlargement in the state of our labouring classes; but that wherever a poor-rate obtains, it is that which letteth and must be taken out of the way.

* One great antipathy I feel to a larger exposition of the various topics adverted to in this paragraph is, that I could not enter upon them without repeating myself. I shall therefore simply refer to my articles on Machinery and the Corn-laws in the Appendix to my Political Economy, in Vol. IX. of the series; to chap. i. § 18 of the same work, and above all, on the distinction between a National Provision for Indigence and a National Provision for Instruction, to the footnote in p. 254 of that volume.

8. The only cause which I can assign for his flagrant misunderstanding of what took place in his own immediate neighbourhood, when he tells of the proceedings in St. John's and of the total failure of the voluntary system in Glasgow—so very flagrant, that Mr. Bosanquet, the most enlightened of all the English authors who have written on pauperism, speaks of it as a most ludicrous incongruity—the most probable explanation is that he never read me. Perhaps he thinks with his brother Dr. Alison, that on this subject I deal in nothing but mere generalizations and flashes of oratory.

9. We must now advert, but with all possible brevity, to a few of the remaining authors who have written very recently upon this question.

10. In Dr. Alison's pamphlets, with certain differences of principle between him and his brother, we recognise the same practical errors which are to be found in the larger work on Population, but with some additional and peculiar errors of his own. We shall only notice two of these, which relate not to the law or the history, but to what may be termed the human nature of the question. 1. He tells us that if legal charity be objected to, because it induces a hurtful dependence on the part of its receivers, the same objection lies against private benevolence, which is liable to be alike counted on, and therefore to have a like mischievous and relaxing effect on the industry and good habits of those who are relieved by it. Experimentally, and in effect, there is the widest possible difference between the two cases—between dependence on a felt or fancied right, constituted by law and regularly administered; and dependence on the good-will of others. It is true that there is a facile indiscriminate and glaringly ostensible benevolence, which, in a measure and within the sphere of its operation, works the same mischief as a legalized charity. But there ensues altogether another result, when it is a benevolence which considers as well as compassionates, which times and suits its ministrations to the fully ascertained exigencies of each distinct case, which remonstrates and refuses when it judges this best for the wellbeing of its object—in short, that benevolence which an intelligent and well-principled deacon can at all times bring to bear on his district of well-known families. When thus dealt with, the very delicacy and moral sense of the poor themselves, for which they get too little credit, will prove the best guarantees both for the wisdom and superior effect of such a benevolence as this. But

2. Dr. Alison seems to deny *in toto*, that charity can ever be hurtful to the poor themselves by undermining the industry or the carefulness which are the true sources of prosperity—else the Quakers, who support all the poor or unfortunate members of their own body, would be the most unprosperous, instead of being what they are, the most thriving and well-conditioned society of men in England. And he quotes a letter to this effect from a worthy correspondent of that denomination, who obviously, along with himself, holds it to be decisive in favour of the establishment of a universal poor-rate. It is certainly a most important fact to which he depones; but there is a strange oversight on the part of both these benevolent gentlemen, when they convert it into an argument for a legal charity—it being one of the very strongest which can be alleged for the superior efficacy of a moral and ecclesiastical administration. The rule of an unexcepted aliment to their needy might be quite a safe one for Quakers, who, in the exercise of a corrective discipline, can reform all misconduct, or if they fail, can expel the irreclaimable from their society; and yet may prove a most unsafe one for all and sundry of a population, who, on the ground of right alone, and irrespective of character, are empowered to compel the relief of all destitution, however it may have originated. There is no well-regulated congregation which might not repeat over again the experience of the Quakers; and no well-worked territorial establishment with parishes, each small enough for single congregations, that might not compass the same achievement for the country at large.

11. I should fill a volume did I attempt to follow out all the notanda which I have made on the various publications of Dr. Alison. I will therefore satisfy myself with the general remark, that such is the intentness of his benevolent desire for the one object of a Scottish Poor-rate, as to have confined and concentrated his regards on one class of testimonies. I will say nothing of the perfect facility and off-handedness, wherewith he has thrown off from him the experience of St. John's;* but I must speak of the eagerness wherewith he has seized on all the

* Let me only notice the footnote at p. 56 of Dr. Alison's Reply to Mr. Monypenny. The topic is of runaway husbands, of which he admits in his text, that such cases are chiefly observed in the assessed districts; and then subjoins, "That it is not *exclusively* in these, appears from the statement that, during the time when the poor of St. John's parish in Glasgow were supported without assessment, an expense of £702 was incurred for foundlings, illegitimates, and children of runaway parents."—Our first explanation is, that the habits of a formerly assessed district are not to be extirpated all at once by the abolition of assess-

adverse statements of unaccredited and unofficial informers. We trust that the replies by Dr. Haldane of St. Andrews, and the Rev. Mr. Elliot of Peebles have not been thrown away upon him; and we would further recommend for his perusal, the last Annual Report of Dr. Easton of Kirriemuir on the pauperism of that parish.* But this exclusiveness, or one-sidedness, if it may be so termed, is observable in the use he makes of books as well as men—as of the Government volume on Foreign Poor-laws, from which he has extracted the various testimonies which were capable of being forced or compounded into an argument in favour of a legal charity, while from the very same volume Mr. Bosanquet presents us with a series of most impressive extracts against a Poor-law, and in favour of the voluntary system. Yet in all this special pleading, there is not, we fully and honestly believe, one taint of disingenuousness. We ascribe it altogether,

ments; and more especially, if it continue to be surrounded by parishes where the assessment still remains in full force. But, in point of fact, the expense of this particular item formed a very small fraction of the £702. There was a great abridgment in the desertion of the poor by their relatives in St. John's; and if the reader will peruse the testimony of one my deacons in p. 623 of "Polity of a Nation," he will find that of three such cases which occurred in less than four years within his proportion of 335 inhabitants, in two of them the husbands were led to return without any expense to the parish—yet in virtue of that peculiar economy by which it stood distinguished from the other parishes in Glasgow.

But if the expense of runaways formed a small item of the £702, this leaves all the greater sum for the expense of the other immoralities which Dr. Alison tries and seems not unwilling to fasten on our unassessed parish. But this too admits of explanation. The truth is that, to our great misfortune, the treasurer of the Barony parish (the most populous in Scotland) happened to live within the limits of our parish; and a very great proportion of the exposed children were laid at his door, of course by people of the Barony, and on the idea that the maintenance of the infants fell to be provided for by that parish; and so they were placed on the treasurer's threshold, by way of helping them forward to the kirk-session of the Barony.

Now what were the proper effect of this whole matter on the mind of one who looked to it with a fair, not to say a friendly eye? Here was the heavy addition of £702 laid on our collections for cases which should not be provided for out of any ecclesiastical fund at all. Add to this the sum of £351 for lunatics, who ought also to be otherwise provided for; and from these extraneous sources alone, the still heavier addition of more than a thousand pounds had to be sustained, and that by a fund which accomplished to the full all that was promised from it, if it but met the general indigence of the parish. We have already proved that it did so, and expended upwards of a thousand pounds on education to the bargain. But add these other expenses; and it will be found that, so far from operating to the discredit of our system, they supply us with an *argumentum a fortiori* upon its side—and demonstrate that we not only did all we undertook to do, but did it with a surplus of more than two thousand pounds which were disposed of on other purposes besides.

So different are the conclusions come to from the same facts, according to the previous bias of the observer, or to the medium through which he views them.

* It is entitled, "Statements relative to the Pauperism of Kirriemuir" (for 1840).

and certainly it is a marvellous example of it, to the distorting and darkening influence of a most amiable predilection on the optics of one who is under its power—for who can dispute the perfect honour and integrity of Dr. Alison; or refrain from doing homage to the ardent and unwearied benevolence, which prompted the authorship that has flowed from his pen, and given birth to publications that, full of errors as they are, have awakened a spirit of inquiry, and will, we fondly hope, lead to such results as may entitle him to rank among the great public benefactors of Scotland?

12. The next very recent work on pauperism which we shall proceed to notice is that of Mr. Bosanquet.* We hail the appearance of such a publication from the south of the Tweed—replete as it is with sound principle; and while breathing the very soul of charity, deprecating and making fearless exposure of the evils which attend the legal administration of it in England. He is one of those very few Englishmen, who can expressly say that a voluntary almsgiving might and ought to supersede the compulsory assessment for the poor; so that, instead of seeking for improvement in any modification of a system that is radically and essentially evil, he would rather that Christian feeling and a sense of duty were to operate so powerfully in the hearts of individuals as to permit of its entire abrogation. And he seems throughout to have a just and refreshing confidence in the actual strength of these purer and better elements—so that, on the whole, we have not met a writer who approximates more closely to the view which we ourselves have entertained and cherished for more than a quarter of a century. It will indeed be strange, if this country shall permit herself to be hurried into the adoption of that poor-rate and workhouse economy that is so much controverted, or rather so much decried, by the best and ablest thinkers of the very land which it occupies, and is filled with the outcries of resentment against the cruelty of its tender mercies. Were it for no other purpose than to avert this sore evil from our borders, we should hope that Mr. Bosanquet's work might become well known and be much read in Scotland.

13. He has been pleased to give a pretty full account of our procedure in St. John's. The differences betwixt us are more apparent than real. For example, when he says (p. 411) that "the fault of the St. John's system was that it was too

* On the Rights of the Poor and Christian Almsgiving, by G. R. Bosanquet, Esq.

economical and mercenary; it was too much tested and examined upon the principle of saving"—this admits of an easy rectification. In point of effect, the St. John's system was upheld at a far less expense for its public and visible distributions than the system which it was meant to supersede; and the exhibition of this fact was fitted to conciliate those who had the power either to discourage or to extend it. But it was not instituted for the purpose of saving; or, in the language of Bosanquet, on the principle of saving. It was instituted for the sake chiefly of its moral, and through these, of its economical benefits to the population—in that it removed temptations to improvidence on the one hand; and on the other reawakened, to the degree at least of their own natural vigour, the duties and affections both of relatives and neighbours when any distress occurred within the sphere of their respective operations. It was a matter of deepest interest and gratification to ourselves, when we found that the internal charity of so large a plebeian mass left room for such few applications to the wealthy beyond its limits—not that we hold them discharged from the obligations of benevolence, or have the least desire that they should be exempted from sacrifices large in proportion to their means. We have the fullest sympathy with all the principles, both ethical and scriptural, of Mr. Bosanquet, on the subject of this virtue; and the only semblance which I can perceive of a distinction betwixt us is—that whereas he perhaps would make it his first and most strenuous aim to enforce the duties of the rich, I confess it my chief earnestness to press home the duties of the poor—thinking, as I do, that their best interests, as well as truest dignity, lie in the right observation of them. But I would spare neither class—though not so anxious for the shillings of the rich to expend on almsgiving among the common people, as I am for their pounds, and that in goodly number too, to erect and maintain the institutes, by which the health and the morals and the Christian education of all might be provided for. It is likely that a deacon cast in the one mould would look more intently to the state of the parochial collections, and so stimulate the givers to a greater liberality in their offerings—while, if cast in the other mould, he would look more intently to the state of the parochial demand; and, after he had inculcated on receivers the duty of a right moderation, would try as much as possible to anticipate the necessity of a public relief by stimulating both neighbours and kinsfolk to the exercise of a

larger charity than before—thereby earning the praise and pre-eminence of that deacon who did his duty best, in that he gave the court of deaconship the least to do. Nor would he discourage the generosity of the rich, however much he may like that it should be unseen and untalked of—in which case, he would vastly prefer it to any organic or visible dispensation of poor's-money. This generosity, in fact, we could have easily drawn upon to a tenfold greater amount; but were restrained by the impulse it would give to a movement from the contiguous parishes, and by the unfortunate necessity from which we never were relieved of providing for the incomers from all other parts of the city. After this explanation, it should not be difficult to perceive, that, substantially and in principle, we are at one. At all events, we have read this little work with unbounded satisfaction; and trust it may be the happy presage of that deep radical and thorough reform which is still wanting for the pauperism of England.

14. But there is still another work which might well claim a high and important place in this enumeration—Carlyle on Chartism—abounding in flashes of light as well as flashes of humour; and, albeit of quaint and parti-coloured garb, in which we can discern both the antique and the exotic and withal the fresh and strikingly original—yet charged throughout not only with the deep feeling, but, bating a few slight exceptions, with the deepest philosophy of this subject. (1.) He is right in his denunciation of the 'let-alone' maxim (*laissez-faire*) as a universal principle; but his remarks tend to the universal abjuration of it—whereas it were about the highest political wisdom to make discrimination between the things, as commerce, to which it is applicable; and the things, as education or public health, to which it is not applicable. (2.) He is right in holding up for the amusement of his reader the imagination that our common people, the Toms and Sallys whether of town or country, are to be enlisted on the side of Malthusianism, by their being taught the lessons of Malthus themselves; but he mistakes, if he charge all Malthusians with this ludicrous absurdity. Theory when of any worth at all is experience generalized; and, both theoretically and experimentally, nothing can be more impregnable or unassailably just than the doctrine of Mr. Malthus—yet the way for carrying it into practical effect, is not directly or formally to indoctrinate the general population therewith. It is to furnish them with a sound education, both

the education of principle and the education of letters; and more particularly still, to gather them, boyhood and manhood, into well-taught congregations—where they might become the subjects of a right ecclesiastical discipline, and have frequent intercourse with the best and wisest of their neighbourhood in well-organized and well-worked parishes. This of itself would beget a new taste and better habits—or, more correctly, would revive the tastes and habits of the olden time, and lead to the practice of certain Malthusian virtues, which were exemplified by a peasantry whom Mr. Carlyle loves and reveres, long before Malthus was ever heard of. He may perhaps remember, I do, the *plenishings* and *providings* anterior to every marriage of humble life in Scotland, the products of a housewifery that secured a respectable outset at the commencement of every new family; and the gaurantees of such a thrift and management with both the parties in this alliance, as kept them economically right and respectable to the end of their days. (3.) He is right in both his specifics of Emigration and Education; and I would only add, that while the former of these two remedies might only be of temporary, the other should and must be of perpetual appliance. On a system of national emigration, without a system of education alike national, there behoved to be a constant generation of vice and misery, and hence the constant overflow of a wretched and wicked population, as of scum upon distant lands—Whereas if contemporaneous with one great and wholesale act of emigration, or the large emigration at most of a few years, there were instituted a full apparatus of schools and churches—then afterwards might the emigration, no longer defrayed from public funds, be altogether spontaneous—as of redundant capitalists seeking a profitable investiture for their money, at the head of well-paid labourers going forth not as before under the impulse of want, but rather under the impulse of a generous ambition, seeking from their now higher platform at home, a still higher status abroad in countries of larger capability than their own. (4.) But he is most of all and pre-eminently right in his demand for the popular education being religious: and profoundly wise, when he prophesies of our coming regeneration (p. 101), that it will be the achievement not of one or a few gigantic intellects, but the product of a wide and general co-operation among men of ordinary and every-day power. Genius is rare—but worth and virtue are diffusible, and can be multiplied indefinitely. Altogether, and notwithstanding

our demur to its paradox of might being right, we rejoice in this little work of Mr. Carlyle's, as full of wholesome principle, and fitted to impress on minds of a higher class sound and right views of philanthropy.

15. We conclude this section with the mention of our own home-made compositions, already too well known, or in the way of being so, to require from us any specification of their merits and peculiarities. 1. First and foremost we would name the works of Mr. Monypenny—characterized throughout by the soundest views, and from the weight of his well-earned authority, of greatest possible value to the cause which he has espoused. 2. Mr. Lewis's account of his parish in Dundee, which, along with his other Tracts, evinces the most intimate acquaintance with the habitudes of a town population, as well as the utmost graphic force and fidelity in his description of them. 3. Mr. Begg's account of the pauperism in his parish of Libberton, also a pamphlet of great excellence. 4. Report of the Committee on Pauperism to the last General Assembly (1841), the suggestions of which, on the benefits of a more strictly parochial economy in large cities, are peculiarly valuable. 5. Mr. Milne's Report of a Committee of Landed Proprietors is a composition of great merit notwithstanding the highly exceptionable remarks which are subjoined to it. We hope that it will soon come forth free of this alloy in an expurgated edition, and that all which is obnoxious and wrong will be disclaimed by the proprietors as apocryphal. 6. The eulogy on these Remarks by Mr. John Cook, in the footnote at p. 35 of his pamphlet on the Scottish Poor, and with which we can have no sympathy, has not made us insensible to the value of his own performance, as a clear, conclusive, and very intelligent exposition of the subject.

SECTION XIII.

APPLICATION OF THE WHOLE ARGUMENT, AND MORE PARTICULARLY TO
SCOTLAND.

1. A method grounded on these principles and views might be adopted anywhere.* Though there be no office in the Church of England corresponding fully with that of our Deacon—this need not restrain an English clergyman, by means of lay assistants, from the practical establishment of our system in his own parish. How the law shall be brought into harmony therewith is a different matter, and on which we do not here enter—more especially as we have considered it at great length in another place,† where we have attempted to explain first the parliamentary and then the parochial treatment of the whole question. It is a question very far from being yet conclusively settled in England; nor will it ever, we conceive, be placed on a sound or permanent footing but by what we term a blow at the root—or proceeding on this essential distinction between justice and humanity, that, whereas it is the proper use and function of law to enforce the one; the other, and more especially in as far as the relief of general indigence is concerned, should not be so enforced, it being that wherewith on every ground both of principle and expediency law ought not to intermeddle. The admission of a right in the destitute to a maintenance, in conjunction with the unnatural and revolting severities which have been placed as a barrier in the way of their making it good, is the attempt to compensate one error by another—a blunder in the essence of the law, by a blunder in the practical administration of it. Altogether it is a violent incongruity; and therefore impossible that it should succeed, or be of long endurance in any commonwealth. The law of the statute-book ought to be expunged, that the law of kindness might have free scope for her energies on the field which is properly her own.

2. In Scotland we have the advantage of being able to commence, or rather to restore this system, by putting it into the

* We can imagine nothing more perfect than the mechanism put into operation by the Jansenist Bishop (of Alet) throughout his whole diocese—as described in the *Port-Royal Memoirs*, Vol. iii. p. 231, &c., by M. A. Schimmelpenninck.

† See chapters xiv. xv. and xvi. of the *Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*.

hands of men vested with an official character, and bearing an ancient and well-known official designation—thereby securing for it a readier coalescence in the popular mind of this country; and where, instead of being resisted as a novelty or violence done to our ecclesiastical constitution, it will be viewed as a replacement of that which had worn away from it. We may count on all the greater facility of its re-establishment in Scotland, in that it is already so familiar to the recognition of Scotchmen. It is in fact part and parcel of her old parochial system; and, in arguing the sufficiency of that system for the right management of the poor, it is no more than justice that full and free play should be allowed to it—and, more especially, that we should be permitted to reason on the high capabilities of an office expressly instituted in other times, both as the scriptural and the soundly expedient way, by which to ascertain and provide for the destitution of all more or less helpless families.

3. It is not that we hold a deaconship indispensable in the great majority of our Scottish parishes—where, in spite of every exaggeration to the contrary, things go on smoothly and prosperously; and there is no crying destitution whatever, on account of which any change in the existing management is called for. It is not then as for the cure or removal of a malady that we desiderate the restitution of this order of men, even in our most virtuous and best-conditioned parishes—but for the sake of a great positive amelioration, for which there is still indefinite room, in the economics of our common people. We feel quite assured that under the guidance and with the frequent converse of enlightened men, they could be brought up to a far higher point of comfort and sufficiency than they at present stand at. The very intercourse with their superiors to which it would give rise, and of which there is now such a woful lack in British society, would of itself tend to elevate and humanize them. There are many ways in which this ascending movement could be impressed on them—as through habits of thrift and temperance and reading, and in the cleanliness and order of their houses, and would magistrates and justices but co-operate with these lay officials of the Church, and place a limit on the number of public-houses in every little vicinity, this alone would everywhere work out a mighty enlargement in the state and condition of our Scottish peasantry. But in thus seeking after the re-establishment of a universal deaconship, we confess that we have a higher object still than merely to better what may be termed the

secularities of the working-classes. However intently we may desire the improvement of their temporal state, the far more earnest and intent aim of every real Christian will be the good of their souls; and for this view we hold it most important, that our elders should be relieved of all that is secular in their present charges, or, in other words, that the eldership of the Church should be spiritualized. We rejoice in the efforts which are now making to regenerate this part of our ecclesiastical system; nor are we aware of aught that would conduce more to the purity and efficiency of our kirk-sessions, than if the members of these parochial courts, vested exclusively with ecclesiastical functions, were regarded strictly and altogether in the light of ecclesiastical men, whose office was entirely a sacred one—as to pray with the sick and the dying, to stimulate the Christian education, and generally to take cognizance of the religious state and habit of the families in their respective districts. With a hard-working clergyman in every parish, and a body of elders to assist him in holy things, and deacons to look after the temporalities of the people, we should behold the ecclesiastical system of Scotland in full operation; and with the blessing of God, we should also behold, as the palpable result of it, a hale prosperous and well-conditioned commonalty, in a state of general if not of universal sufficiency—having a present fulfilment in the promise of the life that now is, as well as a bright and hopeful anticipation in the promise of the life that is to come.*

4. But it is in towns and over-peopled parishes, where the service of deacons is most urgently and immediately required, and that not merely to effect an amelioration as in country parishes, but to heal a sore and mischievous distemper. The remedy which we propose is no daring or untried novelty; but has the wisdom of ancient and venerable sages, and the experience of a whole nation to recommend it. To find it, we have but to ask for the old paths, or good old way and to walk therein.† To us there is something peculiarly delightful in the blending of elements which are not heterogeneous, though hitherto they may have occupied different places, and far asunder from each other, in the imaginations of men. The office of a deacon as described in the original formularies of our Kirk has long fallen into desuetude; and it may appear to some a grotesque and incongruous combination, when we propose to revive it in the persons of our modern city gentlemen, versant it may be in the philosophy and

* 1 Tim. iv. 3.

† Jer. vi. 16.

recent economics of our present day; and on whom we would fasten the name and the investiture of functionaries, scarcely known in Scotland since the time of our remote grandfathers. It may look to some like a union of contrarieties, yet a union, we are persuaded, which, when realized and acted on, will be found prolific of the greatest blessings to society. The devices and discoveries of our present age, its savings' banks, and parish libraries, and mechanic schools, will not be the less but tenfold more effective, when brought to bear on the population in the garb and with the authority of an old ecclesiastical institute.

5. We cannot image a greater infatuation, than, if with such a power in reserve, and in resorting to which we but recur to the wholesome practice of other days, we shall nevertheless choose rather to precipitate ourselves into a system, alien to all the habits of Scotchmen; and, which, so far from being conclusively established in the country whence we propose to borrow it, is there only upon trial—still a doubtful experiment, subjected by a decree of their legislature to the questionnaire process of a few years longer, and meanwhile assailed by fierce and bitter outcries all over their land. Our advice is not to innovate, but restore; not to rush on the adventurous new, but to re-establish and to return to the well-tried old—and which, because so rich in the experience of the past, holds out the best guarantee for its promises of the future. We complain of the insufficiency of our system, after having inflicted on it a grievous mutilation. All we ask for it is, that the mutilation shall be replaced; and then let us see, whether, when the parochial apparatus is made as perfect as before, it will not prove as efficient as before. And how much more consonant, we would remark, with the sound philosophy of observation, is it to proceed on the intimate household converse of a deaconship for each parish, than on the wide and general surveys of a workhouse union for a number of parishes. It makes all the difference between a distant and therefore superficial view on the one hand, and a thorough we had almost said microscopical inspection on the other—whether a number of parishes shall be thrown into one field of superintendence, and placed under an elevated Board of Directors; or each parish shall be broken down into a number of small and manageable sections, each given in charge to a friendly guardian, who might hold weekly, it may be daily converse with the families. Under the one economy, they will reach to but a slender acquaintance with the inner mechanism of the subject on which

they operate, and that notwithstanding their busy manufacture of programmes and queries and schedules of goodly enumeration. Their circulars and the returns to their circulars will not do much for them; but in all probability will leave these dealers in wholesale just as wise as before. Under the other economy, we open a way to the hidden privacies of the question, to the springs and principles of the living human nature concerned with it, and which form in reality the *ipsa corpora* of the whole problem—for the right discernment of which it is not a rare metaphysical acumen which is required; but the everyday intelligence and common sense of men in ordinary life, so circumstanced as that they might have familiar access to the hearts and the homes of our population.

6. And here we are tempted to repeat the challenge which we have already made for a trial of the St. John's experiment over again, and that on the most pauperized district of Glasgow which can be fixed upon. The conditions that we require are—First, a population not exceeding two thousand—Second, a church that can hold one thousand sitters, with a commensurate amount of cheap schooling for the young—Third, a preference at every seat-letting to the parishioners, either at indefinitely low seat-rents, or no seat-rents at all, which condition can only be made good by an adequate endowment for the clergyman—Fourth, a protection which if not legally might yet be conventionally secured against the influx of paupers from all the other city parishes, they having a reciprocal protection from the new parish—Fifth, the allocation of the weekly collections to all the new cases of *general indigence alone*, so as that the church offerings shall not be burdened with the cases either of immorality or of institutional disease. We doubt not that there are still surviving elders and deacons of the St. John's school in sufficient number to undertake such an experiment, (six or eight of each class would be fully competent to the task.) Let these for once at least have the appointment of the clergyman; and then we shall brave all the discredit which might accrue to our argument—if they do not make it palpable in two or three years, that without a compulsory provision, and with the help of no other public fund than what is gathered from the Sabbath plates, they will meet every application for relief, and bring the parish into a better economic condition than before. We do not want to complicate such an experiment by tacking a rich parish to a poor one. Such an offer would embarrass ourselves, because we think it would paralyse the operation; and we should therefore

greatly prefer to work the poor parish single-handed. Surely to allow such an experiment before resolving on so momentous a change in our system as is contemplated by the advocates of an English pauperism, were but in accordance with that inductive or Baconian spirit which is as wise in practical economics, as it is sound in philosophy. And surely to risk the trifling loss that might be incurred by its failure, were better than to incur the certain expenditure of £800,000 a year for the pauperism of all Scotland, or of £80,000 for that of Glasgow alone.

7. By a repetition of this process we might obtain the same result for a whole city, a whole province, or for the country at large. In other words, the extension of its church and the extinction of its pauperism might go hand in hand.* The moral and the economical reformations would proceed contemporaneously; and so as to verify the celebrated saying of Burke, that education (most emphatically true of the high education of principle), while the only effectual, is far the cheapest defence of every nation against its sorest and most formidable evils. Our specific, and we know of no other, by which to heal the great national distemper of England, or at least to ward off the contagion of it from our own land, is a sufficient number of well-served churches and well-taught schools. Let it not become the scorn either of economists or statesmen, because of the two-fold blessing which it is fitted to accomplish—raising the character along with the comfort of our population: Or because while it achieves their salvation from many of the ills of life, its chief aim is to provide them with a higher salvation in the good of their eternity.

* The following is a very general outline of the scheme of Church Extension, for which we attempted to obtain the consent of Government:—1. A grant of a year to each of our unendowed churches (lately Chapels-of-Ease). 2. A prospective endowment to the same extent for each of our New Churches. 3. This grant never to be bestowed without an equivalent return by the church which receives it, in a certain regulated and moderate scale of seat-rents for the parish families. 4. We should hold it a fair and desirable stipulation, that every new church so endowed should undertake for the pauperism of its own parish; and that the produce of its ordinary collections (meanwhile indispensable for the support of the clergyman) should be given up for this object.

I may in this last foot-note meet the question of Dr. Alison—Why not allow both objects to be alike provided for and go on contemporaneously?—that is, have his poor-rate for the relief of destitution, and at the same time our church extension for the religious instruction of the people. Our objection to this is, that the first would neutralize the second; but I will give no further explanation of this here, and only refer to what I have said years before on this very suggestion in the *Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*, p. 263, being Vol. X. of the series—in my Evidence before the Commons' Committee, at p. 695 of the same work—and in my *Political Economy*, pp. 262-264, being Vol. IX. of the series.

8. In these times of imminent peril to the Church of Scotland, and when her very existence as a National Establishment is at stake, it may be thought that we have not chosen the likeliest season for gaining attention to our arguments, and far less for the practical adoption of such measures as we have ventured to recommend. But even in the most favourable circumstances, we are not very sanguine of an immediate reception for our views; and conceive it far more probable that men will seek for relief from the evils of pauperism in a succession of palliatives and trifling modifications, than go back to the first elements of the question, or seek to eradicate the principle on which the system of a legal and compulsory provision is founded. It would not surprise us, if, by a series of failures, in shifting from one expedient to another, and after that experience had demonstrated they were but shifting from one error to another—we should not wonder if as by the indirect process in mathematics, states and parishes, by a practical *reductio ad absurdum*, were brought to the truth at last. We look on the last great attempt for the reform of English pauperism as but one step in this process—even as the Acts of Mr. Gilbert, Sturges Bourne, and others, have been successively thrown aside as things tried and found wanting. Let us hope that this tentative process will not be lengthened out indefinitely. All that we require for Scotland is, that Law will learn to be observant of her own proper boundaries, and make no inroad beyond them. This were an effectual remedy for all our disorders. Would the civil authority but cease to be a usurper on a province which does not belong to her, and retire within her own domain—then should we be ecclesiastically right, in being permitted to give unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are God's; and economically right, in being permitted to give unto justice the things of justice, and to humanity the things of humanity.

END OF VOL. XI.

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